

Panel 24: **Border changes post-2011. Historical and geographical background, new and future challenges**

Friday 18, 9-10.45, Aula 254

Directors: **Chiara Denaro** (U. Rome / UAB), **Natalia Ribas-Mateos** (UAB)

Global Shifts, configuration, reconfiguration, change, rupture, regression, reform, revolution, mass protests: they are all terms we often hear when trying to interpret what has happened during and after the “Arab Spring.” What we normally observe would be very similar to a media report or to a quality lesson on political science—looked at on a regional scale, sub-regional scale or as a particular case study—and normally nationally-framed. In this panel we attempt to look at such transformations through a different lens, going beyond what the media coverage provides us in such issues and exploring an analysis on EU conflicting borders when we analyze the case of Syrian refugees. We will use as an understanding background: (i) the historical construction of Fortress Europe since the early 90s, (ii) the specificity of geographical locations (from the “classic Mediterranean routes” to the new transit locations of Macedonia and Hungary), (iii) how refugee narratives give an account of on-going changes, (iv) the future political implications of restrictive policies.

Paper givers:

1) **Natalia Ribas-Mateos** (UAB) *Border Shifts: beyond the Mediterranean paradigm*

The framework of this paper points to an emergence of a border paradigm shift with regard to EU borders, which actively seek to contain mobility. Such a paradigm is theorised as the intersection between external and internal borders (drawing on multiple examples of such world transformations). The paper aims to put together different fragments of research destined to find their true sense within a completed work of the transformation of borders, as only within a rethinking of borders in the light of the relation between mobility and global borders. The analysis of the global context repeatedly recalls metaphors of opening and crossing – mainly of flows of capital, and closing of people – but they rarely consider how the effects of mobility and closing occur as a result of an unequal puzzle of practices driven by state control, which could provide us with crucial key points in interpreting the ‘making and remaking’ of globalization.

My central questions are related to the evolution of new forms of mobility, issues of border security and conditions of vulnerability can be examined by the study of human (in) security in highly specific places, namely borders. There, the gap between the protection migrants formally enjoy under international law, national laws and the actual experiences of individuals reveal a severe absence of human rights. It is also at such strategic sites as these that we encounter many of the main issues related to global borders: securitization, irregular migration, racism, complex gender issues, human trafficking, globally networked surveillance etc.

2) **Martina Tazzioli** (Labexmed, Marseille) *Borders displacements: The reconfiguration of the European pre-frontiers at the time of military-humanitarian operations in the Med*

This presentation engages with the military-humanitarian technology of migration management from the vantage point of the EUNAVFOR MED Operation, the naval and air force intervention deployed by the EU in the Central Southern Mediterranean to disrupt “the business model of human smuggling and trafficking” while “protecting life at sea.” I will look at the military-humanitarian mode of migration management that this operation performs from four vantage points: logistics, with a focus on the infrastructure of migrant travels; subjectivity, looking at the profiles the operation produces and works through; epistemology, building on the mission’s first stage of intelligence and data gathering; geopolitics, with a focus on the frictions or support that this European vision of migration management encountered on the southern shore of the Mediterranean. Through this multi-focal approach, I will illuminate the productivity and transformations of this military-humanitarian juncture of the Mediterranean crisis and clarify the politics of migration that is at play within it, its humanitarian economy, as well as its border violence, highlighting the recent border displacements from Mare Nostrum onwards.

3) **Fulvio Vassallo Paleologo** (Università di Palermo), *Dal fallimento della relocation alle nuove pratiche negli Hotspot: l'Unione Europea cancella le garanzie dello stato di diritto*

Le più recenti decisioni europee hanno insistito molto sulla relocation dall'Italia verso altri paesi dell'Unione Europea che si sono dichiarati disponibili ad accogliere richiedenti asilo sbarcati nel nostro territorio, al fine dichiarato di allentare "la pressione migratoria", ed hanno comportato da parte dell'Italia l'adozione di una Roadmap con l'istituzione di sei Hotspots (Aree di sbarco attrezzate), uno in Puglia, a Taranto, e cinque in Sicilia, a Lampedusa, Augusta (Siracusa), Pozzallo (Ragusa), Porto Empedocle (Agrigento) e Trapani per un numero complessivo (stimato) di 2100 posti. E' una costatazione agevole come, soprattutto dopo gli attentati di Parigi dello scorso anno molti paesi abbiano bloccato i processi di rilocalizzazione che su sollecitazione della Commissione avevano garantito dopo le riunioni del Consiglio europeo dello scorso anno. A Lampedusa, nella struttura sempre sovraffollata di Contrada Imbriacola monta periodicamente la protesta dei migranti, eritrei soprattutto, che non intendono rilasciare le impronte digitali per essere inseriti nel sistema Eurodac e quindi avere preclusa una successiva richiesta di asilo in altri paesi europei. All'inizio del 2016 sono aperti in regime di Hotspot solo i centri di Lampedusa e di Trapani Milo, mentre il CSPA, Centro di soccorso e prima accoglienza, di Pozzallo, che avrebbe dovuto essere trasformato in Hotspot, con la presenza di un nutrito stuolo di agenti di FRONTEX e di funzionari di EASO, continua a funzionare come ha sempre funzionato, con le identificazioni forzate, con il trattenimento prolungato, ben oltre le 48 ore, di centinaia di persone, anche donne e minori, in una condizione di promiscuità, e privi di una qualsiasi informazione legale, come documentato da ultimo dalla denuncia dell'organizzazione Medici senza Frontiere. Negli ultimi mesi dello scorso anno non si riuscivano a ritrasferire verso altri paesi europei più di 200 richiedenti asilo, a fronte di diverse migliaia di persone sbarcate, appartenenti alla categoria di richiedenti asilo "in clear need of protection" una categoria priva di fondamento legale, e discriminatoria, perchè include solo siriani, eritrei ed irakeni, ma non afgani, somali o maliani. Per non parlare

dell'invenzione della categoria dei "migranti economici" o provenienti da "paesi terzi sicuri", ai quali, subito dopo la prima identificazione e l'uscita dall'Hot Spot, si consegna un provvedimento di respingimento differito, con l'intimazione a lasciare entro sette giorni il territorio nazionale. In molti di questi casi senza alcuna informazione legale, anche per l'assenza di quegli enti che avrebbero dovuto garantirla, e comunque senza una sola possibilità di lasciare legalmente il territorio nazionale, in assenza di documenti e mezzi economici. Giungono anche da diverse regioni notizie di pesanti pressioni fisiche sulle persone che si rifiutano di rilasciare le impronte digitali, con conseguenze devastanti sul clima all'interno degli Hotspots nei quali parenti ed amici apprendono in tempo reale quello che succede a chi si ostina a sottrarsi al prelievo delle impronte.

La Costituzione italiana (art. 13) vieta qualunque "violenza fisica o morale" sulle persone "sottoposte a limitazioni della libertà personale" come lo sono certamente le persone trattenute all'interno degli Hotspots attualmente esistenti. La circostanza che dopo il prelievo forzato delle impronte la maggior parte dei migranti preferisce comunque allontanarsi verso un altro paese non sminuisce la gravità di questi fatti e non può legittimare una prassi che può sfociare nella violenza privata ed in altri più gravi reati.

4) **Marta Bellingreri** (University of Palermo, U. Dusseldorf, U. Amman), *First of all, out of Syria. The Turkish-Syrian border and Jordanian-Syrian one. Before Europe*

This paper aims at analyzing and reformulating Syrians refugee crisis's words through two different cases. The first one is the case of Jordan where one million and four hundreds Syrians live (Minister of Interior, Jordan), but only the half of them are registered at UNHCR as refugees. The precariousness of camps' lives, especially in the second biggest refugees' camp of the world, Za'atari, contrasts with the stability of the war and long-term perspectives of life in Jordan for them. Consequently, the focus would shift to the case of Turkey, the country hosting the highest number of refugees, among them more than two millions Syrians at the end of 2015. But Turkey, as a transit country to Europe, is witnessing an increasing number of deaths at sea, becoming the Aegean route more dangerous than ever. In the meanwhile, Syrians are often protagonists of their exile and migration: in Jordan as entrepreneurs in the camps; and in Turkey, being direct protagonists of protests against European borders' regime (Edirne, September 2015). Both cases show how only a deeper knowledge of refugees' conditions before arriving to Europe could help us to problematize European restrictive policies and how Syrian refugees' presence signify dramatic historical changes.

5) **Chiara Denaro** ("La Sapienza"/UAB) *Syrian refugees on the seaborne Turkish routes toward Greece. Lesbos, Athens, Thessaloniki and Idomeni: Transit spaces throughout Europe*

In the frame of the evolution of the seaborne migratory routes, which occurred between 2011 and 2015 in the Mediterranean space, the article focuses on the Greek-Turkish border, intended as a mechanism of differential inclusion (Mezzadra e Neilson, 2013). It further analyses the configuration of Greece as a transit space on the so-called Balkan route, which includes the crossing of Macedonia, Serbia, Hungary and Austria with the aim of reaching

Germany or continuing to other Northern European countries. The manifest inappropriateness of Greece as a country of asylum, already ascertained by the ECtHR in 2011 and 2014, requires a reflection concerning mechanisms of differential inclusion in the border crossing. In other words, by interpreting the right to asylum as an ‘access door’ giving room to civil, political and social rights, and by observing its progressive emptying process (Sciurba, 2014), it seems necessary to observe its shifting content, which seems more evident in border spaces. At the core of the reflection on refugees’ transit throughout Europe their agency is placed, which takes shape in the form of empowerment and resistance undertaken by the refugees in the explicit and implicit claim of the right to escape (Mezzadra 2006, 2015), that seems to extend to a wider right which includes the right to choose their country of asylum (Denaro, 2015).

6) **Maria Rocco** (DICEA – La Sapienza) *Contested border spaces and new territorial arrangements in migrants’ spatial practices at the Northern Moroccan border*

In the last decades Mediterranean has become one of the main sites of implementation of the European border policies. The manufacture of the new European ‘southern frontier’ (Vacchiano, 2013) increasingly influence the territorialization of strategic political and economic processes in new ways for the area.

This border region assumes a geostrategic role as areas of transnational cooperation with third countries, built on a deeply asymmetrical relationship, dominated by the Union and its member states that impose certain standards of governance to the peripheral countries, turning them into the buffer zone to protect their area of freedom, security, justice and prosperity. This mechanism transforms borders into an instrument of political and economic power that produces not only a separation, but a hierarchy of spaces and flows between them, strongly implicated in the geometry of contemporary spatial injustice.

Movements of people and goods are regulated through a gradient of opportunity, exploited by a set of subjects according to their possibilities of movement through this selection system. With the limitation of the so called ‘irregular’ migration (Squire, 2011), freedom of movement becomes more and more a prerogative of goods and capitals, investors, wealthy tourists and skilled professionals, while it is increasingly restricted for the ‘economic migrants’, workers in search of better life chances, and for refugees escaping from dangerous situations.

Nonetheless, migrants strategies of movement constantly interact with and challenge border control. Channels of mobility are generated through trans-local networks, which also function as a highly structured informal system of support, making borders porous.

Migration paths always adapt to move across obstacles, and informal zones of concentration (Sciurba, 2009) are spaces where migrants gather along the journey, to rest, develop a strategy and obtain the means to put it in practice. Those zones are ‘gray spaces’ (Yiftachel, 2009), lacking physical barriers and official recognition, but generated as direct effect of the interaction between control policies and migrants strategies. They play a key role in border conflicts of transit migrants, as their openness allows mobilizations not possible in official ‘white’ spaces. The paper investigates how self-organized spaces of transit migrants at the Northern Moroccan border become the ground for migrant’s political agency, in which irregularity itself is contested (Rygiel, 2011) and argues that migrants’ spacial practices

open up new possibilities to produce, reproduce and transform border spatial paradigms, generating new forms of territoriality beyond nation-state borders.