Panel 8.17 The externalization of EU’s migration governance: ethical and political dilemmas

In order to manage migration flows and reduce the number of irregular migrants arriving in Europe, the EU has been increasingly turning its attention towards third states – countries of origin and transit, as well as international partners. The externalization of the Union’s migration policy is not entirely new; in fact, it can be regarded as the ultimate result of a conceptual framework already envisaged by the EU Global Approach to Migration (2005) – and updated by the EU Global Approach to Migration and Mobility (2011) – based on the integration of migration issues in the EU’s external relations system. However, this externalization process has been gaining new momentum since the so-called “migration crisis” in 2015. Accordingly, the EU has turned to the countries of origin and transit of migrants in order to reduce the “pull factors” for irregular migration, address the root causes of migration, fight against migrant smuggling and trafficking, as well as improving the process of repatriation of irregular migrants (EU Commission, 2015).

In practice, the external dimension of EU migration policy has been established and implemented though a distinct mix of tools such as migration profiles, migration-related missions, cooperation platforms on migration, ‘migration deals’ and ‘migration partnerships’ that amounts to a set of “new modes of (migration) governance” (Caldwell 2013). Moreover, the significant role played in this area by Member States, as well as non-EU states and other actors, calls for the use of the analytical concepts such as the “EU migration system of governance” (EUMSG) (Fassi and Lucarelli 2017) designed to embrace the composite multilevel and external dimensions of the policy.

Yet, the actual functioning of this system of governance has already raised a number of critiques and dilemmas. The increasing involvement of third states is not always accompanied by greater transparency, openness, participation, and respect for the rights of migrants. On the contrary, the risk that these agreements open the way to practices that fall outside the radar of democratic control seems quite high, especially in the light of the EU’s growing emphasis on migration control, and the kind of political regimes the EU has been cooperating with in order to do so.

The goals of the panel are twofold. First, it aims to analyze the actual working of the EU external migration governance within and across three contexts: the European Neighborhood Policy, the relationships with the “Neighbors of the Neighbors”, and the EU’s engagement at the global level. These three contexts, conceived as “layers” of the external dimension of the EU migration policy, involve different instruments and actors and correspond to different configurations in terms of underlying dynamics, institutional solutions and political dilemmas.

Secondly, the panel intends to contribute to a normative assessment of EU external action in the field of migration. Moving from the assumption that all the actors involved in this system of governance have their legitimate – although often reciprocally and internally conflicting – normative perspectives, we seek to evaluate the EU’s score in each of the three layers in terms of adequacy to different ethical criteria.
**Chairs:** Enrico Fassi, Sonia Lucarelli