

EUMedEA Crash Course
**Managing Crises at EU Med
Borders**

Crises at the EU borders
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My analysis is grounded on the following arguments:

- 1. Global before area-specific crises are under way on the borders of Europe.**
- 2. The EU's neighborhood policy has been founded on the *dogma* of exporting European political and economic models and values by technocratic means.**
- 3. The EU's response to the crises follows on the same track, plus securitizing borders**

Outline

1. I start by qualifying the meaning of **crisis** (and crisis management), the **EU**, and the Med **neighbors**.
2. The next step is reviewing and assessing the **EU's approach** and attitudes towards the areas at its borders.
3. Next, I draw attention towards the current **crises as global phenomenon** and towards *protracted insurgency*
4. Consequently, I maintain that the EU's region-driven response meets with the presence of **external actors**, and interdependence with the **areas beyond the areas** on the EU borders.
5. Last, the **migration** crisis is analyzed as example of the EU's crisis management.

Concepts & Questions

What's a *Crisis*?

What's *Crisis management*

What's *the EU*?

Who's there at *the EU borders*?

What's *Crisis*?

A dangerous condition (*) that,
(also) depending on the management response,
ends with either

- **reinforcing**
- **improving**
- **worsening**
- **collapsing**

the existing normalcy and stability of the system

(*) risk, threat, risk & threat

What's *Crisis Management*?

The course of action aimed at minimizing the impact of risk/threat on stability/normalcy

Detection, Sense-making, Decision-making, Actions, Coordination (trans-boundary crisis)
[Early warning & intelligence, crisis rooms, civil protection, civil-military operations, etc]

But crisis may end following the impact of factors independent of the action of the crisis manager
like

- risk/threat depletion or self-defeating process
- third-player (IOs, external states, etc.) action

What's *the EU*?

- **A unique** (seeing the institutional framework, policy-making process, and power-sharing) **international organisation created to *coordinate* the MSs' policies and actions?**
and/or
- **A polity created to *integrate* the MSs' political system and society?**

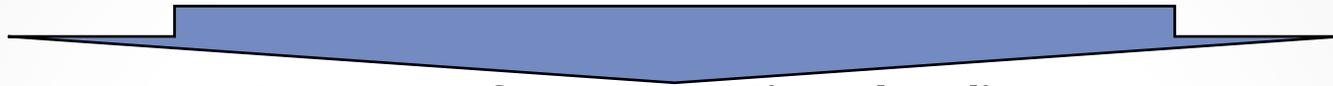
Empowered to act beyond the external borders?

The pendulum of policy-making in EC/EU (Wallace)

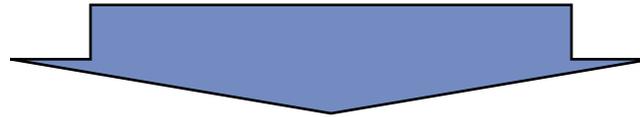
Inadequacy of state

Globalisation

Specificity of Europe



Pressures for transnational policy



Creation of EC/EU and European institutions.

But ideas and interests confront each other in policy-making

Dissonant national policies

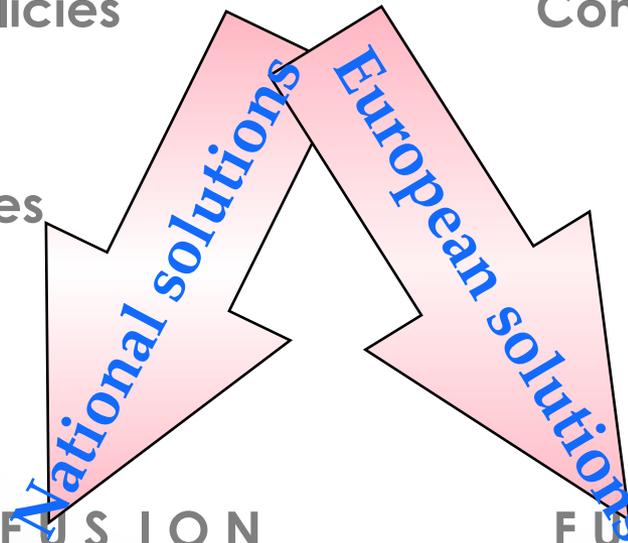
Congruent national policies

Diverse ideas

Shared ideas

Country-level polities

Partial European polity



D I F F U S I O N

F U S I O N

IO

POLITY

THE PRESENT EU POLICY-MAKING

- The last reform treaties, especially the Lisbon Treaty,
1. took the **European Council** to the top of the policy-making
 2. dis-empowered the **Commission** of the initiative rights
 3. strengthened the connection between the **European Council and the Parliament**: the heads of government and the MEPs of the parties in charge of government in the MSs share concern in forwarding the voter interests.

A tortuous journey towards unknown destination
[from integration to Europeanization, to coordination]

? missing destination?

What's at *the EU borders*?

Neighbours (states, civilizations, ... ?)

- economically, politically, and culturally alike / **unlike**
- stable / unstable ?
- friend / unfriendly ?

How does the EU regard the
space beyond (and itself)?

...

The European construction of the nearby space has been triggered by **economic interests** and the recurring **enlargement process**

Association agreements, MIP, EMP, ENP, UfM

... rescuing the colonial relationship ... along rescuing the European states

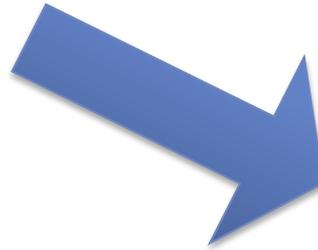
... enlargement: the question of “Europe’s borderline”, and the rhetoric of the “circle of friends”.

2 - How does the EU regard itself and the space beyond?

EU reproduces its own **ideal self** as stable, secure, and peaceful, and attempts to **disseminate** Western values and interests.

The **space beyond** is a **source of threats**, in need of EU engagement due to **proximity and interdependence**.

- **Technocratic**
 - standards and benchmarks
- **Depoliticizing**
 - neglecting the political agency of the locals, especially opposition groups, and non-co-opted civil society actors
- increasingly **securitised**



The EU approach

**positive &
negative
conditionality**

- Hard recognizing the existence of a clear **EU policy about the balanced use of conditionality**

- In the period 2003–2017, the EU's approach has been mainly about marking the EU's borders (see Frontex), thus creating a peaceful inside and a dangerous outside
- in the recent ENP documents, emphasis is on border control and managed migration
- ... **Converting neighbouring countries into the European border *mark*** [see refugees and migrants]

the securitized approach

ESS, the Global Strategy, and the ENP texts

Conclusions 22 and 23 June 2017

“ Today the *European Council* focused on strengthening Europe and **protecting its citizens** through effective measures

1. to **fight terrorism** and develop its **common security and defence**,
2. to ensure its economic development in a globalised world,
3. to tackle **migration** and
4. to **protect its external borders.** “



Crises at the EU borders

- State crisis
 - North
- State failure
 - South
- Armed conflicts
 - South & North
- Mass migration and refugee crises
 - From the stateless South
- Upsurge of terrorism and **protracted** & scattered **insurgency**

3 - Crises at the EU borders?

a special and singular area of the world?

Sources

- **conditions hard to remove** like ethnicity, religious identity and sectarianism, weak/missing economic development, lack of social opportunities, etc.
- **technologies** giving to actors opportunities of movement, repositioning and adaptation to local and distant circumstances
- **mass communication** available to the collective actors that promote insurgencies

Protracted & Scattered Insurgency

In the current world, violent conflicts have moved away from large scale/short duration inter-state wars to long duration/regional and local intrastate, extrastate, nonstate, civil wars.

Stability rests on the state's monopoly on coercion and on political legitimacy.

- **the Arab Spring destabilized several dictatorships that had long seemed immune to change.**
- **Is internal (in-)stability influenced by external environment and actors?**

Insurgence & State stability

Classical studies associate stability to democracy.

Recent contributions maintain that stability can be a feature of authoritarian systems.

EU's regional crisis management

- **Colonial heritage**
 - **Europe as an outsider**

- **Heterogeneity**
 - **North / South**
 - **East and West**

- **Discrepancy**
 - **between the EU and MSs policy (vertical incoherence)**

4 - EU's regional crisis management Obstacles

- **Ukraine**
- **Libya**
- **The Israel-Palestine problem**
- **Migration**

- **The Gulf States**
 - huge investments (in contrast to the EU's limited funds)
- **China**
 - increasing trade & investments
- **The United States**
 - long-time presence (bilateralism)
- **Russia**
 - long-time presence (bilateralism)

The increasing presence of external powers

They challenge the EU presence and make visible the limits

the EU should

- increase its outreach to partners in sub-Saharan Africa, the Sahel region, the Gulf

- include relevant non-state partners like the Arab League, Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), GCC, the African Union, the Arab Maghreb Union, etc.

- play globally (at the UN ?)

Beyond the geographic boundaries

- **Africa-EU Partnership**

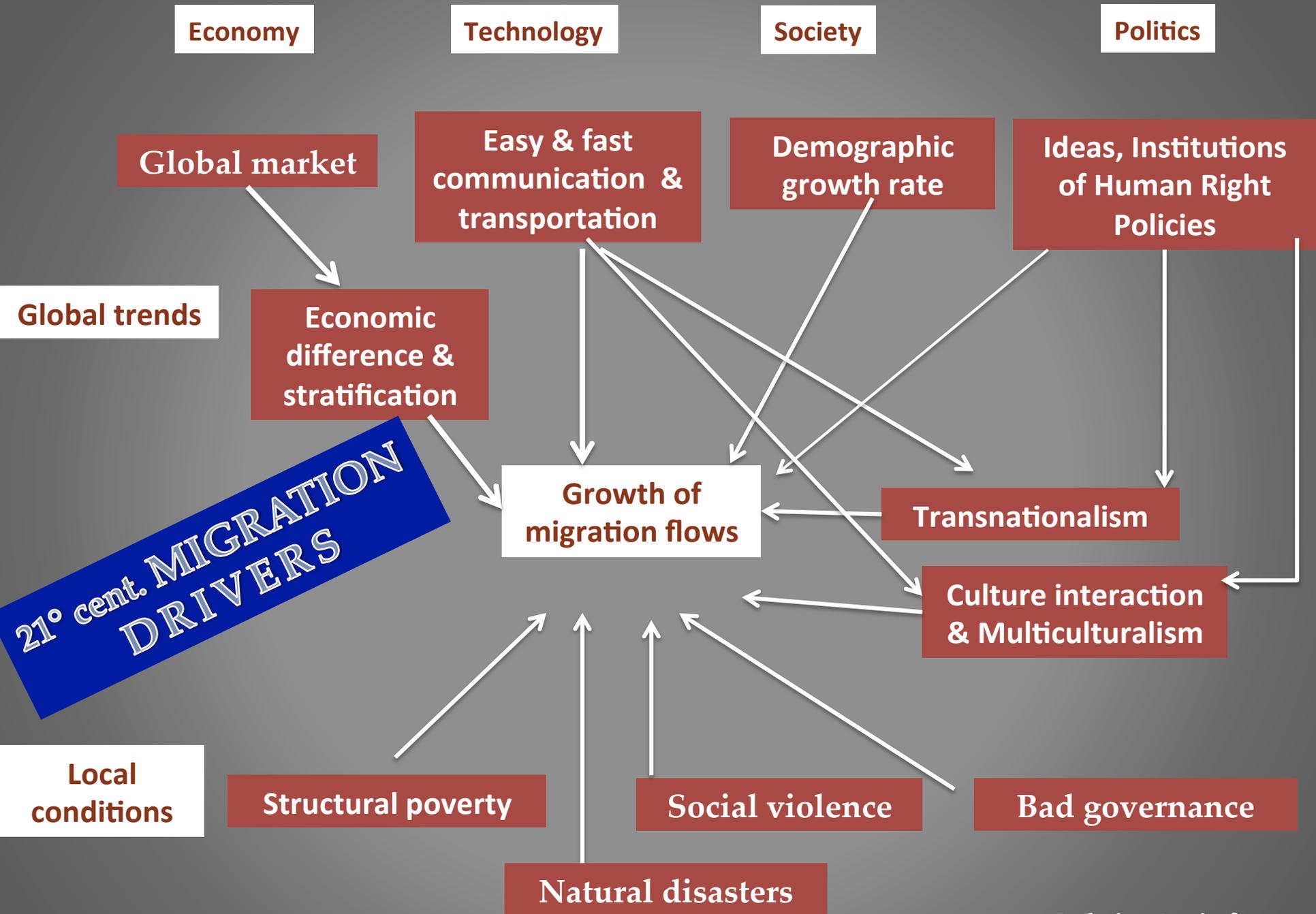
Joint Communication "Africa-EU Partnership: a renewed impetus"

Council conclusions (19 June 2017)

- *" The EU and its Member States are committed to contributing concrete actions at continental, regional and national level, to build **more resilient states and societies** and create **more and better jobs**, especially for youth. "*
- *" ... shared interest in **migration and mobility management** cooperation in view of its economic, security-related and social impact between and within our continents. "*

The migration crisis

...



Pulling people towards Europe

Family &
community
links

Chance for
earning
unskilled job

Social welfare
-
Human rights
protection

Pre-2011
permissive
policies
towards
irregulars

Economy

Technology

Society

Politics

**Europe (EU & MSs)
pre-2008 crisis**

Euronomics

De-bordering

Multiculturalism

**Soft border
policies**

**Europe (EU & MSs)
post-2008 crisis**

**Recession &
budget cut**

**Smart border
control**

**Anti-foreignness
& xenophobia**

**Populism &
ethnicism**

The context

- **global & local drivers**
- **pull factors & post-2008 EU**
- **migrants as threat**
- **anti-immigration parties**
- **mainstream parties chasing the anti-immigration parties**

The crisis management phases

1. **Conventional response (2011 – 2013)**
2. **Mare Nostrum (October 2013 - October 2014)**
3. **EU-Turn and the comprehensive approach (November 2014–September 2015)**
4. **Fencing-the-EU (October 2015 – on)**

The EU leaders' tortuous process of crisis management-making ended with decisions and actions to **repel migrants** by

- **strict border control**
- **restricting legal ways of immigration**
- **external refugee aid (migration compacts)**

The MS governments either downsize or omit executing the EU measures, i.e. **state-customize the common management.**

The citizens **like the state-custom** management.

The *(quasi)zero immigration management assessed*

It is **inapt** to achieving the expected results under the pressure of the root causes of migration

It is **inconsistent** with the principle of well-managed immigration and at odds with the needs of the European economies.

It **conflicts** with Europe's open society values and the political culture of inclusive democracy

Inefficiency and corruption of partner countries. They benefit from letting unemployed and opposing citizens leave the country

Important economic sectors need the labour intensive and low paid jobs the Europeans disdain to do.

This has negative impact on the civic values of the European societies, and takes these societies out of global society trends.

The new normal

Conclusions

- 1. The EU as much as the world political institutions and main global powers are incapable to face the global crises.**
- 2. The current turbulent world heads towards a macro-decision about the future shape of the world.**