



# PAPERS BARCELONA 2018 CONFERENCE

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## ■ Panel 52: Framing Migration in EU's Mediterranean Neighbourhood

*Chair:* Ferruccio Pastore (FIERI)

*Discussant:* Michael Collyer (Sussex University)

### ***Panel Abstract:***

Migration and mobility represent an ever more vital but highly contentious field of governance in Euro-Mediterranean relations. Euro–Mediterranean cooperation in this policy area has long been characterized by fundamental divergences of views, interests and approaches, not only between the two shores of the Mediterranean, but also among institutional and civil society actors on each side of the Mediterranean. These divergences in policy frames (Boswell et al. 2011) have too often been overlooked, thus hampering cooperation in this crucial area of policy. This has left ample room for the prevalence of unilateral and bilateral security-oriented migration strategies pursued both at the European level and at the bilateral level by some Member States. The limited involvement of Mediterranean countries in the elaboration of cooperation initiatives in the area of migration and mobility has de facto resulted in a lack of ownership, often leading to outcomes that are unsatisfactory for all the parties involved. This research panel aims to develop a more sophisticated and detailed knowledge and awareness about the diverse frames, conceptions and priorities of a variety of stakeholders with regard to migration and mobility issues in the Mediterranean space, focusing on local stakeholders in three Southern and Eastern Mediterranean (SEM) countries (Morocco, Tunisia and Turkey) and among them on those actors who are generally excluded from Euro-Mediterranean dialogue and decision-making – i.e., civil society and grassroots organizations. This panel draws upon the preliminary outcomes of the ongoing H2020 MEDRESET project ([www.medreset.eu](http://www.medreset.eu)), in particular of its WP7 on migration and mobility. The three papers presented are based on extensive fieldwork carried out in the framework of this project in Morocco, Tunisia and Turkey, in summer/fall 2017.

### ***Paper 1:***

*Authors:* Emanuela Roman (FIERI)

*Title:* Migration frames in SEM countries: The case of Tunisia

After repeated failed attempts to reform its dysfunctional “internal” architecture, the “external” dimension has become the real cornerstone of the EU’s migration strategy. In spite of routine rhetorical references to its cooperative and partnership-based nature, the external dimension policymaking remains essentially unilateral and top-down. Civil societies of sending and transit countries, in particular, tend to be excluded from planning and negotiation. This approach is problematic, if only

because it leaves the EU external migration policy with thin and fragile consensus bases, and therefore it increases its already serious effectiveness deficiencies. Better understanding the policy frames (Boswell et al. 2011, Snow and Benford 1988) and priorities of “partner” countries’ stakeholders vis-à-vis EU migration policies is therefore an important task, so far neglected by both policy and research. Based on extensive fieldwork carried out in the context of the MEDRESET project, this paper contributes to fill this gap by focusing on the case of Tunisia. Since the 2011 uprisings, Tunisia has become an increasingly crucial partner for the EU’s migration management policies in the Central Mediterranean. Tunisia also represents an interesting case study of a country engaged in a demanding process of democratic transition, struggling with the challenges of unemployment and terrorism, but with a vibrant, active and self-confident civil society. An increased knowledge of alternative policy frames may have relevant policy implications, possibly leading to rethinking and reshaping the dominant EU external migration policy approaches in the Mediterranean.

### ***Paper 2:***

*Authors:* Nouredine Harrami (Meknes University)

*Title:* Les politiques migratoires au Maroc : les acteurs et les modalités de construction

D’une gestion basée sur les « arrangements » et les accords interétatiques s’agissant de la migration en partance du pays, et de renseignement pour ce qui est de la communauté marocaine installée à l’étranger, le Maroc ne cesse de lisser et d’explicitier juridiquement ses dispositifs de gouvernance de la migration. La décennie 1990 va voir se développer au Maroc une politique d’accompagnement culturel, religieux et économique de ses migrations à l’étranger. L’objectif étant de préserver la loyauté des Marocains envers les institutions de l’Etat et par là garantir l’apport économique de ces migrations au pays. En même temps, sous la pression de l’UE, le pays va être doté d’une loi très répressive envers la migration irrégulière. A partir de 2011, le Maroc adoucit cette approche répressive de contrôle vis-à-vis des migrations irrégulières sortantes ou de transit. Des politiques et dispositifs tournés vers l’intégration et « soucieuses » des droits des migrants sont mis en place. Comment s’est effectuée cette évolution ? Quels sont les acteurs et les logiques qui animent ces politiques? A quels calculs et considérations internationales obéissent-elles? Ces questions constituent l’ossature de notre présentation.

### ***Paper 3:***

*Authors:* Asli Selin Okyay (Insituto Affari Internazionali IAI)

*Title:* Framing migration in Turkey: The perspective of civil society actors

In the face of the 2015 “refugee crisis” and upon the completion of the EU-Turkey Statement of 18 March 2016, Turkey turned into the “poster child” of “partnership” with third countries, on which EU external migration policies are built. Despite numerous criticisms on its legality and effectiveness, the success of the cooperation mechanism was praised and promoted by the EU and its Member states as a model of effective partnership with a third country in the “joint” management of irregular migration and the provision of international protection. The “deal” has also fully dominated the migration- and mobility-related relations (and beyond) between the two parties at the state level. Is it “the” issue for non-state actors in Turkey? Is it a success story? While one frequently hears the assessments of institutional actors in both the EU and Turkey, not as much is known on how the migration- and mobility-related policy landscape looks like from the perspective of civil society stakeholders, who are,

more often than not, better suited to bring in the local experiences and the bottom-up approaches. Based on interviews conducted with civil society actors in Turkey, this paper will shed some light on this missing and important piece of the picture, with an ultimate view to providing insights that can contribute to the development of more inclusive, bottom-up, and pluri-vocal policies and cooperation mechanisms between the EU and Turkey in the field of migration and mobility.

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