EUROMF EZA SEMINAR 1 OCTOBER 2015

"Migrants in Europe & European policies"

or

"Working with the mess we are in"

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THE HAGUE

“A tin of beans has more freedom to travel the world than a person does”

May 2015, Claire Melamed. http://www.odi.org/comment/9538-migration-capitalism-immigration-trade-freedoms

Structure of Presentation

1. The Mess we're in
2. Migrants in the EU
3. Global Apartheid
4. One Possible Solution

1.

The Mess we're in

Migrants? Refugees?

In the Cold War context—for the West, refugees like Vietnamese boat people, Romanians, Czechoslovakians, all viewed as victims of **communism**, able to make a claim (at that time politically acceptable) to enter and settle, on humanitarian grounds, not because of economic or labour needs of the host country. They became migrant workers in any case.

Fox, Jon E., Laura Moroşanu, and Eszter Szilassy. "The racialization of the new European migration to the UK." Sociology (2012)

Forced Migrants to Migrant Workers

Migrants or Refugees?

"…the policy distinction between refugee and migrant is in many ways an artificial construction"

My Suggestion: separating people in these 2 categories across the EU weakens BOTH rights of migrant workers and rights of refugees.

From: Katy Long When refugees stopped being migrants: Movement, labour and humanitarian protection, Migration Studies, 1(1): 4–26, p. 8:
ttp://migration.oxfordjournals.org/content/1/1/4.full.pdf+html

Migrants? Refugees?

All need same things – secure livelihood, decent work, family life, citizenship, welfare.

All need the basic rights trade unions struggle to protect, as well as dignity, respect and a decent life.

EU Crisis is a crisis of Migration and Refugee Policy

http://www.bbc.com/news/34241575

This shows that it is no picnic to be an asylum migrant. Nobody who does not have to does this.

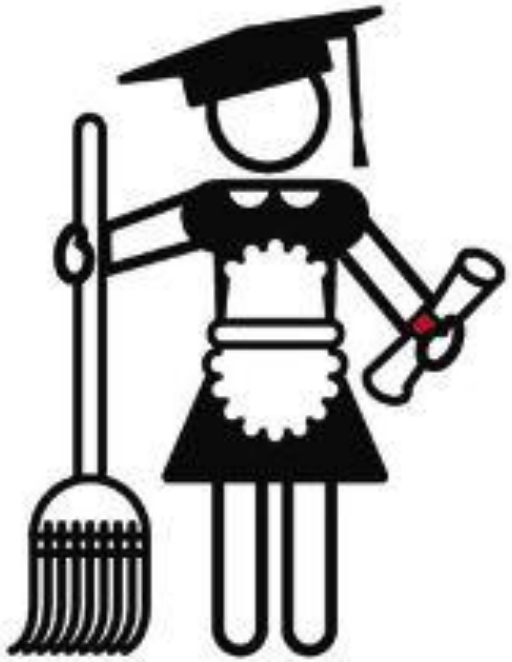
They too will be migrant workers one day

2.

Migrants in the EU

Wir sind das Wir

www.migrantas.org



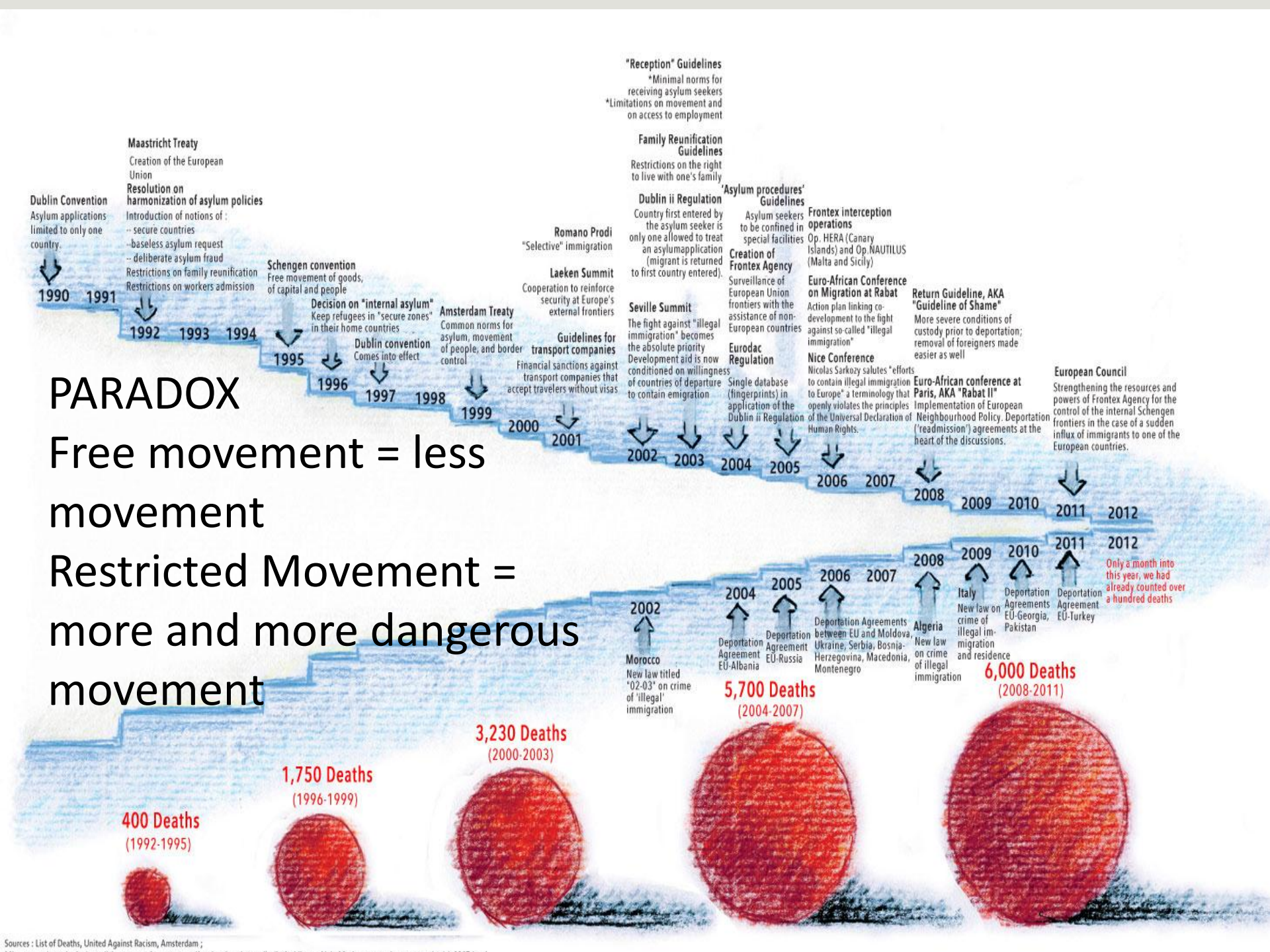
Migrant's job

Labour Migrants inside EU

"Europe has built a fortress around itself to protect itself from 'illegal' immigration from the South" (1)

And for migrants inside the Fortress – 2 apects:

- - PARADOX OF FREE MOVEMENT pressure to move when it is not allowed; once it is allowed, pressure reduced since migrants can COME AND GO (esp. in Schengen)
- - new forms of xenophobia and racism arise in politics, media, across EU. Migrant issues part of workers' claims to rights, but also see rise of reactive nationalisms in sending countries…
- - (1) PHILIPPE REKACEWICZ, OCTOBER 2013, LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, http://mondediplo.com/blogs/mapping-europe-s-war-on-immigration


Dublin Convention
Asylum applications limited to only one country.
1990
1991
Maastricht Treaty
Creation of the European Union
Resolution on harmonization of asylum policies
Introduction of notions of :
-- secure countries
--baseless asylum request
-- deliberate asylum fraud
Restrictions on family reunification
Restrictions on workers admission
1992
1993
1994
Schengen convention
Free movement of goods, of capital and people
1995
Decision on "internal asylum"
Keep refugees in "secure zones" in their home countries
1996
Dublin convention
Comes into effect
1997
1998
Amsterdam Treaty
Common norms for asylum, movement of people, and border control
1999
2000
Romano Prodi
"Selective" immigration
Laeken Summit
Cooperation to reinforce security at Europe's external frontiers
Guidelines for transport companies
Financial sanctions against transport companies that accept travelers without visas
2001
"Reception" Guidelines
*Minimal norms for receiving asylum seekers
*Limitations on movement and on access to employment
Family Reunification Guidelines
Restrictions on the right to live with one's family
Dublin ii Regulation
Country first entered by the asylum seeker is only one allowed to treat an asylumapplication (migrant is returned to first country entered).
Seville Summit
The fight against "illegal immigration" becomes the absolute priority
Development aid is now conditioned on willingness of countries of departure to contain emigration
2002
2003
'Asylum procedures' Guidelines
Asylum seekers to be confined in special facilities
Creation of Frontex Agency
Surveillance of European Union frontiers with the assistance of non-European countries
Eurodac Regulation
Single database (fingerprints) in application of the Dublin ii Regulation
2004
2005
Frontex interception operations
Op. HERA (Canary Islands) and Op.NAUTILUS (Malta and Sicily)
Euro-African Conference on Migration at Rabat
Action plan linking co-development to the fight against so-called "illegal immigration"
Nice Conference
Nicolas Sarkozy salutes "efforts to contain illegal immigration to Europe" a terminology that openly violates the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
2006
2007
Return Guideline, AKA "Guideline of Shame"
More severe conditions of custody prior to deportation; removal of foreigners made easier as well
Euro-African conference at Paris, AKA "Rabat II"
Implementation of European Neighbourhood Policy. Deportation ('readmission') agreements at the heart of the discussions.
2008
2009
2010
European Council
Strengthening the resources and powers of Frontex Agency for the control of the internal Schengen frontiers in the case of a sudden influx of immigrants to one of the European countries.
2011
2012
PARADOX
Free movement = less movement
Restricted Movement = more and more dangerous movement
2002
Morocco
New law titled "02-03" on crime of 'illegal' immigration
2004
Deportation Agreement EU-Albania
2005
Deportation Agreement EU-Russia
2006
Deportation Agreements between EU and Moldova, Ukraine, Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, Montenegro
2007
2008
Algeria
New law on crime of illegal immigration
2009
Italy
New law on crime of illegal immigration and residence
2010
Deportation Agreements EU-Georgia, Pakistan
2011
Deportation Agreement EU-Turkey
2012
Only a month into this year, we had already counted over a hundred deaths
400 Deaths
(1992-1995)
1,750 Deaths
(1996-1999)
3,230 Deaths
(2000-2003)
5,700 Deaths
(2004-2007)
6,000 Deaths
(2008-2011)
Sources : List of Deaths, United Against Racism, Amsterdam ;

Labour Migrants inside EU

‘Post-communist’ countries citizens formerly accepted as refugees during Cold War, later suffered as migrants, and came to be ‘racialized’, with references to numbers, ‘flooding’, crime, diseases and even taking jobs of European beggars!

Sources:

From: Katy Long When refugees stopped being migrants: Movement, labour and humanitarian protection, Migration Studies, 1(1): 4–26, p. 20: ttp://migration.oxfordjournals.org/content/1/1/4.full.pdf+html

Migration & Racism pre-EU

"The British approach to immigration control has at times relied on identifying both racially desirable and undesirable migrants. Before the Second World War, East European Jews were excluded on racialized grounds"

Fox et al, 2012: 3.

Migration and Racism within EU

Racism

Antisemitism

Romaphobia/Anti-Gypsyism

Islamophobia

Homophobia

Xenophobia

Disablism

Terrorism

Nationalism and Fascism

Are all forces that limit labour migrants' rights ***in general***

Labour Migrants inside EU

Somewhat similar that Bulgarians and Romanians post-Cold War in UK especially but also some other countries were:

"…symbolically denuded of their whiteness by an immigration policy that refused to recognize them as full Europeans with the associated rights (and colour) such a status would have otherwise availed them",

Fox, Jon E., Laura Moroşanu, and Eszter Szilassy. "The racialization of the new European migration to the UK." Sociology (2012): 0038038511425558.

Labour Migrants inside EU

No wonder that:

"According to Eurostat data agency 96 per cent of Romanian migrants to EU countries choose destinations other than the UK" !

ÁLLAMHATÁR
STATE BORDER
STAATSGRENZE

Migration and Securitisation

Today “we are….told…it is reasonable and acceptable to discriminate for our own good…in the interests of national security...[alongside]…better policies of ‘integration’”

BUT “…***it is now important to ask what it means to demand that immigrants and minorities integrate into societies that see them as potential threats to their people’s security”***

Lentin, Alana (2005) “Racism, Antisemitism, Xenophobia and Intolerance Today”, in *Committed to Making a Difference,* Symposium Report, Ingried Ramberg, Council of Europe, pp. 27-37, quote pp. 30-31.

3.

Global Apartheid

People and Things

"While things are increasingly free to move around the world, the opposite is true for people"

May 2015, Claire Melamed. http://www.odi.org/comment/9538-migration-capitalism-immigration-trade-freedoms

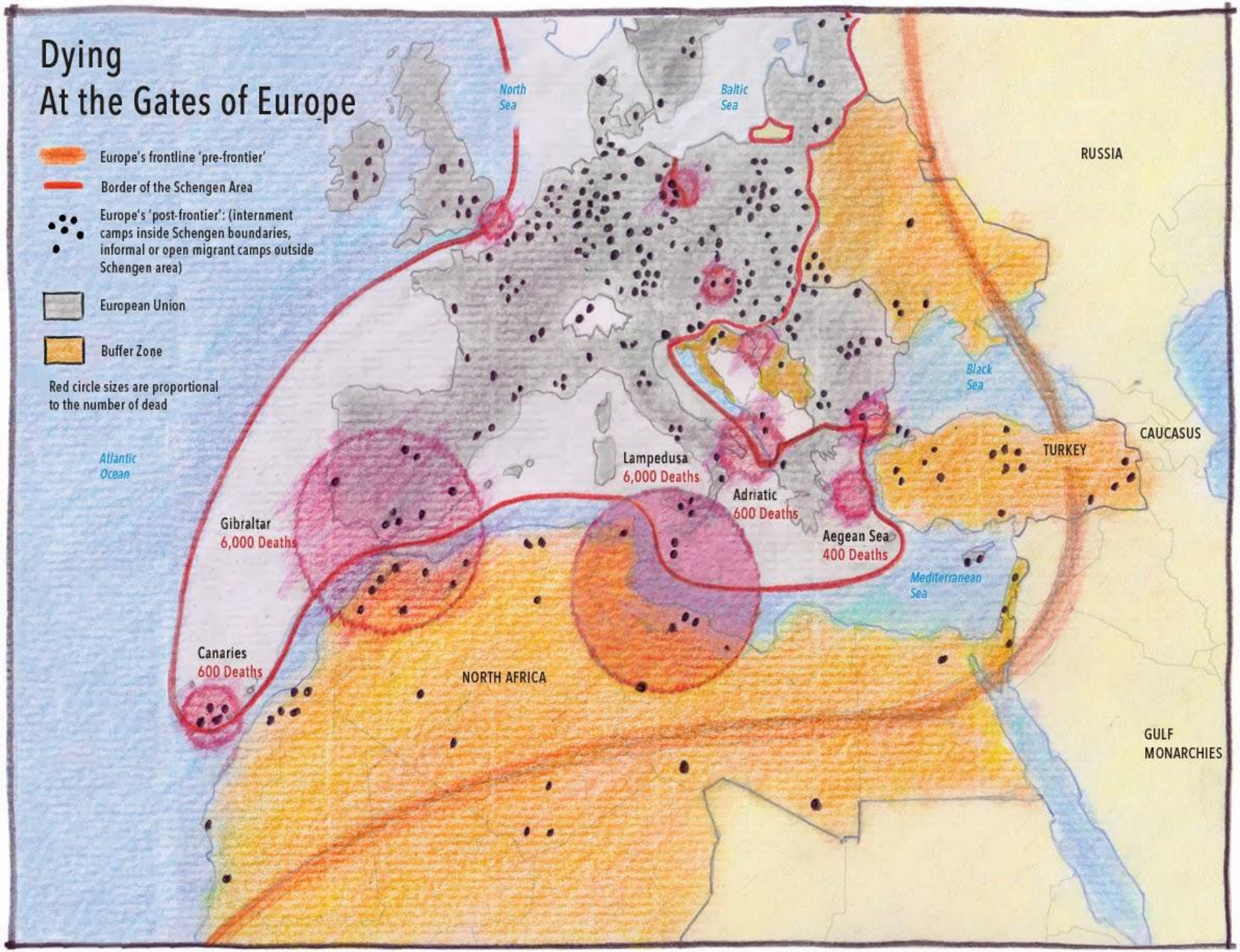
Migrant Workers and Deportation

- 2014- 161 309 third-country nationals deported to countries outside EU, similar number in 2013.
- UK the largest number of returns (36 313)
- Greece effected returns 2014, especially Albanians.
- Migrant workers affected as well as failed asylum seekers – the two are not separate except legally and in policy terms (not in reality)

- Frontex report 2014, p. 7.

Migreurop report 2010, p. 39

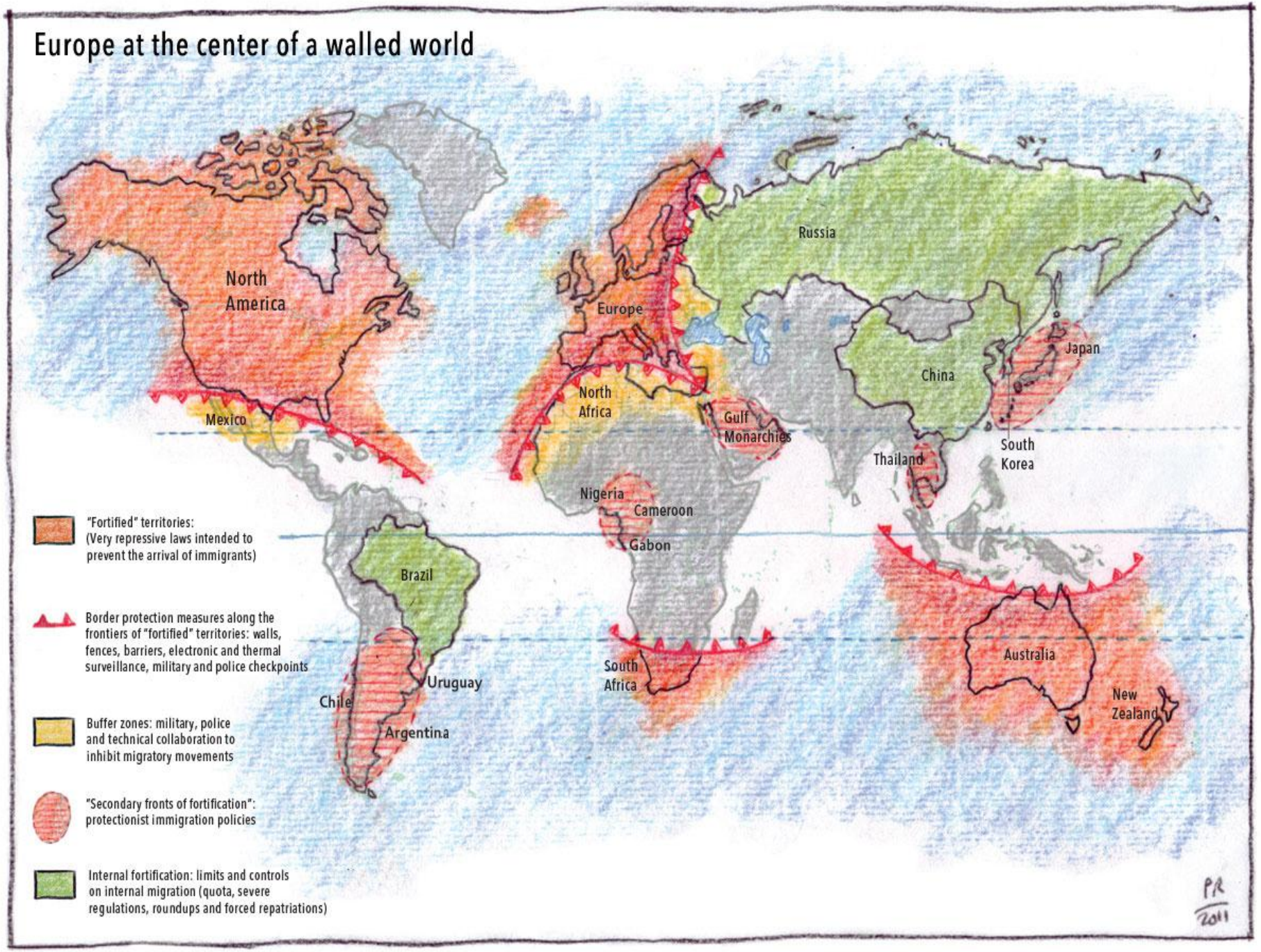
"Shape-shifting and multi-functional…camps, like the new…walls of shame, are a symptom of an evil which did not disappear with the fall of the Berlin Wall: the privileging of…national [?] interest over respect for human rights",


Dying
At the Gates of Europe
Europe's frontline 'pre-frontier'
Border of the Schengen Area
Europe's 'post-frontier': (internment camps inside Schengen boundaries, informal or open migrant camps outside Schengen area)
European Union
Buffer Zone
Red circle sizes are proportional to the number of dead
Atlantic Ocean
North Sea
Baltic Sea
RUSSIA
Black Sea
CAUCASUS
TURKEY
Lampedusa
6,000 Deaths
Adriatic
600 Deaths
Aegean Sea
400 Deaths
Mediterranean Sea
Gibraltar
6,000 Deaths
Canaries
600 Deaths
NORTH AFRICA
GULF MONARCHIES

Migration & Apartheid

Like colonial surveillance, today's strategy is to ***screen entire groups of people out of entitlements and benefits, enforcing unequal life chances***, this time in the hope of preventing future cross-border movements…except for those defined as highly skilled expats, desired migrants

Operates inside *and* outside the EU


Europe at the center of a walled world
North America
Mexico
Europe
North Africa
Russia
China
Japan
South Korea
Thailand
Gulf Monarchies
Nigeria
Cameroon
Gabon
Brazil
Uruguay
Chile
Argentina
South Africa
Australia
New Zealand
"Fortified" territories: (Very repressive laws intended to prevent the arrival of immigrants)
Border protection measures along the frontiers of "fortified" territories: walls, fences, barriers, electronic and thermal surveillance, military and police checkpoints
Buffer zones: military, police and technical collaboration to inhibit migratory movements
"Secondary fronts of fortification": protectionist immigration policies
Internal fortification: limits and controls on internal migration (quota, severe regulations, roundups and forced repatriations)
PR
2011

Migration - Apartheid - Containment

containment, = those various interventions and technologies that seek to restrict or manage the circulation of incomplete and hence potentially threatening life, or return it from whence it came".

Mark Duffield (2008) "Global Civil War: The Non-Insured, International Containment and Post-Interventionary Society", Journal of Refugee Studies Vol. 21, No. 2: 145-165, p. 146.

4.

One possible solution

Open *ALL* EU Borders & Allow Work

- = smuggling rackets will no longer make profits

- = traffickers less impunity re. undocumented
- = helps trade unions, lawyers protect workers rights
- = migrants can enter but also leave and later return
-
- = helps promote training, work, savings, family life

Open ***ALL*** EU Borders & Allow Work

- **= Non-EU migrants would stop being *locked in***
- = across refugees-migrants distinction more solidarity
- = more labour circulatory migration and life-cycle
- = reduces cost for EU States of ILO Convention
- (Migrant Workers and their Families)

Need global solutions for global problems

Some interesting reading

http://www.odi.org/comment/9538-migration-capitalism-immigration-trade-freedoms

Philippe Rekacewicz, *Le Monde Diplomatique*, October 2013, : http://mondediplo.com/blogs/mapping-europe-s-war-on-immigration

http://blog.mondediplo.net/2014-03-28-Mourir-aux-portes-de-l-Europe

http://www.odi.org/comment/9488-migration-priority-development-aid-sdgs

Mark Duffield (2008) "Global Civil War: The Non-Insured, International Containment and Post-Interventionary Society*", Journal of Refugee Studies* Vol. 21, No. 2: 145-165, p. 154).

Katy Long When refugees stopped being migrants: Movement, labour and humanitarian protection, Migration Studies, 1(1): 4–26, p. 8: ttp://migration.oxfordjournals.org/content/1/1/4.full.pdf+html

Nils Muiznieks, "Crisis in the Mediterranean: Europe must change course" by, *Open Security,* 22 April 2015 at: https://www.opendemocracy.net/opensecurity/nils-mui%C5%BEnieks/crisis-in-mediterranean-europe-must-change-course [accessed 10 May 2015].

Helen Hintjens, Richa Kumar and Ahmed Pouri (2011) "Pro-asylum Advocacy in the EU: Challenging the State of Exception", in Truong and Gasper (eds) *Transnational Migration and Human Security*, Springer.

Fox, Jon E., Laura Moroşanu, and Eszter Szilassy. "The racialization of the new European migration to the UK." Sociology (2012).