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Istituto Affari Internazionali

Changing Migration Patterns and Migration Governance in the Mediterranean Region



ABSTRACT

The seminar "Changing Migration Patterns and Migration Governance in the Mediterranean Region" was convened at the Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI) in Rome on 18 December 2014, with the aims of discussing first drafts of selected papers for the New-Med series on migration with the local civil society and policy community and of brainstorming ideas for further activities. As an OSCE-related network, New-Med stands ready to offer its expertise to OSCE initiatives in the field of migration in 2015. New-Med will continue to provide a valuable "Track II" channel for policy discussions on key challenges facing the European and Mediterranean regions. The seminar focused on two issues: migration patterns in the Mediterranean and the international governance response.

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Summary report prepared

by the Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI)*

in cooperation with



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First panel:

Migration Patterns and Challenges in the Mediterranean

Emiliano Alessandri from the OSCE Secretariat opened the panel by underlining the unique role that the New-Med network can play in both generating new knowledge and complementing discussions that are taking place at the political level. Migration governance is set to be a major topic of discussion within the OSCE in 2015. The expertise provided by the network can help inform the debate among states, in particular by drawing attention on the Mediterranean dimension of the growing phenomenon of international migration. The role that ongoing

* Summary report of the seminar "Changing Migration Patterns and Migration Governance in the Mediterranean Region", convened at the Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI) in Rome on 18 December 2014, within the framework of New-Med research network. The seminar was organised by the Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI) in cooperation with the OSCE Secretariat.

conflicts and security situations in and around Europe are playing as drivers for international migration puts the OSCE at the center of the migration governance debate. A close look at so-called mixed flows may prompt organizations such as the OSCE to review and upgrade their tools to meet the new needs of migrants and of the communities that receive them.

Stefano Volpicelli, sociologist and former IOM analyst, outlined that his research will focus on the migration scenarios which have emerged with the globalization process since 1995 when the World Trade Organisation (WTO) has been established with a particular focus on the value dimension. Among areas of focus in understanding the phenomenon of migration, the sociological dimension is often neglected in policy debates. Aspirations, value-systems, and visions of the future host country are very much part of the set of "drivers" behind migration flows.

The second speaker in the panel, **Costanza Hermanin**, a senior policy analyst on migration at the Open Society Foundations, focused on European and national legislations concerning the migratory flows in the Mediterranean area. She identified two trends in this legislation, namely the externalization of borders and growing human rights violations in EU migration policy as member states policies become increasingly security driven. The criminalization of irregular migration targets the migrant, not the behavior. In contrast to its Normative Power Europe image, the EU through its migration policies risks exporting human rights violations to the neighborhood.

The last intervention on the first panel was made by **Ferruccio Pastore**, director of FIERI (Forum Internazionale ed europeo di ricerche sull'immigrazione). Pastore argued that EU migration control policies have gone through a radical change in the decade that preceded the economic crisis. The EU closed its borders to the south, but opened up to the east. Securitization came along with liberalization. The Southern European belt - Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Greece – was an effective stabilizer for migration pressure; there was a pax migratoria (no major political tensions between nation states). Schengen and Dublin represented a rather stabilized regime. It was surprising that Southern European states bought into this regime as it is principally and structurally unbalanced. In the mid of the 2000's, however, a changed happened, as following the enlargement process the pressure from the East was much larger than expected and there was a growing unease with the principle of free movement. Affected not only by a huge migration pressure, but also by the economic crisis, countries such as Italy and Spain asked for a burden sharing of migrants and asylum seekers with Northern European countries. Pastore identified several push factors, such as the Syrian war and the collapse of (migration) "buffer states" such as Libya, one of the main partners in the externalization of the European borders, and highlighted three main issues to debate: 1) what to do with the principle of the "free movement"; 2) how to implement the "solidarity principle", included in the treaties but not yet adequately implemented; and 3) what to do with the external dimension of migration policy, an issue at the center of the international debate also in the framework of the recently-launched Khartoum Process.

Second panel: The International Governance Response

The second panel was opened by **Daniela Huber**, researcher at the IAI, who pointed out that migration in the Mediterranean lacks a coherent international governance mechanism. Given the increasing politicization of the issue, the aim of this panel was to look at the type of governance that is emerging in the region and how it can be enhanced.

The first panelist was **Sarah Wolff**, from Queen Mary University. Dr Wolff analyzed the governance of the EU migration system and the main European tools in dealing with migration management. Wolff noticed that no global governance of migration exists and that migration is a phenomenon that takes place mainly at the intra-regional level. In the last decade the two main policy trends at European level have been the migration-development nexus, the securitization narrative, and a discourse on "migration management" that has largely failed to meet the needs of both migrants and the communities receiving them. Wolff highlighted that migration is a matter of shared competence between the EU and the member states. Not having an exclusive competence in migration matter, EU faces difficulties in the international negotiations. She also inquired the interactions between the EU and international organizations such as UNHCR, arguing that there is a gap with regard to human rights standards that are effectively applied, as well as between the European and the international level, as in the case of the non-conformity of the EU Dublin system to international legislation. Finally, Dr. Wolff noticed that two main problems for the EU action in migration matters are, on the one hand, the limits of EU competence and, on the other, the European Neighborhood Policy bilateral approach that is clearly unfit to address a complex and regional phenomenon such as migration.

The following intervention was made by **Maria Teresa Del Re**, migration expert at Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MAE). Del Re affirmed that, according to Frontex datas, 90% of migrants reach the European continent through the sea, 10% by land. To respond to the migration emergency in the Mediterranean, the Italian government has implemented the "Mare Nostrum" operation (October 2013-October 2014), a maritime surveillance and rescue initiative, conceived as a short term measure. With the main part of migrants coming from the Horn of Africa and the Sub-Saharan Africa, the strategy of the MAE consists in the opening of a dialogue with the migration origin countries. A recent initiative, launched under the Italy's EU Council presidency, is the "Khartoum process", a broad multilateral framework that gathers European immigration countries and African emigration countries, with a focus on Eastern Africa. The aim of the initiative is to foster a dialogue on migration-relevant matters with the African Union, targeting African countries that have not been actively engaged in the past. Ms. Del Re stressed that next to the Khartoum process, traditional for dialogue such as the Euromed will need to continue.

Teresa Albano, Economic Affairs officer at the Office of the Coordinator of OSCE Economic and Environmental Activities (OCEEA) was the last panelist of the second session. Albano admitted that the progressive tightening of States' policies in the field of labor migration is indeed a paradox considering the growing need of labor markets at international level of both skilled and unskilled labor force. Albano argued that in the framework of the OSCE a firm approach emerges from the Helsinki Final Act of 1975 and subsequent commitments in support of the principle of the free movement of people and in particular of migrant workers. The issue of migration was then addressed in two ministerial decisions adopted in Ljubljana and Athens, respectively in 2005 and 2009, which framed the mandate of the OCEEA and agreed on forward-looking measures in the area of comprehensive labor migration management which paved the way to the development of a number of technical assistance tools and activities. Special attention was paid to the gender aspects of labor migration policies and to the issue of migration data collection and harmonization, in co-operation with the OCEEA institutional partners, the ILO and the IOM. Albano concluded by mentioning the review exercise of the OSCE commitments carried out with the ILO in 2009, whose conclusions suggested main areas for future action to honor the engagement of the Organization in the area of migration governance, and wondered if these conclusions still capture the main challenges of migration governance in a rapidly changing world. Albano suggested that think tanks and researchers would have indeed a role to play in changing the narrative of migration, in promoting an evidence-based approach to the political challenges in migration management and in pursuing possible models of migration governance that are economically profitable for both States and individuals.

Achievements, evaluation, and expected impact

The seminar brought together participants of the New-Med network with the local civil society and policy community to discuss central issues of migration in the Mediterranean. Key questions that were raised related to 1) focusing on the way in which main migration countries deal with migratory flows in a cooperative perspective, analyzing if different approaches emerged distinguishing the "old" migration countries from the more recent ones, 2) the need of a comparative study of the European space, with a focus not only on the EU but also on the Eurasian Economic Union and countries lying in between these two convergence processes. 3) the question why the international human rights system does not seem to be working for migrants 4) the growing Euro-Mediterranean angle, especially in light of spreading instability in the South 5) the Mediterranean as a bridge region between Europe and the Saharan region and the role of MENA countries as not only sending, but also receiving and transit countries. Experiences and best practices could be studied and exchanged through the New-Med network as a way to inform and support the OSCE-Mediterranean dialogue.

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Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI)

Founded by Altiero Spinelli in 1965, does research in the fields of foreign policy, political economy and international security. A non-profit organisation, the IAI aims to further and disseminate knowledge through research studies, conferences and publications. To that end, it cooperates with other research institutes, universities and foundations in Italy and abroad and is a member of various international networks. More specifically, the main research sectors are: European institutions and policies; Italian foreign policy; trends in the global economy and internationalisation processes in Italy; the Mediterranean and the Middle East; defence economy and policy; and transatlantic relations. The IAI publishes an English-language quarterly (*The International Spectator*), an online webzine (*AffariInternazionali*), two series of research papers (*Quaderni IAI* and *IAI Research Papers*) and other papers' series related to IAI research projects.

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