
**Migrations and Revolutions:
Reflections on the Recent Events in North Africa
from an International Relations Perspective**

Emanuela Paoletti

October 2011



**Center for Migrations
and Citizenship**

The Institut français des relations internationales (Ifri) is a research center and a forum for debate on major international political and economic issues.

Headed by Thierry de Montbrial since its founding in 1979, Ifri is a non-governmental and a non-profit organization.

As an independent think tank, Ifri sets its own research agenda, publishing its findings regularly for a global audience.

Using an interdisciplinary approach, Ifri brings together political and economic decision-makers, researchers and internationally renowned experts to animate its debate and research activities.

With offices in Paris and Brussels, Ifri stands out as one of the rare French think tanks to have positioned itself at the very heart of European debate.

*The opinions expressed in this text
are the responsibility of the author alone.*

ISBN: 978-2-86592-949-8
© All rights reserved, Ifri, 2011

IFRI
27, RUE DE LA PROCESSION
75740 PARIS CEDEX 15 – FRANCE
Tel: +33 (0)1 40 61 60 00
Fax: +33 (0)1 40 61 60 60
Email: ifri@ifri.org

IFRI-BRUXELLES
RUE MARIE-THERESE, 21
1000 – BRUXELLES – BELGIQUE
Tel: +32 (0)2 238 51 10
Fax: +32 (0)2 238 51 15
Email: info.bruxelles@ifri.org

WEBSITE: ifri.org

Author

Emanuela Paoletti is Fulford Junior Research Fellow in International Relations. She completed her PhD at the Oxford Department of International Development (ODID). Her doctoral research on Italian-Libyan relations published with Palgrave Macmillan examines the negotiations on migration between Italy and Libya.

After her PhD E. Paoletti worked at the Refugee Studies Centre (RSC) on the Deportation and Citizenship project with Matthew Gibney and Bridget Anderson and subsequently at the International Migration Institute also at ODID. Here she worked on the Global Migration Futures project which aims to assess future global migration trends and their effects on European receiving countries and sending countries through the elaboration of scenarios. Overall she has published extensively with academic journals such as *Political Studies* and the *Journal of North African Studies*. Previously, E. Paoletti worked at DAI Europe, a private economic development consultancy based in London. She also worked in Brussels first at the European Commission and then as a Consultant on for the Italian National Agency for Public Administration. Her academic background combines International Relations and Development Studies. In 2002 she obtained her undergraduate degree from the University of Wales, Aberystwyth and in 2003 she completed the Master in Development Management at the London School of Economics. She is fluent in English and Italian, has an intermediate knowledge of French and is learning Arabic.

Contents

INTRODUCTION.....	3
THE EMPIRICAL BACKGROUND.....	5
CHANGING DYNAMICS IN EU-NORTH AFRICA RELATIONS?	8
EU Member States vis-à-vis North African countries	8
Relations between the European Commission and third countries	12
Relations among European Member States	15
CONCLUSION	18
REFERENCES.....	20
Books	20
Articles.....	20
Reports	22

Introduction

The promise of democracy enshrined in the 'Arab Spring' has been accompanied by significant developments in migration flows across North Africa and to Europe (Pascouau, 2011 and Fargues, 2011). With political turmoil sweeping across North Africa and the Middle East, hundreds of thousands of persons, mainly from Libya, have been displaced since January 2011. Related to this, the political order of the region has altered as key international actors rescinded their alliances with despotic rulers and took the side of pro-democracy protesters. According to some, the fight against now-former dictators attests to the growing relevance of human rights in foreign policy¹. As Anne-Marie Slaughter has eloquently argued, in the case of Libya, supporting democracy and human rights was in western interests (Slaughter, 2011). The skeptics, in her view, must now admit that the real choice in Libya is between temporary stability and the illusion of control, or fluidity in the name of much larger forces based on principles of democracy and civil society. This, she continues, has pushed both Western and Arab governments into taking a more comprehensive approach than straight geo-strategic logic would dictate. In brief, it is argued that ongoing events in North Africa expose important elements of discontinuity in terms of the principles and practices of statecraft. This is the opening hypothesis of the text to follow, which elaborates on the relationship between putative changes in the international arena and evolving migration trends and policies in the Euro-Mediterranean region between January and September 2011. Accordingly, I ask two interrelated questions: to what extent have political upheavals across North Africa affected migration trends and policies in the Euro-Mediterranean context? And, how can we understand the relation between the gradual repositioning of international dynamics and broad migration trends between the European Union, its Member States, and individual North African countries?

In establishing a link between migration and political change from the angle of international relations, I examine the multiple modes of collaboration between the following actors: the European Union, European Member States, and North African countries, where I focus

¹ See *The Economist* (2011, August 25). "A modest win for liberal internationalism". American Politics, Democracy in America, <<http://www.economist.com/blogs/democracyinamerica/2011/08/libya-1>>. Last accessed 11 September 2011.

on Libya, Tunisia and Egypt. To do so, I document and compare how selected European states have repositioned themselves towards North Africa and concurrent developments in their migration policies.

The paper is divided into three sections. First, I sketch migration trends in North Africa between January and September 2011 and compare these with data over, roughly, the last four years. In the second section, I investigate overlapping modes of collaboration between EU and North African countries, identifying three levels of interaction: (1) between individual European Member States and Libya, Egypt and Tunisia; (2) between the European Commission and the three selected Northern African countries; and (3) migration policies among individual EU Member States. In the last section, I draw tentative conclusions on the impact of migration on foreign policy and vice-versa in the light of recent events and reflect on the broader relationship between migration and political change.

Before turning to the analysis, two provisos on methodology and generalizability are warranted. First, to examine the links between migration and international relations in the context of political turmoil across North Africa in 2011, I rely on official sources drawn from, inter alia, Italian parliamentary debates and documents from the European Commission and European Parliament. This excludes a plethora of other accounts, such as those of non-state actors and unofficial accounts captured in interviews, for example. Second, at the time of writing the turmoil in the region remains an unfinished story. The post-revolutionary political processes underway in Libya, Tunisia, and Egypt are as hazy as they are conflict-ridden. Furthermore, domestic instability in, for example, Syria and Yemen are even more bewildering, both in terms of the international response and the broader implications for migration trends and policies. Therefore, the interpretative framework being advanced herein is intended to offer an exploratory contribution towards more systematic research into continuing political events in the Euro-Mediterranean region.

The Empirical Background

Since the outbreak of protest in North Africa in December 2010, migration flows to Europe and across North Africa have changed in significant respects. To unpack these developments, I will review the available data following a two-pronged approach². First, I shall compare the number of arrivals to Europe with arrivals across North Africa and the Middle East in 2011. Second, I shall consider arrivals to Europe and across North Africa since 2007. The appreciation of the relative size of migration trends sets the necessary basis for the subsequent sections on differing levels of diplomatic engagement.

Since January 2011, third country nationals fleeing North Africa and on their way to Europe have reached either Italy or Malta. In particular, between January and August 2011, 52,000 people landed in Italy by boat from North Africa, including 27,000 from Libya and the remainder from Tunisia (UNHCR, 2011). The number of people who landed in Malta over the same period is in the order of 1,557³. As data below indicates, the arrivals by sea to Europe recorded during 2011 are high by historical standards although they represent a fraction of those estimated across North Africa.

According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), as of 14 September 2011 a total of 685,744 migrants, broadly defined as third country nationals (TCNs), have crossed Libya's borders into Tunisia and Egypt, as well as into Nigeria and Niger (IOM, 2011). IOM and its partners have helped 208,000 migrants return to their countries of origin (IOM, 2011). In comparing flows across North Africa with those towards Europe, one important feature is already manifested. As of September 2011, the number of TCNs reaching European countries is far below that of people moving across North Africa. As the Commissioner for Human Rights at the Council of Europe, Thomas Hammarberg documented in the report following his visit to Italy on 26-27 May 2011, arrivals from Libya to Italy represent just 2 per cent of people who have left Libya as a

² The employment of available statistics necessitates a word of warning. The manner in which data on both regular and irregular flows is defined, collected, and compared raises substantive questions about reliability and broader representativeness. Because of these limitations, the utilization of such data, which is unavoidable, must be cautious but remains relevant.

³ See *Times of Malta* (2011, September 14). "New Libya 'must adopt asylum system'". <<http://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20110914/local/New-Libya-must-adopt-asylum-system-.384612>>. Last accessed 15 September 2011.

result of the conflict. Indeed, according to the Commissioner's count, as of 7 September 2011, 98 per cent of those leaving Libya crossed land borders into Tunisia, Egypt, Niger, Chad, and Algeria⁴. This observation is relevant in so far as it contextualizes the idea of either a developing or imminent migration crisis for Europe. Notably, risks related to the presumed migration of 'biblical proportions' have been at the center of the European debate (De Haas, 2011). In fact, the emphasis on the unprecedented number of arrivals to Europe misinterprets the migration trends recorded across North Africa.

Similar conclusions can be drawn if we turn to the second level of comparison, that of arrivals in Europe over the last few years. The comparison between regular and irregular arrivals is particularly helpful. With regard to the first, according to Eurostat, in 2008, EU Member States received a total of 3.8 million immigrants but at least 2.3 million emigrants left EU Member States. Compared to 2007, immigration⁵ to EU Member States decreased by 6 per cent and emigration increased by 13 per cent (Eurostat, 2011)⁶. In terms of irregular arrivals, according to the European Commission, in 2009 the number of TCNs with irregular travel documents apprehended at all EU borders was in the order of 570,000 (7 per cent fewer than in 2008), while Member States returned about 250,000 persons to third countries⁷. Compared to such figures, the number of irregular migrants intercepted at the EU's external borders in the south is minor. A report produced by Frontex in 2011 indicates that such interceptions peaked in 2008 with over 55,000 apprehensions (Frontex, 2011: 11). The same is true for Italy. While 37,000 migrants were intercepted at sea in 2008, the number fell to 9,600 in 2009 and to fewer than 3,000 in 2010 (OECD, 2011). Two observations then follow.

⁴ See Council of Europe (2011). *Report by Thomas Hammarberg, Commissioner for Human Rights of the Council of Europe, following his visit to Italy from 26 to 27 May 2011, Strasbourg, 7 September 2011*, Comm DH(2011)26, <<https://wcd.coe.int/wcd/ViewDoc.jsp?id=1826921>>. Last accessed 12 September 2011.

⁵ Eurostat defines immigration as 'the action by which a person establishes his or her usual residence in the territory of a Member State for a period that is, or is expected to be, of at least 12 months, having previously been usually resident in another Member State or a third country'. Conversely, emigration denotes 'the action by which a person, having previously been usually resident in the territory of a Member State, ceases to have his or her usual residence in that Member State for a period that is, or is expected to be, of at least 12 months' (Eurostat, 2010).

⁶ It is important to keep in mind that these figures remain contentious. For instance, according to the OECD, the inflows of foreign populations into EU-24 (including Norway and Switzerland) amounted to 2.8 million in 2004, 2.7 million in 2005, 2.9 in 2006, and 3.3 million in 2007 (OECD, 2011b).

⁷ See European Commission (2011a). Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions Communication on migration, Brussels, 4.5.2011 COM(2011) 248 final: 8-9, <http://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/news/intro/docs/1_EN_ACT_part1_v11.pdf>. Last accessed 15 August 2011.

First, in 2011, arrivals from the coasts of Northern Africa sharply increased compared to similar flows documented in previous years. It is thus reasonable to assert that migration patterns since January 2011 have put the European system of reception of migrants, including asylum seekers, under strain (Frontex, 2011)⁸. This carries implications for my initial analysis. As we shall see, the heightened pressure on European external borders has an impact on the shifting mechanisms of collaboration between the EU, individual European Member States, and third countries. Second, migration flows to Europe since January 2011 are lower than those registered across North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa over the same period. There is more. The numbers have not exceeded overall yearly irregular arrivals to Europe. Despite this, numerous European policymakers have raised the alarm about a 'migration crisis' from North Africa. This tells us that a thorough appreciation of irregular migration needs to be maintained in the long-term. As fear of an emergency is precisely one of the factors that drives the European response to migration policy, I am now led into the terrain of politics.

⁸ See also Council of Europe (2011).

Changing Dynamics in EU-North Africa Relations?

Changing patterns in the international milieu are signaled by two interrelated developments, one pertaining to the modes of engagement between Europe and North African countries, the second to migration policies, whether within the Schengen Area or towards third countries. I shall now review the overlapping patterns of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in response to the events in 2011 with a view to documenting and analyzing mechanisms of political interaction on migration. To do so, I begin by looking at state-to-state relations between selected European Member States – chiefly between France and Italy – towards Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt.

EU Member States vis-à-vis North African countries

While France, Malta, and Italy have been affected differently by migration flows, their actions have remained largely within the scope of bilateral engagement. The outstanding example is Italy.

In order to tackle the escalating influx of irregular migrants from Tunisia, on 5 April 2011, Italy and Tunisia signed an ‘exchange of notes’⁹. This accord with Tunisia, which at the time of writing remains undisclosed, foresees active cooperation, both to prevent irregular arrivals in Italy and to repatriate Tunisian nationals (Senato della Repubblica, 2011b: vi). Over 20,000 Tunisian migrants who landed in Italy between 1 January and 5 April 2011 were granted temporary protection status¹⁰ and, in principle, free circulation within the Schengen area (Pascouau: 2011: 1). As I document in the next section, this decision was opposed by France.

⁹ See *Il Secolo* (2011, April 3). “Berlusconi verso Tunisi, i motivi del viaggio”. <http://www.ilsecoloxix.it/p/italia/2011/04/03/AOsTOMJ-berlusconi_viaggio_tunisi.shtml?hl>. Last accessed 15 September 2011.

¹⁰ See European Parliament (2011a). *Member States' answers to migration flows and their impact on Schengen*, Parliamentary questions, <<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=OQ&reference=O-2011-000094&format=XML&language=EN>>. Last accessed 3 August 2011.

In terms of repatriation, any Tunisians arriving in Italy after 5 April 2011 have been returned to Tunisia¹¹. To most Italian politicians, the immediate decrease in migrants from Tunisia to Italy since the agreement came into force has amounted to evidence of its success (Senato della Repubblica, 2011a: 18). As the Italian Minister of the Interior declared on 31 May, 'the agreement with Tunisia works. In fact since April the number of arrivals from Tunisia has been very small' (Camera dei Deputati, 2009: 9).

In the relations between Tunisia and France, migration has also been the key to a broader bilateral engagement. Shortly before Ben Ali left power, on 7 January and again on 4 February 2011, Michèle Alliot-Marie, French Minister of Foreign and European Affairs, met her Tunisian counterparts, i.e. first Kamel Morjane and then Ahmed Ounaies, to discuss, inter alia, cooperation in the area of migration and security. As stated by Alliot-Marie before the French Parliament, the collaboration was intended to offer 'French savoir-faire' to assist Tunisia in dealing with the security situation at the time (Assemblée Nationale, 2011a). The now-ex French minister made the case for boosting security cooperation to guarantee the right to demonstrate while ensuring 'public order'¹².

With the demise of Ben Ali, France swerved towards supporting the Tunisian interim government. This major political shift notwithstanding, France's security-centered approach to migration as well as its long-standing economic priorities were not significantly altered. Alongside other issues on the agenda such as economic cooperation and institution building, in the area of migration and at the level of public discourse, combating irregular migration and repatriations remain the main priorities (Arieff, 2011: 31). This approach clearly emerges from the following statement made by Brice Hortefeux, former French Minister of the Interior, following an abrupt intensification of irregular migration from North Africa in February 2011:

European policy gives us the means to act, particularly through the Frontex Agency, which has operational instruments to deal with these kinds of challenges [irregular migration from North Africa]. The principle that we will apply will be in line with our migration policy whereby a foreigner with irregular status has to be returned to his/her country of origin, unless the humanitarian situation is serious. (Ministère de l'Intérieur, 2011a).

¹¹ It is noteworthy that the Italian Ministry of Interior publishes regular news updates on the repatriation of third country nationals (Ministero dell'Interno, 2011b, 2011c, 2011d).

¹² See *Le Monde* (2011, January 13). "Tunisie : les propos 'effrayants' d'Alliot-Marie suscitent la polémique". <http://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2011/01/13/tunisie-les-propos-effrayants-d-alliot-marie-suscitent-la-polemique_1465278_3212.html>. Last accessed 10 September 2011.

In fact, the several high-level meetings between Tunisia and France on migration dovetail with this general principle¹³. Between 20 and 22 March, the French Foreign Affairs Commission visited Tunis to boost investment by French companies (Assemblée Nationale, 2011b)¹⁴ and in a separate mission the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Alain Juppé, announced a €350 million package of bilateral aid to Tunisia (France Diplomatie, 2011a). A high-level meeting focused on migration took place on 16-17 May when Claude Guéant, French Minister of the Interior, met his counterpart in Tunis (Ambassade de France, 2011a). Reportedly, the first emphasized France's position: that it rejected 'all illegal migrants on its territory' but welcomed regular migration (Web manager, 18 May 2011 and Ambassade de France, 2011b). France also announced that Tunisian nationals who had arrived in Tunisia through irregular channels would be offered €300 to return to Tunisia. The two countries agreed on the creation of a military center for professional training in Gafsa, Tunisia (Ambassade de France, 2011c) and the consolidation of training activities on maritime issues at the Institut de formation aux métiers de la mer¹⁵.

Similar broad discussion on migration was further pursued by the Tunisian Minister of the Interior, Habib Essid during his visit to France on 15 June 2011. The objective of the mission was to consolidate pre-existing arrangements on migration quotas and boost repatriations to Tunisia (Ministère de l'Intérieur, 2011b). The two interior ministers visited the 'business and enterprise campus' of Bobigny which delivers training programs for would-be Tunisian trainers (AFP, 15 June 2011). As Guéant explained, this initiative was part of the overall bilateral engagement in the area of migration with Tunisia stipulated in 2008 that provides for the reception of 9,000 Tunisian workers per year in addition to a commitment to reduce irregular immigration (AFP, 15 June 2011).

Overall the official discourse in the context of French-Tunisian engagement on migration confirms pre-existing *modi operandi*. The general aim of stemming irregular migration and pre-empting unwanted departures from Tunisia represents a main line of continuity with

¹³ For the full list of high level visits see Assemblée Nationale (2011c).

¹⁴ The analysis of economic relations between the two countries goes beyond the initial purposes of this article. As evidence, however, of the centrality of the economic dimension it is worth pointing out that on 23 May 2011, Nadine Morano, French Minister of Learning and Training, made an official visit to Tunisia, and signed with her Tunisian Counterpart a convention that supports the Tunisian economy and aims to decrease the youth unemployment rate. See *Tunisia Live* (2011, May 23). "Tunisian and French Ministries of Employment sign a new convention". <<http://www.tunisia-live.net/2011/05/23/tunisian-and-french-ministries-of-employment-sign-a-new-convention/>>. Last accessed 23 May 2011.

¹⁵ See *Le Figaro* (2011, May 16). "Guéant veut 'décrisper' les relations avec Tunis". <<http://www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/2011/05/16/01016-20110516ARTFIG00741-gueant-veut-decrisper-les-relations-avec-tunis.php>>. Last accessed on 7 September 2011.

migration policies prior to the revolution. Scholars have long documented the security-based approach framing the French response to migration over the last few decades (Freedman, 2004 and Bigo, 1998).

Notwithstanding the significantly different contexts, French-Tunisian relations find resonance with those pursued by the international community, and Italy in particular, towards Libya. With the onset of the protests in Benghazi on 17 February 2011, the key international players drastically repositioned themselves. In accordance with the UNSC Resolution 1973 authorizing 'all necessary measures' to protect Libyan civilians, on 19 March 2011 the North Atlantic Treaty Organization assumed command of coalition operations, and the United States, along with France and the United Kingdom, began attacks on Libya's defensive infrastructure and ground forces (Blanchard, 2011: i). The apparently sweeping changes in the international arena can be set alongside the rapid development of migration policies in the Euro-Mediterranean context.

On 26 February 2011, the Friendship Treaty signed between Italy and Libya on 31 August 2008 was suspended by the Italian government (Camera dei Deputati, 2011c), and on 4 April 2011, Italy recognized Libya's National Transitional Council NTC¹⁶. In bringing to an end his country's turbulent diplomatic relations with Colonel Muammar Qaddafi, Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Frattini, declared Qaddafi 'no longer credible'¹⁷. In a subsequent communiqué, Italy and France formally endorsed the resolution of the UNSC to protect Libyan civilians and weaken Qaddafi's regime (Ministero degli Esteri, 2011a). In the same joint statement, the two countries emphasized the role of migration as a 'structural element of the new partnership for shared prosperity and democracy to be established between the EU and the countries of the southern Mediterranean' (Ministero degli Esteri, 2011a: 2). The 'fight against illegal immigration,' including the readmission of migrants – the document added – is a common imperative for partners on both shores of the Mediterranean and inseparable from other aspects of broader regional partnership (Ministero degli Esteri, 2011a).

A few months later, on 17 June 2011, a Memorandum of Understanding between Italy and the NTC was signed. In this agreement the key and only item was migration. The one-and-a-half-page document dedicates its two main paragraphs to joint initiatives to tackle 'illegal migration.' Italy and the NTC committed to exchange information on migration flows and engage in mutual assistance to

¹⁶ See *Corriere della Sera* (2011, April 4). "L'Italia riconosce il Consiglio di transizione libico". <<http://video.corriere.it/italia-riconosce-consiglio-transizione-libico/18e12568-5ec4-11e0-b025-06c58bf39633>>. Last accessed 3 August 2011.

¹⁷ See *BBC* (2011, April 4). "Italy recognises Libya's rebel National Council". <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/mobile/world-europe-12961032>>. Last accessed 20 August 2011.

combat irregular migration, including the repatriation of ‘illegal immigrants’ (Memorandum of Understanding, 17 June 2011). During the official visit to Italy on 22 July 2011 of the vice minister of the NTC, Al-Isawi, the Italian Interior Minister Maroni further stressed the importance of developing forms of collaboration to address the problem of irregular migration (Ministero dell’Interno, 2011e).

The discussion with Egypt followed the same pattern. Since the fall of the Mubarak regime, Italy has sought to re-establish diplomatic dialogue with the temporary military rulers on a wide range of issues, including migration. On 17 May 2011, Italy and Egypt signed a Memorandum of Understanding on migration and employment (Ministero degli Esteri, 2011b). The accord was intended to support activities in the area of vocational training and envisions the creation of a Coordination Office in Cairo for the selection of would-be migrants to Italy¹⁸. In the area of migration, Egypt’s interim government committed to respect the agreement signed by the two countries in 2009 on irregular migration and youth employability through ad hoc training activities (Camera dei Deputati, 2011d: 8). Accordingly, between January and September 2011, Italy repatriated all Egyptian nationals who had reached Italy in an irregular manner (Ministero dell’Interno, 2011g and 2011h). As the Italian Interior Minister put it, ‘the repatriation of Egyptian nationals landing on Italian shores takes place within 24 hours non-stop: those arriving are repatriated immediately’ (Camera dei Deputati, 2011d: 8).

Having documented the extent to which bilateral relations have tackled migration management in the aftermath of the revolutions, I shall now turn to the relations between the European Commission¹⁹ and individual North African countries.

Relations between the European Commission and third countries

Since the fall of Tunisia’s Ben Ali on 14 January 2011 and after the Egyptian President, Hosni Mubarak was ousted on 11 February, the European Commission (EC) pledged to support both countries in their peaceful democratic transition. On 8 March 2011, EC President José Manuel Barroso launched the ‘Partnership for Democracy and Shared

¹⁸ See *Il Sole 24 Ore* (2011, May 17). “Italia-Egitto: siglato memorandum su immigrazione e lavoro”.

<<http://archivio-radiocor.ilssole24ore.com/articolo-935183/italia-egitto-siglato-memorandum/>> Last accessed 10 September 2011.

¹⁹ In keeping with the limited space, I focus on the action of the European Commission at the expense of other European bodies such as the European Parliament and the European Council. Hence it is not my intention to provide a comprehensive assessment of the latter who remain equally prominent actors in the international arena.

Prosperity with the Southern Mediterranean.’ The incentive-based approach would involve, among other things, ‘Mobility Partnerships’ to provide a comprehensive framework that would ‘ensure that the movement of persons between the EU and a third country is well-managed’²⁰. The overarching aim of Mobility Partnerships is to maximize the positive impact of migration on development and to combat irregular migration. Specific activities include visa facilitation agreements, labor migration between interested Member States and the southern Mediterranean countries, voluntary return arrangements, working arrangements with Frontex, and the conclusion of readmission agreements²¹.

One of the main features of these arrangements is that they are conditional on the actions of third countries to reduce irregular migration to Europe (Cavanagh, 2011). To be sure, conditional development cooperation is far from new (Cuttitta, 2008). The European Commission has made it clear that cooperation with neighboring countries is based on the principle of conditionality, whereby assistance is dependent on the commitment of third countries to prevent irregular flows and, inter alia, to cooperate on the readmission of irregular migrants²². As Cecilia Malmström stated in a letter to Sándor Pinter, Hungarian Ministry of Interior, on 5 April 2011:

Enhanced bilateral relations, including increased mobility of people, will be developed with the Southern Mediterranean countries in a tailor-made manner, subject to the willingness and ability to meet certain pre conditions. I asked those authorities to make a determined effort to effectively prevent irregular migration flows, to cooperation in the readmission of irregular migrants, to patrol their maritime borders, to generally enhance their law enforcement capacity and to take steps aimed at facilitating the sustainable reintegration of irregular migrants who return home. This cooperation will be a key condition for the development of further cooperation with the EU (Malmström, 2011: 4).

As part of these initiatives, the EU Civil Protection Mechanism was mobilized to facilitate repatriation of both EU and third country

²⁰ European Commission (2011a); and (2011b). *Joint communication to the European Council, the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions a partnership for democracy and shared prosperity with the southern Mediterranean*, Brussels, 8.3.2011, COM(2011) 200 final: 7, <http://ec.europa.eu/commission_2010-2014/president/news/speeches-statements/pdf/20110308_en.pdf>. Last accessed 15 September 2011.

²¹ See European Commission (2011c). *Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions a dialogue for migration, mobility and security with the Southern Mediterranean Countries*, Brussels, 24.5.2011 COM(2011) 292 final, <http://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/news/intro/docs/110524/292/1_EN_ACT_part1_v12.pdf>. Last accessed 17 September 2011.

²² European Commission, 2011a: 3-4.

nationals. On 20 February 2011, Frontex launched the Joint Operation EPN Hermes Extension 2011 to help Italy control vessels intercepted in international waters²³. Europol deployed a team of experts to Italy to help the country's law enforcement authorities to identify possible criminals among irregular migrants²⁴. Furthermore, on 5 August 2011, the Commission proposed to allocate €370.1 million to Member States for actions in the field of border management and visa policy. In view of recent developments across North Africa, the EC made resources available under the External Border Fund which would entail an increase of allocation to Italy, from €32 million in 2011 to €52 million in 2012, as well as to Malta, Cyprus, Spain, Greece, and France²⁵. Specific packages to North African countries were also made available.

In the case of Tunisia, Barroso declared that the EU wanted 'strong and clear action' from Tunisia in return for a significant aid package²⁶. Overall, as of September 2011, the EC increased its bilateral cooperation budget from €80 million to €130 million for 2011 expenditure on civil society and economic development²⁷. Likewise, towards Egypt, the EC made available €100 million for job creation activities and the green economy²⁸.

In the case of Libya, the European Union has once again taken the side of pro-democracy protesters. After recognizing the NTC in March 2011 (Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2011), the EC committed to provide short-term technical assistance to help the NTC re-establish state institutions and public administration. In the long term, the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) has been made available to support Libya's judicial system, free media, democratic transition, and education²⁹. In the area of

²³ European Commission, 2011a: 5.

²⁴ European Commission, 2011a: 5.

²⁵ See European Commission (2011d). *EU External Borders Fund to allocate €370 million to member states in 2012*,

<<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/11/953&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>>. Last accessed 17 September 2011.

²⁶ BBC (2011, April 12). "EU demands Tunisia do more to stop illegal migration". <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-13055153>>. Last accessed 1 August 2011.

²⁷ See European Commission (2011e). *Statement by Commissioner Stefan Füle following his meeting with Mr Habib Essid, Minister of Interior of Tunisia*,

<<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=MEMO/11/582&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>>. Last accessed 17 September 2011; and (2011f). *Tunisia: European support of €110 million for economic recovery*,

<<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/11/974&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>>. Last accessed 23 August 2011.

²⁸ See European Commission (2011g). *New Commission support to improve living conditions and create jobs in Egypt*,

<<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/11/966&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>>. Last accessed 16 September 2011.

²⁹ See European Commission (2011h). *Responding to the Challenge of Stabilisation in post-conflict Libya*,

<<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=MEMO/11/576&format=H>

migration, funds to reactivate projects with the UNHCR, the IOM, and RAVEL (Regional Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration for Stranded Migrants) have been made available. Overall, the EU has provided over €152 million in humanitarian support³⁰.

While the evidence I have presented is not by any means conclusive, it is strong enough to lay bare the common denominators in the EC approach towards Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya. The Arab Spring has pushed the EC to make an explicit commitment to promote a comprehensive agenda and work with, and empower, non-governmental actors (Banulescu-Bogdan, 2011). The revolutions have brought about notable adjustments in the political architecture of the region. Conditional assistance based on Mobility Partnerships and, more generally, a broad agenda for political change, have been systematically brought to bear across North-African countries. However imprecise any analysis of current events may be, it can be argued that the concerted support for institution building from the EC stands in contrast to the tension-filled relationships between European Member States. This is particularly evident if we examine the debates between European Member States concerning entry and exit rules in conjunction with the changing dynamics of migration.

Relations among European Member States

While southern European Member States agree on the importance of tackling irregular migration flows, different sets of interests have beset policy coordination. That European Member States concur on the need to prevent 'clandestine' arrivals from North Africa may in fact reduce the scope for a harmonized response. In this regard, two incidents are noteworthy: the French-Italian proposals to alter the Schengen system and the clashes between Italy and Malta over search and rescue operations in international seas.

The Italian decision to grant temporary protection permits triggered a diplomatic dispute between European Member States. On 11 April 2011, the Justice and Home Affairs Council rejected the Italian-Maltese demand to extend temporary residence permits for Tunisian migrants to cover the rest of Europe. The disappointment of the Italian government was voiced by Roberto Maroni, who bemoaned the lack of support to Italy and questioned 'whether there is any point in remaining in the EU'³¹.

TML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>. Last accessed 15 September 2011.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ See European Parliament (2011b). *Subject: Serious consequences of Italian withdrawal from the EU*,

<<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=WQ&reference=E-2011-003974&format=XML&language=EN>>. Last accessed 2 August 2011.

Notably, since 5 April 2011, France has intensified controls along the border with Italy and, on 17 April, blocked cross-border rail traffic. In the face of concerns raised by the European Parliament, French authorities refuted allegations that they were targeting Tunisian nationals, stating that other nationalities were also concerned³². In a subsequent development, on 26 April 2011, France and Italy submitted a formal request to senior European officials to temporarily re-establish controls within Schengen borders in cases where there were exceptional difficulties³³. Eventually, on 16 September the EC formally endorsed the reintroduction of internal controls in emergencies lasting only five days. This mechanism would not make it any easier to reintroduce internal border controls but it would 'ensure that a coordinated EU response is available to protect the functioning and the integrity of the Schengen area'³⁴.

The fact that despite these occasional controversies Italy and France also found common ground is evidenced by another jointly pursued initiative. On 8 April 2011, French and Italian Interior Ministers announced an agreement for 'joint air and naval patrols' off the Tunisian coast to block departures of irregular migrants from Tunisia. Reportedly, the new measures were to be carried out with assistance of Frontex³⁵. Both countries proposed collective action at the common European external borders by consolidating available instruments in the fields of justice and home affairs (Pascouau: 2011: 2). Their requests were reiterated by the European Council during a meeting on 23-24 June 2011. Heads of state endorsed the above-mentioned proposal and agreed that:

As a very last resort, [...] a safeguard clause could be introduced to allow the exceptional reintroduction of internal border controls in a truly critical situation where a Member State is no longer able to

³² European Parliament (2011c). *Subject: Border controls for North African nationals between France and Italy*, Parliamentary questions, 2 May 2011, <<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=WQ&reference=P-2011-004341&format=XML&language=EN>>. Last accessed 2 August 2011.

³³ See *BBC* (2011, April 26). "France and Italy push for reform of Schengen treaty". <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-13189682>>. Last accessed 15 September 2011.

³⁴ European Commission (2011i). *Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions Schengen Governance - Strengthening the area without Internal Border Control*, Brussels, 16.9.2011 COM (2011) 561 final, <http://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/news/intro/docs/20110916/1_EN_ACT_part1_v8.pdf>. Last accessed 17 September 2011.

³⁵ See *Migrants at Sea* (2011, April 8). "France and Italy agree to joint naval patrols along Tunisian coast to block migrant departures". <<http://migrantsatsea.wordpress.com/2011/04/08/france-and-italy-agree-to-joint-naval-patrols-along-tunisian-coast-to-block-migrant-departures/>>. Last accessed 8 April 2011; and *Le Figaro* (2011, April 8). "Immigration : Paris et Rome se mettent d'accord". <<http://www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/2011/04/08/01016-20110408ARTFIG00487-immigration-paris-et-rome-se-mettent-d-accord.php>>. Last accessed 6 September 2011.

comply with its obligations under the Schengen rules. Such a measure would be taken on the basis of specified objective criteria and a common assessment, for a strictly limited scope and period of time.³⁶

The second instance of inter-state collaboration worth analyzing concerns the relations between Malta and Italy. The arrivals of boats from either Libya or Tunisia have long engendered recurrent tensions between Malta and Italy, largely over burden-sharing mechanisms³⁷. Yet, since January 2011 the implementation of joint responses on migration appears to be even more arduous. Bilateral engagement alternates with considerable friction. On the one hand, in response to the sudden surge of boats from Tunisia and Libya, the two countries joined forces and called for more support from Europe³⁸. The Joint Communiqué released with Spain, Greece, and Cyprus on 19 April 2011 demanding a coherent and comprehensive mechanism for distributing responsibility is a case in point (Department of Information, Malta, 2011). On the other hand, the two countries have repeatedly clashed, and their collaboration has been subject to criticism. On 14 August 2011, Malta refused permission to the Italian Navy ship Borsini to land in Malta to disembark 334 rescued migrants. The migrants had been rescued in the Maltese Search and Rescue Area south of Lampedusa by Italian coastguard patrol boats and then transferred at sea to the Borsini. After being refused permission to land in Malta, on the grounds that Lampedusa and Tunisia were the closest safe locations, the Borsini disembarked the migrants in Taranto, Italy³⁹. Equally significant is the fact that, in September 2011, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) announced an inquiry into responsibility for loss of life in the Mediterranean Sea, in particular the death of 'boat people' fleeing Libya (PACE, 2011). Reportedly, PACE was to begin the fact-finding trip in Italy and would also seek information from the Maltese authorities⁴⁰.

³⁶ European Council (2011a). *European Council 23/24 June 2011 Conclusions*: 8, <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/123075.pdf>. Last accessed 15 August 2011.

³⁷ See *Euronews* (2011, August 25). "Italy, Malta, fired over migration". <<http://www.euronews.net/2009/08/25/italy-malta-fired-up-over-immigrants/>>. Last accessed 15 September 2011.

³⁸ See *The Economist* (2011, April 11). "The next European crisis: boat people". http://www.economist.com/blogs/charlemagne/2011/04/north_african_migration. Last accessed 15 April 2011.

³⁹ See *Migrants at Sea* (2011, August 15). "Malta blocks Italian navy ship from disembarking 334 rescued migrants". <<http://migrantsatsea.wordpress.com/2011/08/15/malta-blocks-italian-navy-ship-from-disembarking-334-rescued-migrants/>>. Last accessed 15 September 2011.

⁴⁰ See *Migrants at Sea* (2011, September 3). "PACE rapporteur to begin fact-finding mission to Italy to investigate Mediterranean migrant deaths". <<http://migrantsatsea.wordpress.com/2011/09/03/pace-rapporteur-to-begin-fact-finding-mission-to-italy-to-investigate-mediterranean-migrant-deaths/>> Last accessed 15 September 2011.

Conclusion

During a press conference on 26 August 2011, the Italian Minister of the Interior declared that with the Arab Spring ‘everything had changed’ (Ministero dell’Interno, 2011f). The prevailing assumption in the public debate is that political ferment across North Africa gave rise to profound changes not only in terms of migration flows but also in terms of the political map of the region. This view is given superficial support by the fact that the patterns of political alliances and discursive practices in the region have changed in unexpected ways. North Africa and the Arab world as a whole, long credited for lacking a strong civil society, have revealed themselves to be the sites of vivid democratic aspiration – although still unfulfilled and disgruntled. Related to this, key international actors, such as the United States and the European Union, have recognized the limits of their previous policies and reassessed and redefined norms and modes of engagement. More to the point, the principles of democracy and civil society appear to have prevailed over narrow realist approaches. Yet, my analysis suggests that, in the context of Euro-Mediterranean migration, this reading is only partly justified.

In probing beneath these accepted interpretations, I scrutinized responses to migration at a regional level. I established a link between putative political change and migration, and I reviewed official sources on migration trends and policies. The ultimate objective was to provide a tentative account of the shifting relations between individual European Member States and North African countries, between the European Commission and third countries, and among European Member States. Accordingly, two main ideas have been advanced.

First, the rise of irregular migration in the first nine months of 2011 have met with, and further consolidated, enduring European dogmas in areas of security and migration. The return of irregular migrants and the reinforcement of internal and external borders, for example, have been part and parcel of the diplomatic exchange since January 2011. The fact that flows to Europe are unmistakably lower compared to those evidenced across North Africa is all the more revealing. At a minimum, it invites one to critically revise the notions of an epochal exodus into Europe that continue to pervade European debate, and to put into perspective the significance of ongoing migration patterns (de Haas, 2007). Much of the official discourse documented above veers around entrenched approaches to migration, but

so do patterns of bilateral and multilateral collaboration. This leads to my second proposition.

While the EC has promptly made resources available to sustain the process of democratic transition, individual member states have pursued tightly defined bilateral agendas. The classic mismatch between bilateral and multilateral policy-domains is brought to light in yet another guise. The concerted repositioning towards pro-democracy forces has engendered a multitude of policy responses from both European states and the European Union and, in the process, conspicuous disagreement between them. At a time of great promise, links forged among the new and earlier actors reproduce familiar patterns. In turn, having signalled a link between migration and political 'un-change,' my empirical analysis highlights numerous fault lines in the interaction between state and non-state actors. The revolutions storming across the region have consolidated, rather than destabilized, pre-existing norms and practices in the area of migration. Yet, future research on the role of a wider range of actors and, above all, on the reasons of these important elements of continuity may expand, and conceivably challenge, our understanding of politics and migration at a time of presumed turbulence.

References

Books

Freedman, J. (2004). *Immigration and Insecurity in France*, Aldershot: Ashgate.

Hollified, J. (2000). "The Politics of International Migration: Can We Bring the State Back in?", in Hollifield, J., Brettell, C., *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*, New York: Routledge.

Articles

AFP (2011). "Guéant et son homologue tunisien visitent un centre qui forme des Tunisiens à devenir formateurs."

<http://seenthis.net/tag/habib-essid>. Last accessed 10 September 2011.

Anderson, L. (2011). "Demystifying the Arab Spring". *Foreign Affairs*, May-June 2011, http://pomed.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/Lisa-Anderson_Demystifying-the-Arab-Spring.doc Last accessed 5 August 2011.

Bigo, D. (1998). "Sécurité et Immigration: vers une Gouvernamentalité de l'Inquiétude". *Cultures et Conflits* 31, 2 (Autumn/Winter): 13-38.

Cavanagh, M. (2011). "The Arab Spring and the EU's Internal Open Borders". *Independent Blogs*,

<http://blogs.independent.co.uk/2011/05/05/the-arab-spring-irregular-migration-and-the-eu's-internal-open-borders/>. Last accessed 1 August 2011.

Cuttitta, P (2009). "Readmission in the Relations between Italy and North African Mediterranean Countries", in Cassarino, J. P., (2008), *Unbalanced Reciprocities*:

Cooperation on Readmission in the Euro-Mediterranean Area, Middle East Institute, Special Edition, Viewpoints,

<<http://www.mei.edu/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=y0UGbA6b01A%3D&tabid=541>>. Last accessed 14 September 2011.

De Haas, H. (2011). "The African Invasion that Did not Happen", <<http://heindehaas.blogspot.com/>>. Last accessed 14 September 2011.

De Haas, H. (2007). "The Myth of Invasion: Irregular Migration from West Africa to the Maghreb and the European Union", <<http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/pdfs/Irregular%20migration%20from%20West%20Africa%20-%20Hein%20de%20Haas.pdf>>. Last accessed 11 August 2011.

Düvell, F. (2009). "The Crisis and its Possible Impact on Global Migration", in Castles, S., and Miller, M.J., Update 1 – February 2009; Migration and the Global Financial Crisis: A Virtual Symposium, 2009,

<<http://www.age-of-migration.com/uk/financialcrisis/updates/1f.pdf>>. Last accessed 13 August 2011.

Fargues, P. (2011). "Voice after Exit: Revolution and Migration in the Arab World", Migration Information,

<<http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?ID=839>>. Last accessed 11 August 2011.

Gasiorowski, M. J. (1995). "Economic Crisis and Political Regime Change: An Event History Analysis". *The American Political Science Review*, 89, 4 (Dec. 1995): 882-897.

Levitt, P. (1998). "Social Remittances: Migration Driven Local-level Forms of Cultural Diffusion". *International Migration Review*, 32, 4 (Winter, 1998): 926-948.

Malmström, C. (2011). No title, Brussels, 5 April 2011, ARES, 5 April 2011, 413505, <<http://www.statewatch.org/news/2011/apr/eu-com-council-libya-frontex-letter.pdf>>. Last accessed 20 September 2011.

Migration News (2011 April). "Italy, Greece, Turkey, Spain". 18, 2, <http://migration.ucdavis.edu/mn/more.php?id=3678_0_4_0>. Last accessed 22 August 2011.

Pascouau, Y. (2011). "Schengen Area Under Pressure: Controversial Responses and Worrying Signs",

<http://www.epc.eu/documents/uploads/pub_1270_schengen_area_under_pressure_-_controversial_responses_and_worrying_signs.pdf>. Last accessed 1 August 2011.

Pastore, F. (2004a). "Italy's Migration Contradiction",

<http://www.opendemocracy.net/people-migrationeurope/article_1744.jsp>. Last accessed 20 September 2008.

La Repubblica (2011, August). "Il decreto sui rimpatri è legge via libera definitivo in Senato".

<http://www.repubblica.it/cronaca/2011/08/02/news/il_decreto_sui_rimpatri_legge_via_libera_definitivo_in_senato-19935843/?ref=HREC1-8>. Last accessed 2 August 2011.

Slaughter, A. M. (2011, August 24). "Why Libya Sceptics were Proved Badly Wrong". Financial Times,

<<http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/18cb7f14-ce3c-11e0-99ec-00144feabdc0.html>>. Last accessed 24 October 2011.

Ulack, C. (2011). "The Arab Spring's Looming Refugee Crisis". Foreign Policy,

<http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2011/06/23/the_arab_spring_s_looming_refugee_crisis>. Last accessed 1 August 2011.

Reports

Ambassade de France (2011a). Année 2011. <<http://www.ambassadefrance-tn.org/spip.php?article955>>. Last accessed 6 September 2011.

Ambassade de France (2011b). Conférence de presse de M. Claude Guéant Ministre de l'intérieur, de l'outre-mer, des collectivités territoriales et de l'immigration

Tunis, le 17 mai 2011, <<http://www.ambassadefrance-tn.org/spip.php?article1052#immigration>>. Last accessed 14 September 2011.

Ambassade de France (2011c). Visite en Tunisie de M. Claude Guéant, <<http://www.ambassadefrance-tn.org/spip.php?article1051#Centre-de-formation>>. Last accessed 14 September 2011.

Arieff, A. (2011). Political Transition in Tunisia, Congressional Research Service

7-5700, RS21666,

<<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RS21666.pdf>>. Last accessed 10 September 2011.

Assemblée Nationale (2011a). Assemblée nationale XIII législature Session ordinaire de 2010-2011 Compte rendu intégral, Première séance du mardi 11 janvier 2011, <<http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/13/cri/2010->

2011/20110091.asp#P273_51607>. Last accessed 10 September 2011.

Assemblée Nationale (2011b). Commission des affaires étrangères Mercredi 30 mars 2011, Séance de 9 h 45, Compte rendu n° 45, <<http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/13/cr-cafe/10-11/c1011045.asp>>. Last accessed 10 September 2011.

Assemblée Nationale (2011c). Question N: 102533 de M. Éric Raoult (Union pour un Mouvement Populaire - Seine-Saint-Denis) Question écrit, <<http://questions.assemblee-nationale.fr/q13/13-102533QE.htm>>. Last accessed 10 September 2011.

Banulescu-Bogdan, N. (2011). The Role of Civil-Society in EU Migration Policy: perspectives on the European Union's Engagement in its Neighbourhood, Migration Policy Institute, <<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/EUcivilsociety.pdf>>. Last accessed 17 September 2011.

Blanchard, C. (2011). Libya; Unrest and US Policy, Congressional Research Service, 7-5700, RL33142, <<http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/159788.pdf>>. Last accessed 14 September 2011.

Camera dei Deputati (2011a). Resoconto della I Commissione permanente (Affari costituzionali, della Presidenza del Consiglio e Interni), I Commissione, SOMMARIO, Mercoledì 8 giugno 2011, <http://www.camera.it/453?bollet=_dati/leg16/lavori/bollet/20106/0608/html/01#295n1>. Last accessed 2 August 2011.

Camera dei Deputati (2011b). Informativa urgente del Governo sulla tragica vicenda della morte di venticinque persone a bordo di una nave di immigrati approdata a Lampedusa, <http://www.camera.it/412?idSeduta=512&resoconto=stenografico&in_dice=alfabetico&tit=00040&fase=00020#sed0512.stenografico.tit00040.sub00020>. Last accessed 3 August 2011.

Camera dei Deputati (2011c). L'operatività del Trattato di amicizia, partenariato e cooperazione tra Italia e Libia alla luce dei recenti eventi libici, <<http://www.camera.it/561?appro=267&L%27operatività+del+Trattato+di+amicizia%2C+partenariato+e+cooperazione+tra+Italia+e+Libia+alla+luce+dei+recenti+eventi+libici+>>>. Last accessed 22 August 2011.

Camera dei Deputati (2011d). Resoconto stenografico della Comitato parlamentare di controllo sull'attuazione dell'Accordo di Schengen, di vigilanza sull'attività di Europol, di controllo e vigilanza in materia di immigrazione, <http://www.camera.it/_dati/leg16/lavori/bollet/chiscobollt.asp?content=_dati/leg16/lavori/bollet/framedin.asp?percboll=_dati/leg16/lavori/bollet/201105/0531/html/30/>>. Last accessed 23 August 2011.

Department of Information, Malta (2011). Joint Communiqué II, (Nicosia, 19 April, 2011),

http://www.doi.gov.mt/EN/press_releases/2011/04/DOI%20-%20pr0785A.asp. Last accessed 15 September 2011.

European Commission (2011j). Statement by Commissioner Malmström on the compliance of Italian and French measures with the Schengen acquis,

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=M EMO/11/538&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=fr> >. Last accessed 15 August 2011.

European Commission (2011k). Statement of European Commissioner for Home Affairs, Cecilia Malmström, on the tragic loss of lives in the Mediterranean,

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=M EMO/11/550&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en> >. Last accessed 15 August 2011.

European Parliament (2011d). Answer given by Ms Malmström on behalf of the Commission, Parliamentary questions,

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getAllAnswers.do?reference=E-2011-003462&language=EN> >. Last accessed 2 August 2011.

Eurostat (2011). Immigration to EU Member States down by 6 % and emigration up by 13 % in 2008,

http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/KS-SF-11-001/EN/KS-SF-11-001-EN.PDF >. Last accessed 13 August 2011.

Eurostat (2010). International migration flows Reference Metadata in Euro SDMX Metadata Structure (ESMS),

http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_SDDS/EN/migr_flow_esms.htm >. Last accessed 13 August 2011.

France diplomatie (2011a). Entretien d'Alain Juppé avec Mouldi Kefi, ministre tunisien des Affaires étrangères (10 mai 2011),

http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/pays-zones-geo_833/tunisie_411/france-tunisie_1247/visites_9046/entretien-alain-juppe-avec-mouldi-kefi-ministre-tunisien-affaires-etrangeres-10.05.11_92093.html >. Last accessed 5 September 2011.

Frontex, (2011). FRAN Quarterly, Issue 1, January-March 2011,

http://www.frontex.europa.eu/situation_at_the_external_border/art25.html >. Last accessed 11 August 2011.

IOM, (2011), IOM response to the Libyan crisis External Situation Report, 15th September 2011,

<<http://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/shared/shared/mainsite/media/docs/reports/IOM-sitrep-MENA.pdf>>. Last accessed 17 September 2011.

Memorandum of Understanding between Italian government and the Transitional National Council, 17 June 2011,

<<http://download.repubblica.it/pdf/2011/migrazione.pdf>>. Last accessed 22 August 2011.

Ministère de l'Intérieur (2011a). Séance de questions d'actualité au gouvernement - «Pas l'intérêt de la Tunisie, ni de l'Europe, ni de la France que d'encourager et d'accepter ces migrations clandestines » pour Brice Hortefeux,

<http://www.interieur.gouv.fr/sections/a_la_une/toute_l_actualite/immigration/reponse-depute-meunier-migrants-tunisiens-en/view>. Last accessed 9 September 2011.

Ministère de l'Intérieur (2011b). Réponse à une question d'actualité du député ESTROSI,

<http://www.interieur.gouv.fr/sections/a_la_une/toute_l_actualite/immigration/reponse-question-actualite-depute-estrosi/view>. Last accessed 6 September 2011.

Ministero degli Esteri (2011a). Dichiarazione su Libia e Mediterraneo, vertice italo-francese, 26 April 2011,

<http://www.esteri.it/MAE/approfondimenti/2011/Dichiarazione_Libia_Mediterraneo_ITA.pdf>. Last accessed 20 August 2011.

Ministero degli Esteri (2011b). Egitto: Frattini, sosteniamo il processo democratico, <http://www.esteri.it/MAE/IT/Sala_Stampa/ArchivioNotizie/Approfondimenti/2011/05/20110517_fratdem.htm>. Last accessed 22 August 2011.

Ministero dell'Interno (2011a). Decreto-Legge 23 giugno 2011, n. 89

<http://www.interno.it/mininterno/export/sites/default/it/sezioni/servizi/legislazione/immigrazione/0949_2011_06_23_DL23062011n.89.html>

Ministero dell'Interno (2011b). Immigrazione, rimpatriati 64 extracomunitari clandestini,

<http://www.interno.it/mininterno/export/sites/default/it/sezioni/sala_stampa/notizie/immigrazione/0000086_2011_7_30_rimpatri_settimanali.html_1603681469.html>. Last accessed 18 August 2011.

Ministero dell'Interno (2011c). Rimpatriati nella settimana 111 extracomunitari clandestini,

<http://www.interno.it/mininterno/export/sites/default/it/sezioni/sala_stampa/notizie/immigrazione/0000083_2011_08_06_rimpatri.html_1375993338.html>. Last accessed 18 August 2011.

Ministero dell'Interno (2011d). Rimpatriati nel corso della settimana 101 extracomunitari clandestini

<http://www.interno.it/mininterno/export/sites/default/it/sezioni/sala_stampa/notizie/immigrazione/0000089_2011_07_23_rimpatri.html_229301895.html>. Last accessed 18 August 2011.

Ministero dell'Interno, (2011e), Il ministro Maroni incontra a palazzo Chigi Ali Al-Isawi,

<http://www.interno.it/mininterno/export/sites/default/it/sezioni/sala_stampa/notizie/2100_500_ministro/0000090_2011_7_22_incontro_Maroni_con_Ali_Al-Isawi.html_1278249914.html>. Last accessed 20 August 2011.

Ministero dell'Interno (2011f). Entro l'anno saranno 30.000 gli extracomunitari rimpatriati,

<http://www.interno.it/mininterno/export/sites/default/it/sezioni/sala_stampa/notizie/2100_500_ministro/0000083_2011_08_26_rimini.html>. Last accessed 12 September 2011.

Ministero dell'Interno (2011g). Rimpatriati 40 cittadini egiziani sbarcati illegalmente in Sicilia,

<http://www.interno.it/mininterno/export/sites/default/it/sezioni/sala_stampa/notizie/immigrazione/0000094_2011_07_14_Rimpatriati_40_cittadini_egiziani.html?back=%2Ftools%2Fsearch%2Findex.html%3Ftext%3Degypt%26start%3D%26end%3D%26type%3Dgeneric>. Last accessed 12 September 2011.

Ministero dell'Interno (2011h). Rimpatriati al Cairo 73 cittadini egiziani sbarcati sulle coste siciliane,

<http://www.interno.it/mininterno/export/sites/default/it/sezioni/sala_stampa/notizie/immigrazione/000046_2011_06_04_rimpatri.html_1508555649.html>. Last accessed 12 September 2011.

OECD (2011a). Italy Recent Changes in Migration Movements And Policies (Country Notes),

<<http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/44/12/48351326.pdf>>. Last accessed 13 August 2011.

OECD (2011b). Key statistics on migration in OECD countries, Inflows of foreign population,

<http://www.oecd.org/document/30/0,3746,en_2649_37415_48326878_1_1_1_37415,00.html>. Last accessed 12 August 2011.

PACE (2011). PACE inquiry into responsibility for loss of life in the Mediterranean Sea: visit to Italy,

<http://assembly.coe.int/ASP/NewsManager/EMB_NewsManagerView.asp?ID=6879&L=2>. Last accessed 15 September 2011.

Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2011). Foreign Minister Radosław Sikorski visits Benghazi,

<<http://www.msz.gov.pl/Foreign,Minister,Radoslaw,Sikorski,vists,Benghazi,43100.html>>. Last accessed 15 September 2011.

Senato della Repubblica (2011a). 594^a Seduta (antimerid.) Assemblea - Resoconto stenografico 2 agosto 2011,

<<http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/00611530.pdf>>. Last accessed 2 August 2011.

Senato della Repubblica (2011b). 536a Seduta (antimerid.) Assemblea - Resocontosommario 7 aprile 2011, <<http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/530158.pdf>>. Last accessed 2 August 2011.

Senato della Repubblica (2011c). Legislatura 16 Atto di Sindacato Ispettivo n° 2-00349, Atto n. 2-00349, Pubblicato il 20 aprile 2011, Seduta n. 546,

<<http://www.senato.it/japp/bgt/showdoc/frame.jsp?tipodoc=Sin disp&leg=16&id=531449>>. Last accessed 4 August 2011.

Senato della Repubblica (2011d). Atto n. 1-00370, Pubblicato il 9 febbraio 2011, Seduta n. 498,

<<http://www.senato.it/japp/bgt/showdoc/frame.jsp?tipodoc=Sin disp&leg=16&id=522255>>. Last accessed 5 August 2011.

Serwer, D. (2011). Post-Qaddafi instability in Libya, Contingency planning memorandum No. 1, August 2011, Council of Foreign Relations, <<http://www.cfr.org/libya/post-qaddafi-instability-libya/p25612>>. Last accessed 11 August 2011.

UNHCR (2011). Hundreds of new arrivals in Italy from Libya and Tunisia, <<http://www.unhcr.org/4e4a505f9.html>>. Last accessed 18 August 2011.