THE ARAB SPRING AND NORTH AFRICA-EUROPEAN UNION MIGRATION

DYNAMICS: CASE OF TUNISIA, EGYPT AND LIBYA

BY:

ASHA IDRIS MOHAMED

UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

SUMMER 2017
THE ARAB SPRING AND NORTH AFRICA-EUROPEAN UNION MIGRATION DYNAMICS: CASE OF TUNISIA, EGYPT AND LIBYA

BY:

ASHA IDRIS MOHAMED

ID NO: 647515

A Thesis Submitted to the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at the United States International University- Africa in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Award of a Degree of Masters of Arts in International Relations

UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

SUMMER 2017
STUDENT DECLARATION

I, the undersigned declare that this is my original work and that it has not been submitted to any other College, Institution or University other than the United States International University for academic purposes.

Signed: ___________________________    Date: __________________________

ASHA IDRIS MOHAMED (ID NO: 647515)

This project has been presented for examination with my approval as the appointed supervisor.

Signed: ___________________________    Date: __________________________

Project Supervisor

Signed: ___________________________    Date: __________________________

Dean School of Humanities and Social Sciences.

Signed: ___________________________    Date: __________________________

Deputy Vice Chancellor Academic Affairs.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge my project supervisor Mr. Joseph Kimani Njuguna without whose continuous intellectual support, patience and motivation I would not have completed this study. I would also like to acknowledge my family for their moral and financial support during the course of this study.
DEDICATION

It is with great humility that I dedicate this work to my family without whose support I would not have made it this far.
ABSTRACT

Global migration trends are appalling and are indicative of a deeper problem. It is estimated that more than 1 in 7 individuals are migrants. This translates to more than 232 million people globally. Currently, immigrants from North Africa to Europe has increased with countries such as Egypt, Libya and Tunisia being the most significant sources of legal and illegal immigrants especially in the wake of the Arab Spring.

However, while scholars have attempted to address the issue of migration to Europe and have assessed illegal migrations from North Africa in the wake of the Arab Spring, little attention has been accorded a comparative assessment of the trends after and prior to the Arab Spring. Moreover, the effects of the immigrants in EU while perceptible from media reports, have not been a focus of study likewise, the effectiveness of the countermeasures against illegal migration has also not been examined in much literature. Additionally, enough information is lacking concerning the types and effectiveness of countermeasures instigated by EU countries to address immigration into the Schengen area.

The purpose of the study was to assess the dynamics of illegal migrations of North Africans to the EU in the wake of the Arab Springs. The study sought to realize three objectives, namely; to examine the factors underlying the transformations in trends in illegal North Africans migrations to Europe before and after the Arab Spring; to assess the effects of illegal immigrants in the EU; and to investigate EU’s countermeasures against illegal immigrations from North Africa.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

STUDENT DECLARATION .................................................................................................................. ii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .................................................................................................................. iii

DEDICATION ........................................................................................................................................ iv

ABSTRACT .......................................................................................................................................... v

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS ................................................................................................................ iv

DEFINITION OF TERMS ..................................................................................................................... v

CHAPTER ONE .................................................................................................................................... 1

1.0 INTRODUCTION .......................................................................................................................... 1

1.1 Background of the Study .............................................................................................................. 1

1.2 Problem Statement ....................................................................................................................... 6

1.3 Hypothesis ..................................................................................................................................... 8

1.4 Purpose of the Study ...................................................................................................................... 8

1.5 Objectives of the Study .................................................................................................................. 8

1.6 Research Questions ...................................................................................................................... 8

1.7 Significance of the Study .............................................................................................................. 9

1.8 Chapter Summary and Summary of All Chapters ....................................................................... 10

CHAPTER TWO .................................................................................................................................. 13

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW ................................................................................................................ 13

2.1 Introduction ................................................................................................................................... 13

2.2 Empirical Review .......................................................................................................................... 13

2.2.1 Underlying Factors for North Africans’ Illegal Migrations into Europe ................................. 13

2.2.2 Effects of North Africans’ Illegal Migrations into Europe ...................................................... 22

2.2.3 EU’s Countermeasures for Illegal Immigrations from North Africa ......................................... 25

2.3 Summary and Gaps in Literature to Fill ....................................................................................... 27
5.4 Recommendation ........................................................................................................68

REFERENCES ..................................................................................................................71

APPENDIX 1: MAP OF NORTH AFRICAN STATES SHOWING PROXIMITY TO EUROPE .........................................................................................................................79
# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BCPs</td>
<td>Border Check Points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSDP</td>
<td>Common Security and Defense Policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EBCG</td>
<td>European Border and Coast Guard Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EBRD</td>
<td>European Bank for Reconstruction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EIB</td>
<td>European Investment Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMME</td>
<td>Egyptian Ministry of Manpower and Emigration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EUROSUR</td>
<td>European Border Surveillance System</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IBM</td>
<td>Integrated Border Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IOM</td>
<td>International Organization for Migration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JASCIM</td>
<td>Joint Analysis and Strategy Center for Illegal Migration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MENA</td>
<td>Middle East and North African</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAC</td>
<td>Schengen Associated Countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIVE</td>
<td>Integrated System for External Patrols</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMU</td>
<td>Arab Maghreb Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDPs</td>
<td>Internally Displaced People</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DEFINITION OF TERMS

Arab Spring

Arab Spring refers to the popular uprising against authoritarian regimes in North Africa and the Greater Middle East that began in Tunisia in 2010 with the Jasmine Revolution (Idris, 2016: 3).

Migration

Refers generally to movement of people from one place to another for a multiplicity of reasons including political, social, and environmental or for economic reasons (Morehouse & Blomfield, 2011:11).

Immigration

Refers to the action of people coming from a foreign country to live in the recipient country (Fargues, 2013:6).

Illegal immigration

Refers to irregular or sometimes undocumented action of people coming from a foreign country to live in the recipient country. It can also be conceptualized as the act of entering a foreign country without an immigrant or entry visa, entry by evading inspection or overstaying as a tourist, visitor or businessperson (Fargues, 2013:6).

North African Countries

North African countries as indicated in Appendix 1, refer to the countries located in the Northern-most tip of the African continent and comprise of Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Morocco and Algeria (Joffe, 2011).
CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Global migration trends are appalling and are indicative of a deeper problem. In today’s increasingly globalized world, cross-border migration has become a phenomenon that affects nearly every country in the world making countries of origin, transit and destination almost obsolete. According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), (2015a:4), by 2015, it was estimated that more than 1 in 7 individuals were migrants, this translates to more than 232 million people or 3.2% of global population.

Those considered as international migrants, that is, people who resided in a country other than that in which they were born were 232 million, a 41% increase as compared to early 2000. Nonetheless, this figure is just vaguely higher than that recorded over the past 10 years, at 3.2% in 2013 and 2.8% in 2000 indicating a near constant trend. In 2015 alone, 21.3 million people crossed international borders providing an indication of how intense migration has become. This figure however does not include an estimated 5,600 illegal migrants who lost their lives or went missing while migrating (IOM, 2015a:4).

Further estimates indicate that only 10 countries provided residence for approximately 51% of international migrants. According to IOM (2015a, p. 4), as of 2015, the United States of America (US) was the leading destination for international migrants with an estimated 46.6 million migrants, Germany followed with 12 million, having received 441,800 migrants by the end of 2015. Saudi Arabia had 10.2 million, United
Kingdom (UK) had 8.5 million, United Arab Emirates (UAE) 8.1 million, France and Canada 7.8 million each, Spain 5.8 million (IOM, 2015a:5).

An annual average growth rate in the migrant influx was realized especially in 19 countries including Australia, Thailand, Spain and Italy among the aforementioned ones (United Nations, 2016:11). According to the United Nations, (UN) (2016:10) by 2014 countries such as Afghanistan, Turkey, Pakistan, Lebanon, Iran and Ethiopia also became important destinations especially for refugees by hosting 2.6 million, 1.6 million, 1.5 million, 1.2 million, 1 million and 0.7 million respectively.

Unauthorized migration has especially been on the rise in European countries. Europe’s proximity to many nations experiencing turmoil and political strife and its promise of a better life has drawn hundreds of thousands of illegal migrants, year after year. Orrenius and Zavadny (2016:1) observe that in 2015 alone an estimated 1 million migrants from the Middle East, Africa and Asia entered Europe via the shores of Greece, Spain and Italy off the Mediterranean Sea.

Most of these migrants to the EU can be considered as unauthorized or illegal migrants, that is, people who are not supposed to be living or working in the EU (Orrenius & Zavadny, 2016:3; Fargues, 2013:6). According to a report by the UN Development programme (2009:2), the number of those who can be categorized as unauthorized migrants globally were 50 million individuals with the US accounting for 11.3 million.

According to Morehouse and Blomfield (2011:10), a study conducted by the Transatlantic Trends: Immigration revealed that in the six EU countries that were surveyed, there was a general worry among the surveyed about irregular migration
than regular (legal) migration. This finding was not completely surprising given the amount of people who had entered the region illegally. A report by the Clandestino, an EU-funded research project revealed that the continent had between 1.9 and 3.8 million unauthorized migrants (Morehouse & Blomfield, 2011:9).

However, it should be pointed out that the Clandestino and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) reports are rather dated and predate the Arab Spring, which has since led to more illegal migrations to the EU and North America. Termed the Arab Spring, the massive wave of popular unrest that had began to shake the Arab region began in Tunisia in 2010 when a vendor protesting against police brutality set himself a blaze.

The ‘spring’ emerges from the wave ability to move, swiftly from one country to the next across the hitherto authoritarian Arab state of the Middle East and North Africa (Fargues, 2013; 6). The tenacity and brutality with which the government responded to the protests and the protestors’ resolve to pay the ultimate price precipitated a destabilizing effect throughout North Africa and resulted in mass emigration of people, legally and illegally (Morehouse & Blomfield, 2011:11; IOM, 2015a:12; Attina, 2016:25).

The increase in the trend of migration across the Mediterranean had been predicted by Catile and Miller (1993) over two decades ago. This scholar pointed to factors such as very low-income levels, high fertility rates and the lack of opportunities for employment in Africa as the potential precipitators on the exponential increase in African immigrants in Europe. The contemporary influx in immigrants of African origin in Europe can be attributed to the overlap of economic factors, demographic factors and political factors. These political factors include but are not limited to state
mismanagement such as poor policy implementation and planning, corruption within the state organs and inadequate resource distribution. These factors led to the civilian uprising that was the Arab Spring, which began in Tunisia in 2011 and spread to Egypt and Libya as well as to Middle East countries.

Schmidt (2016:6) contends that migrations have grown rapidly in just three years (between 2014 and 2016 by 40%), translating to between 42.5 million and 59.5 million. The figures accounted only for between 7 and 13% of such illegal migrations to the EU in 2008 and are trivial as compared to that of the US, which is estimated as ranging from 25% to 30% (Orrenius & Zavadny, 2016:3). Nonetheless, the presence of between 2 and 4 million illegal migrants is certainly a cause for worry to the EU countries.

While the overall burden of illegal immigration into the EU is shouldered by mostly Germany and Sweden, countries bordering the Mediterranean especially Spain, Italy and Malta have become important destination for migrants (Choe, 2007). Spain and Italy have, in particular had to grapple with the migrants, both legal and illegal from North Africa. According to Morehouse and Blomfield (2011:11), the Arab Spring that emerged in Tunisia and spread through the countries of North Africa and the Middle East resulted in irregular crossing of the Mediterranean into the EU.

It is reported that in the First Quarter of 2011, illegal migrations through Central Mediterranean increased markedly (IOM, 2015a:12; Attina, 2016:25). Italy in particular recorded an unprecedented upsurge in illegal crossing into its territory by people from Tunisia and surpassed Greece as the number one recipient of illegal immigrants in the aftermath of the Arab Springs (Morehouse & Blomfield, 2011:11).
Therefore, the connection between the Arab Spring or rather the political turmoil and instability it precipitated and the upsurge in illegal migrations into Europe is perceptible. In fact, further estimates according to the European Agency for Management of Operational Cooperation (Frontex, henceforth) (2011) indicated that the number of Tunisians detected crossing illegally into the external borders of the EU increased from 323 in the last quarter of 2010 to 20,492 in 2011 (during the first quarter).

Schmid (2016:8) estimates that in 2016 alone, Italy received some 100,000 illegal immigrants from Libya. IOM (2015a:12) estimates that in total, in 2015 alone, Italy as a country received a total of 153,842 migrants by sea and while this was a decrease from the 170,000 it received in the previous year, 2014, it was still very significant. The majority of the illegal immigrants into Italy come by sea, and in 2015 it included some 39,162 Eritreans, 8,932 Sudanese, and 12,433 from Somalia (IOM, 2015a:12).

However, the majority of the immigrants into the country comprised of people from North Africa especially Libyans who accounted for between 80 and 90% while the proportion of Egyptian migrants to the country was also highly significant (Schmid, 2016:8; IOM, 2015a:12). Attina (2016:25) explains that the collapse of the Gaddafi regime in 2011 resulted in the removal of the 2008 Italian-Libyan treaty that prevented the Libyans’ illegal migration to Italy by crossing the Mediterranean Sea.

Another country that was the recipient of most North African illegal migrants was Spain. According to estimates Spain had more than 5.8 million immigrants in 2015 (IOM, 2015a:5). In fact, Spain has continued to receive a great number of immigrants and is becoming one of the highest immigrant-receiving countries globally. In 2006
alone, Spain’s Canary Islands’ authorities caught close to 30,000 Africans attempting to enter the country via the Mediterranean Sea.

Fargues and Fandrich (2012:3) observe that three different categories of immigrants were found in the region. Migrant workers were the largest group. This included many workers in the informal sector who were not eligible for a work permit and were therefore in an irregular situation. Refugees were the second largest group including a majority of de facto refugees, i.e. persons in need of protection according to a criteria set by the United Nations Charter on Refugees, but who could not, or would not wish to, be recognized as refugees in the country where they found shelter. The third and much smaller group is composed of transit migrants, such as persons initially bound for Europe but stuck at its external border for lack of entry visa (Orrenius & Zavadny, 2016:3; Fargues, 2013:6; Fargues & Fandrich, 2012:3).

1.2 Problem Statement

Africa’s history for migration both within and outside the African continent is well documented. According to a report issued by the World Bank in 2010, of about 215 million people living in countries in which they were not born, Africans made about 31 million, between 2.5% and 3% of the entire migrant population (Shimeles, 2010, p. 6 - 7). Over the past decade, the number of immigrants into the EU from Sub-Saharan Africa has reduced while that of immigrants from North Africa to Europe has increased with countries such as Egypt, Libya and Tunisia being the most significant sources of immigrants into Europe especially Spain and Italy (de-Bel-Air, 2016; Fargues & Fandrich, 2012:2).
The starting point of immigration of North Africans into Europe, while being hard to pinpoint at a specific time in history can be said to predate the Arab Spring. Nonetheless, the Arab Spring that began in 2011 initiated an unprecedented change in the proportion of North Africans entering the EU illegally. Indeed, the collapse of Ben Ali regime in 2011, Gaddafi regime in Libya in 2011 and the collapse of Mubarak regime in Egypt resulted in turmoil that facilitated emigration of populations from these countries into Europe (Attina, 2016:16).

However, while scholars have attempted to address the issue of migration to Europe and have assessed illegal migrations from North Africa in the wake of the Arab Spring, little attention has been accorded a comparative assessment of the trends prior to the Arab Spring and that in the wake of the springs. Furthermore, most literature sources have focused on assessing the causes of immigration into Europe in general rather than in specific terms that would be relevant to understanding the dynamics of immigrations of North Africans into the EU. The effects of the immigrants in EU while perceptible from media reports, have not been a focus of study likewise, the effectiveness of the countermeasures against illegal migration has also not been examined in much literature.

The current study attempts to abridge these scholarly shortcomings by examining the transformations in trends of illegal immigrations into the EU from North African countries of Egypt, Libya and Tunisia. Specifically, the study seeks to provide answers to the following fundamental questions, namely; what factors underlie the transformations in trends in illegal North Africans migrations to Europe before and after the Arab Spring? What have been the socio-political and economic effects of illegal immigrants in the EU? How effective have EU’s countermeasures for illegal
immigrations from North Africa been? And what policy recommendations, if any, can be made to EU countries with regards to dealing with illegal migration.

1.3 Hypothesis

The instability created in Egypt, Libya and Tunisia by the Arab Spring is the cause of high increase in irregular or illegal migrations to the EU by populations from these countries.

1.4 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to assess the dynamics of illegal migrations of North Africans to the EU in the wake of the Arab Springs.

1.5 Objectives of the Study

1.5.1 To examine the factors underlying the transformations in trends in illegal North Africans migrations to Europe before and after the Arab Spring.

1.5.2 To assess the effects of illegal immigrants in the EU.

1.5.3 To investigate the EU’s countermeasures against illegal immigrations from North Africa.

1.6 Research Questions

1.6.1 What factors underlie the transformations in trends in illegal North Africans migrations to Europe before and after the Arab Spring?

1.6.2 What have been the effects of illegal immigrants in the EU?
1.6.3 How effective have EU’s countermeasures against illegal immigrations from North Africa been?

1.7 Significance of the Study

The study is aimed at providing valuable information that may prove vital to the following groups:

1.7.1 The North African Immigrants into EU and Citizens of Recipient States

The citizens of Egypt, Tunisia and Libya as well as those of the recipient EU countries (especially, Italy, Spain and Germany among others) will obtain information on the various implications of illegal migrations on their countries economic development among others. Therefore, the study will empower the citizens especially of the recipient country to lobby their leaders regarding the enactment of laws and formulation of policies that influence the issue of immigration.

1.7.2 The North African Governments

The study focuses on assessing the effects of illegal North African migrations into the EU. As such, the study will provide information that is critical for the governments of affected North African countries in determining appropriate and effective policy responses. This implies that the study will be indispensable for North African policy makers and leaders while they engage the destination countries of Europe on possible joint anti-illegal migration policy. The study will also allow North African government officials to conceptualize the effects of illegal migrations on their social-economic growth.

1.7.3 The European Union and Governments
The study will provide vital information regarding trends and issues in immigration into Europe by North Africans that can help European leaders when developing immigration policies for the EU. Furthermore, the study will provide facts and data on the irregular migrant crisis into EU countries and facilitate not only policy formulation but also influence country-specific responses to the migration crisis. The study gives a cause-effect approach in assessing the situation, an approach that may prove vital to efforts aimed at curbing the influx in a more effective way by making it possible for the EU to respond to specific causes.

1.7.4 Researchers

The study ventures into an issue of global concern, one that is both current and increasingly growing. In so doing the study will inspire scholarly attention and debate on the issues of migration hence encourage more research on the issue. Additionally, the study will contribute to the body of literature examining illegal migration into Europe by migrants from Egypt, Tunisia and Libya. Therefore, the study will be an important source for scholars who want to study the subject by acting as a source of background information on the subject and as a source of information for the literature review. Criticisms and omissions that may be implicit or explicit in the study will also be vital for inspiring further research for the verification of the findings of this study.

1.8 Chapter Summary and Summary of All Chapters

Chapter 1 has provided the blueprint for the study highlighting the crucial guideposts of the study. The study has provided the background context from which the interest in the study arises. It has gone ahead to present the research problem for the study
reiterating the current situation in illegal immigrations into the EU by people from North Africa. The problem statement has also raised the issue of lack of scholarly attention to the problem and hence provided a justification for the study. Chapter 1 has also provided the general and the specific objectives guiding the study, the significance or the study. It has ended by providing definition for some of the key terms and concepts that was used in the study.

Chapter Two of the study provides the literature review for the study. The chapter was structured around three research objectives and hence included an assessment of the existing scholarly literature on the subjects that underscore the objectives. As such, it comprised of three parts, the first part will examine literature and investigate what existing literature say about transformations in illegal immigration trends into the EU from the North African states of Egypt, Libya and Tunisia and examine the underlying reasons. The second part of the review assessed existing literature on what previous studies and publications say concerning the socio-political and economic effects of illegal immigrants in the EU. The third part of the review analyzed existing literature on EU’s countermeasures against illegal immigrations from North Africa.

Chapter Three of the study provides the methodology of the study. It provides the research design for the study, the epistemological leaning of the study, and provides the data collection and analysis methods that were used in the study.

Chapter Four focuses on examining the results and findings of the study and is structured according to the specific research objectives of the study. Consequently it assesses findings concerning; transformations in illegal immigration trends into the EU from North African states of Egypt, Libya and Tunisia and examines the
underlying reasons, the socio-political and economic effects of illegal immigrants in the EU and EU’s countermeasures against illegal immigrations from North Africa.

Chapter Five provides the summary of the study, identifying some of the defining findings of the study. It then provides conclusions and recommendations for improvement of existing measures and for future study.
CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a literature review on the problem of focus. As such, it analyzes literature on the illegal migration trends before and after the Arab Springs and the underlying reasons. The chapter also reviews literature on the socio-political and economic ramifications of the illegal immigrations in the EU as well as literature on the EU’s countermeasures against illegal North African migrations. The review is aimed at achieving two goals; establishing a conceptualization of the problem, which will facilitate further analysis and highlighting the gaps in literature, which the study will endeavor to fill. Chapter 2 further discusses the theoretical framework for the study, to contextualize the problem within existing theory and it also highlights the conceptual framework.

2.2 Empirical Review

2.2.1 Underlying Factors for North Africans’ Illegal Migrations into Europe

2.2.1.1 Illegal Migration Trends before and After the Arab Spring

Fargues (2013:6) conceptualizes irregular or illegal (or sometimes undocumented) movement of people across international borders into another (foreign) country. As such illegal migrants are individuals without an immigrant or entry visa, entry by evading inspection or overstaying as a tourist, visitor or businessperson (Fargues,
Approximations for irregular migrations flux from North Africa are uncertain due to several reasons including lack of current data across the countries of focus (Egypt, Tunisia and Libya), data inconsistencies between the sending and the receiving countries, data collection methodology across the region (Browne, 2015:3). The reason for this inconsistency in the estimated flows in irregular migrations is the fact that illegal migrations occur in a shadow economy and as such, tracking number of arrivals and departures is impossible (Koser & McAuliffe, 2013:7). Nonetheless, Browne (2015:2) argues that despite the frail evidence base, the literature in the irregular migrations from North Africa to Europe is quite consistent.

Morehouse and Blomfield (2011:9) contend that the Arab Spring, the massive wave of popular unrest that began to shake the Arab region begun in Tunisia in 2010 when a vendor protesting against police brutality set himself a blaze, presented an unprecedented surge in irregular migrations from North Africa. It is reported that in the First Quarter of 2011, illegal migrations through the Central Mediterranean increased markedly (IOM, 2015a:12; Attina, 2016:25).

Schmid (2016:8) estimates that in 2016 alone, Italy received some 100,000 illegal immigrants from Libya. IOM (2015a:12) estimates that in total, in 2015 alone, Italy as a country received a total of 153,842 migrants by sea and while this was a decrease from the 170,000 it received in the previous year, 2014, it was still very significant. Frontex (2011) indicated that the number of Tunisians detected crossing illegally into the external borders of the EU increased from 323 in the last quarter of 2010 to 20,492 in 2011 (during the first quarter).

Illegal Libyans’ immigration into the EU countries of Spain and Italy in the wake of the Arab Spring is approximated to have accounted for between 80 and 90% while the
proportion of Egyptian migrants to the country was also highly significant (Schmid, 2016:8; IOM, 2015a:12). According to estimates Spain had more than 5.8 million immigrants in 2015 (IOM, 2015a:5). Therefore, it is perceptible that the Arab Spring presented an unprecedented surge in North African immigrations into the EU especially irregular migrants from Egypt, Libya and Tunisia- countries most affected by the wave in North Africa.

While the Arab Spring has brought the issue of illegal migration from North Africa to the limelight, it is worth noting that literature indicate that these migrations predate the Arab Spring. According to Fargue and Fandrich (2012:2), the Mediterranean Arab countries especially those of North Africa had been above average senders of international migrants by 2010. It estimated that the region was a source of about 8 million migrants 62% of which were first-generation migrants living in Europe.

Between, 2001 and 2010, an increase of 42%, up to 5 million from 3.5 million was recorded in the number of emigrants to the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) which includes EU countries was recorded (Fargue & Fandrich, 2012:2). In fact, 91% of these migrants were headed to Europe, especially Spain, France and Italy, countries that are in close proximity to the Mediterranean states (as indicated in Appendix 1). These immigrants included those from Egypt, Tunisia and Libya.

The reasons for migrations to Europe included family reunifications and search for employment by the low and mid-skilled migrants (IOM, 2015a:12). The demand for such labor having been created by the economic boom realized in the OECD countries that precipitated the rise in living standards for native populations making them leave the low-paying jobs (Fargue & Fandrich, 2012:6).
Fargues (2011:274) notes that the pre-Arab Spring migration trend also suggested a change in terms of the leading sender states in North Africa. Currently, Libya leads the North African countries as a sender of migrants to Europe followed by Egypt and Tunisia (IOM, 2015a:12; Attina, 2016:25; Schmid, 2016:8).

2.2.1.2 Conflict Drivers

Van Hear, Bakewell and Long (2012:7) explain that there exists a consensus among scholars on the presence of forces that precipitate the inception of migration and perpetuate movement of people globally. Taken in unity these forces can be conceived as the drivers of migration, or crescendos, which get migration going. According to Van Hear, et al., (2012:7), literature on the inception and perpetuation of migration has centered on the analyses of disparities and differences between different places. These are the so-called ‘pull-push’ models. The ‘pull-push’ drivers can be categorized as conflict drivers, economic drivers, structural drivers, social and support drivers (Browne, 2015:5).

The outbreaks of violent conflicts are crucial drivers for irregular migrations anywhere in the world. Browne (2015:5) posits that conflicts act as “tipping points” or shocks that trigger surges in migration. Carling and Talleraas (2016:6) observe that conflict has dominated debates as the root cause of emigration and displacement of masses. Van Hear, et al., (2012:9) conceive conflict as an inception and perpetuation factor for migration in terms of the political disparities between the home country and the destination country or region.

These disparities are in terms of persecution, relative prevalence of conflict as well as other dimensions of human security including human rights. The outbreak of war, the
escalation of conflict including political assassinations, massacre among other atrocities raise the propensity of people caught in such circumstances to make the decision to leave (Van Hear, et al., 2012:9). The propensity of conflicts to generate mass movement of people and to precipitate an influx in asylum-seekers and refugees is well documented and such has been the case especially in the wake of the Arab Spring (Morehouse & Blomfield, 2011:11; IOM, 2015a:12; Attina, 2016:25; Schmidt, 2016:6).

De Hass (2011:29) contends that key shifts in migration are directly linked to responses to shocks, as opposed to incremental changes. In North Africa, in countries such as Egypt, Tunisia, and Libya, to an extent Morocco and Mauritania, the changes are linked to transformation in the economic and political structures (Browne, 2015:5). Empirical evidence exists connecting conflict to emigrations from North Africa.

The Arab Spring presented a major shift in the economic, political and even social structures of North African states of Egypt, Tunisia and Libya between 2010 and 2011 precipitating an influx in the irregular flow of refugees and asylum seekers from that region to Italy (de-Bel-Air, 2016; Fargues & Fandrich, 2012:2). The outbreak of violence in mid-2014, after the toppling of the Gadaffi regime and a ripple effect of the Arab Spring led to further emigration of not only Libyan nationals but also other nationals who were living in Libya during the advent of the Arab Spring. This further indicates the relationship between conflict and emigrations (Browne, 2015a:4).

A report by the IOM (2015a) indicated that in 2011, 900,000 migrants had fled Libya including some 250,000 nationals of third countries who had sought employment in the country. According to Browne (2015:4) conflict-related causes of North Africans
migrations to EU, include a mix of “proximate causes” such as the outbreak of violence, the loss of a family member and the loss of livelihood among others. These underlying causes, while predating the Arab Spring could be cited as the principal reasons for the surge in irregular migrations of North Africans from Libya, Egypt and Tunisia into Europe (Morehouse & Blomfield, 2011:11Attina, 2016:25).

2.2.1.3 Economic Drivers

According to Van Hear, et al., (2012:4) there are pertinent economic factors that trigger and drive migration. These factors include a hike in unemployment levels, financial collapse, and disintegration of welfare services, education or health systems (Ortega & Peri, 2009:9a). Economic issues are at the core of people’s consideration to stay in one place or move in search of economic opportunities and employment to enhance their living conditions. Disruptions of the economic system or economic uncertainties have been determined to be one of the principal incentives for people to migrate. Castles (2013: 123), Ortega and Peri (2009:9a) posit that even in absence of violent conflicts, people may prefer certain amount of income per capita as well as economic stability. Failure to realize either of the two or both may be triggers for migration.

This perspective is supported by the macro theories of migration such as the neoclassical macro theory, the dual market theory and the world systems theory (Olejarova, 007:12). Within these perspectives people move due to unemployment and lack of employment opportunities, low salaries or wages, per capita income of the country of origin vis-à-vis the destination county (Bosewel, 2000:4). Economic reasons are cited in much literature as the principal motivations in North Africans’ decision to migrate. The motivation transcends experience of poverty and includes
lack of high-skill work opportunities, visible economic disparities or inequalities, youth bulges and low labor wages in countries of origin (Ortega & Peri, 2009:9a).

According to Browne (2015:4), the key economic reasons underlying the migrations of North Africans to the EU include, economic uncertainty and persistent unemployment in the home countries. Research has also established that North African countries, like the Sub-Saharan African countries, have high population growths with corresponding limited jobs for the youth. Mahdi (2013:13) observes a difference in motivation for emigration among North Africans. He argues that for Egyptians, especially before the Arab Spring, the primary reason for emigration was economic as both persistent unemployment and poverty forced especially Egyptian youth to migrate to Europe.

Browne (2015:7) makes a similar observation contending the drive for irregular outmigration of Egyptians to Europe is the lack of employment opportunities, poor living conditions and low wages. The significance of remittances is also pull factor for outmigration (Mahdi, 2013:13). Reviewing data from 1997 to assess the impact of migration on poverty levels, Kahn, Dumas, Eshet and Billfeld (2014) find two interesting things, which are that remittances and kin members in the recipient countries are among the principle drivers for irregular and regular outmigration of people to Europe.

In such circumstances, poorer people more than the affluent bear more potential likelihood for outmigration (Khan, et al., 2014: 356 – 8). In a survey to investigate the push factors for Egyptians emigration to Europe conducted by the Egyptian Ministry of Manpower and Emigration (EMME), it was determined that economic factors underscored the emigrations. Nonetheless, literature on poverty as a driver for
emigration from North Africa suggested that it a limiting fact as those that are too poor are unable to emigrate due to the relatively high costs associated with illegal immigrations (Van Hear, et al., 2012:4).

2.2.1.4 Structural Drivers

Browne (2015:8) contends that some institutional structures facilitate illegal of people including corruption, weak border control and ease of access to smugglers among others. The breakdown in governance structures facilitates illegitimate outmigration of populations (Castles, 2013: 123; Browne, 2015:8). Unavailability of legal means and routes for migration leaves room for irregular migration. The structural triggers of migration imply that there is a link between social transformations and human mobility. The structural motivations for the inception and perpetuation of migration are a break from the conventional analyses, which focus on the push-pull factors as the principle and unitary explanation of migration.


As such, migration is conceived as emanating from uneven development existing between the receiving and the home countries and the structural dependence and
disparities that exist between these countries, regions or economies (Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana, 2016:23). On the other hand, the dual labor theory conceptualizes migration as a consequence of provisional pull factors, such as strong labor demands in the destination countries especially the developed states (Hagen-Zanker, 2008:7-8). These perspectives offer a critical insight in the assessment of how structures facilitate international migration.

Wickramasinghe and Wimalaratana (2016:23) contend that structural inflation, economic dualism, motivational problems as well as the demography issues related with labor supply are integral structural factors that inspire and perpetuate migration. In De Hass (2011:29) the examination of migration from North Africa across the Mediterranean in the past 6 decades reveal that fluctuating labor demand especially in Europe is a fundamental pull factor. Furthermore, the failures of the economic structures and labor market in sending countries have facilitated the outmigration of people.

According to Hinds (2014: 13) structural factors contributing to migrations include weak regional cooperation, physical geography particularly porous borders and weak security institutions. In terms of weak regional cooperation, regional security and intra-regional trade and weak political cooperation from a sending region provides a platform for irregular migrations (Hinds, 2014: 13). Both the porosity of borders between and among the sending and the receiving states is also a fundamental structural factor that perpetuate irregular migrations.

Border porosity is a persistent problem for North African states as people from Tunisia and Egypt in particular are able to pass undetected into Libya and Morocco and access Spain though the Canary Islands (de-Bel-Air, 2016; Fargues, 2013:9).
According to Browne (2015:8) weak border security institutions affect the States’ abilities to control borders crossings. This is coupled with the lack of adequate security can allow border regions to become ‘sanctuaries for violent extremist groups’ (JACS, 2013: 40).

However, it is apparent that most literature that has examined structural factors are precipitators of migration have mostly focused on economic aspects, this include (Browne, 2015; Hagen-Zanker, 2008; De Hass, 2011; Wickramasinghe and Wimalaratana, 2016:23). Hinds (2014) is just among the few that have focused on the non-economic structural factors that cause international migration. Furthermore, these analyses do not single out the structural drivers for illegal migration but rather they adopt a general approach in identifying the factors.

2.2.2 Effects of North Africans’ Illegal Migrations into Europe

2.2.2.1 Socio-Political Effects

The challenge of integration is most prominent in urban areas. Most internal as well as international migrants end up in the cities of developing countries because of employment opportunities, with many working in the informal sector of business, transport, crafts and services. For example, a quarter of the population of Libreville in Gabon is from another country from Central Africa and West Africa (Lassailly-Jacob, Boyer & Brachet, 2007: 25). Sometime the movement is driven by the falling living standards and weak support services in the source community (World Bank 2009).

If the excess supply of labor is combined with poor ability of the local authorities to manage immigration, the result is commonly increased disparities and expansion of slum areas in the cities (UNDP 2009b: 87). Forced migration can also contribute to
urbanization. War, environmental degradation, and economic crisis lead to large population movements from rural areas into cities where people take refuge. There are allegedly 2 million Somalis in Mogadishu, mostly Internally Displaced People (IDPs) escaping the fighting in their villages and seeking protection of the NGOs or the warlords (Lassailly-Jacob, *et al.*, 2007:25).

The rapid expansion of cities combined with weak local administration or lack of migration policies have led to desperate actions by the host countries officials. In Dhaka, Bangladesh, 60,000 people were forcibly cleared from the slums in early 2007; in Jakarta, Indonesia, migrants are required to show proof of employment and housing to enter the city; and in Zimbabwe (internal) migrants were evicted from shanty towns around Harare in 2005 (UNDP 2009: 87).

Migration is only a part of the urbanization challenge, but the interaction between migration and rapid urbanization is likely to be important for policy in the destination countries in the South. The transformations that have resulted in the EU due to illegal immigration of North Africans in the wake of the Arab Spring is unprecedented. Europe has undertaken and witnessed a multiplicity of transformation in relation to the influx immigrants in the EU.

### 2.2.2 Economic Effects

The fiscal impact of immigration depends on the costs and contributions of the immigrant population to the welfare system of the host country. How extensive the social safety nets and welfare services are and to what extent migrants are allowed to access the domestic welfare system determines the cost on the host society, while their role as taxpayers determine their contributions to the system.
Even though the channels transmitting welfare impacts of migration on the destination countries are well known in the literature, there is very limited amount of empirical evidence from the South quantifying the impacts. Migration of people, just as international trade, benefits both the sending country and the receiving country (van der Mensbrugghe & Roland-Holst, 2009:6-9). The welfare gain for the destination country is due to the fact that immigration increases the supply of labor, which increases employment, production and thus gross domestic product (GDP) (Ortega & Peri 2009b:17).

Immigration has also been found to increase the productivity of the receiving economies through the contribution of migrants to innovation. Another way in which immigration increases productivity is that immigrants free up the local workforce to move to higher productivity occupations. Despite the benefits of immigration, the public and the policymakers at the destination country usually believe that immigration can become an economic burden, as immigration is feared to lead to loss of jobs, heavy burden on public services, social tension and increased criminality (UNDP 2009a: 70) despite the evidence to the contrary.

The main channels for negative economic outcome for the destination countries are increased job competition that allegedly brings down the wages for the locals, and the increased fiscal burden for caring for a growing population of immigrants. Incoming migrants need to be integrated into the labor force, which intensifies the competition for existing jobs (Ortega & Peri 2009:19). Especially in times of economic downturn, the general public and the policymakers tend to become more worried about the potential adverse impact of immigration on natives’ opportunities, and immigrants can be used as scapegoats to blame for rising unemployment even though no strong
evidence exists to show that immigrants take the citizens’ jobs (Papademetriou, Sumption & Somerville, 2009:13). A common worry is also a downward pressure on salaries caused by an influx of migrant workers.

In the European countries, the aggregate ramifications of immigrants on wages has been found to be very small both in the short run and in the long run (Longhi, Nijkamp & Poot, 2005:452), and similar findings in the context of South-South migration has been confirmed by Ratha and Shaw (2007:67). Simulations from a general equilibrium model by van der Mansbrugghe and Roland-Holst (2009: 33-35) suggest that reducing migration will not necessarily result in higher wages for the citizens in the receiving countries, since lower levels of migration will also lower the relative return to capital, which in turn will put downward pressure on wages.

2.2.3 EU’s Countermeasures for Illegal Immigrations from North Africa

2.2.2.1 Border Security

Border security is of grave importance to the EU, particularly the external border of the Schengen area. This is mainly because the EU currently has got no system of detecting people’s movement once they are within the Schengen region, especially illegal immigrants into the EU. The external border within the EU’s conception refers to those between states that are Schengen Associated Countries (SAC) and third-party countries or territories (Takle, 2012:283). Border security has been one of the principal areas that have been directly affected by immigration. Attina (2016:20) explains that in the wake of the Arab Spring, the EU has established two agencies to boost border security. These include the European Asylum Support Office (EASO)
established in 2011 and the European Border Surveillance system (EUROSUR) established in 2013 (Attina, 2016:20).

According to Fargues and Fandrich (2012:13) EASO and EUROSUR were both established after FRONTEX (Frontières extérieures), an acronym normally used instead of the European Border and Coast Guard Agency (EBCG). According to Takle (2012:283) FRONTEX had been established in 2004 and was mandated to manage the external borders of the EU or the Schengen area. The EASO and the EUROSUR were created to provide information regarding the management of the immigration problem and to enhance surveillance system of the borders of the Schengen region (Attina, 2016:20). Border security is critical for the EU because as FRONTEX (2016:24) reports, in 2015 alone millions of illegal migrants crossed into the EU with about 8,373 falsified documents being detected at the Border Check Points (BCPs).

2.2.2.2 Political and Legal Measures

In line with the extensive measures taken to ensure border security, the EU has also established political, diplomatic and legal measures to stop migration from the source. Takle (2012:285) reports that the EU engages in diplomatic action and takes a leading role in peacekeeping and conflict prevention, through its Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) missions. Through this approach, the EU has engaged the sender states including Tunisia, Egypt and Libya to minimize the push factors for emigration. According to FRONTEX (2016) the meeting between African and EU leaders held in 2015 at Valletta highlighted the need to take action regarding conflicts, human rights violations and abuses. These are perceived to be some of the

Additionally, the member states of the EU have taken several drastic steps in an attempt to curb the irregular immigration of people into the Schengen area (Fargues & Fandrich, 2012:13). It is reported that the EU states started funding the Arab governments including those in North Africa to enhance their capacity to protect their porous border to limit the number of people leaving the countries irregularly for Europe (European Commission, 2011).

### 2.3 Summary and Gaps in Literature to Fill

The review has revealed important information regarding the issue under investigation. It has revealed that a lot of academic attention has gone to the analyses of regular and irregular migration of North Africans to the EU. However, the review has revealed that previous studies have treated the trends in these migrations and their underlying drivers as separate rather that intricately interconnected and mutually reinforcing elements. The review has revealed that existing literature have identified a multiplicity of drivers or triggers of emigration which can generally categorized into three, as conflict, economic and structural drivers albeit with a lack of consensus on the extent to which each drive affects emigration. Literature that explains migration as a consequence of the perceived or actual vagaries of conflict cannot explain the triggers in times of tranquility, while those that adhere toward economic explanations do not account for non-economic triggers.

The review has also revealed that several social, political and economic ramifications emerge with illegal immigration of people into the EU. However, much of the literature analyzes the impacts in general terms, that is, they focus on the impact of all
immigrants in Europe, limited analyses have gone the assessment of the impact of irregular North African immigrants in Europe. Furthermore, not much of the existing literature looks at the impacts in terms of the socio-political and economic ramifications of the migrants in the EU. The review has also revealed that there is a lot of literature that has been written on the countermeasures that EU member states have adopted to respond to the influx of immigrants in the EU. However, the review reveals that limited analyses have gone to the assessment of the impacts of such measures on the illegal migrations.

The aim of this study is thus to two-pronged, firstly, it seeks to generate information and create an understanding of the trends in illegal immigrants in the EU before and in the wake of the Arab Spring. It also seeks to highlight the underlying drivers for the immigrations, to examine the socio-political and economic drivers of these migrations and to highlight the countermeasures adopted by the EU to generate information for policy recommendation and for improvement of existing policies. Secondly, the study seeks to contribute to the body of literature regarding the dynamic of North Africa-EU migrations and thereby facilitate the bridging of the exiting gap in literature on the issue.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

A theoretical framework provides the contextual framework upon which to base the study and assess the findings of the study. The literature on migration studies provide a spectrum of theoretical perspectives that academicians and analysts have provided, and which shape the conceptualization of migration and lend hand to the operationalization of the current study. Boswel (2002:3) proposed that the theoretical
perspectives on migration can be placed into three categories, meso theories micro theories and macro theories.

According to Hagen-Zanker (2008:8) the meso theoretical perspective, developed by Thomas Faist between 1997 and 2000, refute the pull-push factor-assumptions of the macro theories on international migration. For the meso theorists, migration occurs as a result of a system of ties existing between states, that is, that the precipitating conditions for migration are in the nature of relations between two states or regions as opposed to objective indicators (Olejarova, 2007:16). Two theories are crucial in the meso theoretical perspectives on migrations, network theory and institutional theory.

The network theory was developed by Massey Taylor (1986) (cited in Olejarova, 2007:17). Like Wallerstein’s world system theory, the network theory is a sociological perspective on migration that accentuates presence of social networks within a common community (Hagen-Zanker, 2008:6; Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana, 2016:23). The networks are a spectrum of interpersonal linkages that tie migrants, non-migrants and former migrants in the destination country with their families, kin and common community of origin (Boswel, 2000:3).

Olejarova (2007:17) explains that Massey contended that existence of such networks enhanced the propensity of people to migrate owing to information they received from the networks and support for house and job searching. In the context of North Africans’ migration to the EU, the networks theory provides a crucial insight. Khan, et al., (2014: 356 – 8) suggested that the presence of family members in Europe was one of the forces driving Egyptians to migrate to Europe.
Institutional theory is also a crucial theory that explains or attempts to explain the principal importance of networks and systems in migrations. According to Olejarova (2007:18), contends that immediately migrations begin at an international level, a spectrum of voluntary and private institutions or establishments emerge to satisfy the demand established by a pool of individuals seeking entry into destination countries. Boswel (2000:4) Wickramasinghe and Wimalaratana (2016:24) contend that opportunities then emerge for private entrepreneurs who engage in black market process to assist emigrants and immigrants and to profit from the ordeal.

As these entrepreneurs become more resilient and popular among migrants and former migrants they develop to constitute some form of social capital to promote and sustain mobility. The context of illegal North African migrations to the EU, several black-market actors have emerged to ferry the illegal emigrants to Europe and also provide them with falsified documents both at a cost to the migrants. Browne (2015:4) has posited that too much poverty is a limiting factor as those that are too poor are unable to emigrate due to the relatively high costs associated with illegal immigrations.

According to Bowell (2000:4), the meso theories are therefore important in accounting for migrations. However, these theories do not fully account for migration in the context of immigration in Europe of migrants from Libya, Egypt and Tunisia. They do not account for forced migration and do not help account for migrants’ choice of destination for forced migrations. For this reason, another body of theoretical perspective must exist to account for the shortfalls of the meso theories, the micro-theories offer such perspectives.
Boswel (2000:3) explains that the micro-theories of migration focus on the drivers of individual decisions to migrate. These theories are based on the individuals’ cost-benefit evaluation of the decisions to migrate hence draw hugely from the rational choice theory. Hagen-Zanker (2008:6) explains that costs include the financial and psychological consequences of migration including invested resources and the costs associated with integration in the destination country. The main micro theories are the neoclassical micro theory and the new economics of migration (Boswel, 2000:3).

The neoclassical micro theory emerged as a brainchild of Sjaastad (1962) (cited in Hagen-Zanker, 2008:6). The rational decision to migrate is the outcome of a cost-benefit analysis, which makes the migrant perceive potential returns in moving. Thus, the theorist presented the migration decision as a problem of human capital investment in which the potential migrant encountered a dilemma of the costs and benefits of emigration (Olejarova, 2007:20).

The micro neoclassical theory distinguishes between wage-based and non-wage benefits. In the first instance, the potential migrant will weigh the chances of finding a job in the destination country vis-à-vis the chances in the home country and will also assess the expected income in the destination versus that in the home country. The end result of such an assessment will influence the propensity of the individual to move. The non-wage evaluations include safety in the destination versus home country, among others (Hagen-Zanker, 2008:6; Olejarova, 2007:20).

The new economics of migration perspective emerged in mid 1980s with Stark and Bloom (1985) (cited in Olejarova, 2007:21). This perspective perceived migration decision as community or a group affair rather than a personal or individual affair. It
suggested that the decision to move is not made by a single individual but by a group of people who may or may not be relations. Family members may make a decision to migrate or may allow their members to migrate for both economic and non-economic reasons. In the first instance, the decision may be made to facilitate the maximization of expected income and limit the jeopardy of losing revenues or even to uplift family from poverty.

In the second instance, the decision may be made to ensure survival of family members especially in conflict situations in the home country (Olejarova, 2007:21 - 22; Haug, 2008: 586 & 590). Therefore, the micro theories are crucial for the current study as they help conjure a picture of the thought processes and valuations that underscore decision to migrate to Europe by migrants from Egypt, Libya and Tunisia especially through irregular means before and after the Arab Spring.

However, by attributing the decision to move as a consequence of rational choice or cos-benefit valuations, the micro-theories are inherently weak to provide a platform for which to construe influx in migrations into the EU by migrants from Egypt, Libya and Tunisia. As can be construed from migrations into Europe by populations from these countries with the advent of the Arab Spring, individual choices and economic consideration as suggested by the rational choice theory, the micro neo-classical perspective and the economics of migration perspective do not fully account for the migrations.

They do not appreciate that the circumstances presented by the Arab Spring were beyond individual’s personal control and choices. As such, another perspective which is able to help account for the role of networks, personal cost-benefit valuations and
forced migration must be considered. The macro-perspective provides such a perspective (Olejarova, 2007:12).

Olejarova (2007:12) explain that the parting point of macro theories of migration is their accentuation of objective, structural conditions. The macro theories hold that the structural, objective context act as push-pull factors for migration in both countries of origin and recipient countries (Olejarova, 2007:12; Haug, 2008: 586 & 590). Thus, in terms of economics the push factors would be such thing as unemployment and lack of employment opportunities, low salaries or wages, per capita income of the country of origin vis-à-vis the destination county (Boswel, 2000:4).

The pull factors, as per the macro theories would include migration legislation in the destination country or region, the context of the labor market in the destination country or region in terms of demand for labor, and corresponding better salaries or wages (Haug, 2008: 590; Boswel, 2000:4). Boswel (2000:5) explains that such things are state repression and fear or an all-out violence and civil war would account for involuntary migration in the perspective of the macro theories of migration.

According to Olejarova (2007:12), the neoclassical macro theory, the dual labor market theory and the world systems theory are some of the most effective macro-economic theories of migration. The neoclassical model of labor market was developed by Lewis (1954), Hicks (1963), Harris and Todaro (1970) (cited in Olejarova, 2007: 13) in an endeavor to account for labor migrations in the context of economic development. Okkerse (2008:1) contends that this perspective assumed that the geographic differences in supply-demand of labor relationship accounted for international migration. Furthermore, it held that wage and salary differentials were
the trigger for migrations. Therefore, applied in the context of North Africans emigrations to the EU, it can be argued that the differences in the labor demands as well as wage and salary differentials between the two regions with the latter having a relatively higher demand significantly accounts for migrations. Browne (2015:4) has argued that lack of unemployment coupled with low wage and salary condition has been found to be a precipitator of migrations North Africans to the EU.

According to Hagen-Zanker (2008:7), the dual labor theory was developed by Piore (1997) and is also centers on the economic drivers and emerged a critique of the rational choice theory assumption concerning migrations (Olejarova, 2007:12). It contends that international migrations are the results of the inherent labor demands of contemporary industrial societies (Hagen-Zanker, 2008:7; Olejarova, 2007:12). The dual labor theory conceptualizes migration as a consequence of provisional pull factors, such as strong labor demands in the destination countries especially the developed states (Hagen-Zanker, 2008:7-8).

The dualism emerges from the fact that the demand is in both the high-wage level sectors as well as the low-wage level sectors and as such the demand for both skilled and semi-skilled labor force exist (Olejarova, 2007:15). This theory also helps account for migrations from North Africa to the EU as both skilled and semi-skilled individuals migrate to the continent through irregular means (Morehouse & Blomfield, 2011:11 Attina, 2016:25).

Emmanuel Wallerstein is accredited with the development of the world system theory, which is more of a macro-sociological perspective and assumes a historical structural approach to account for international migration (Olejarova, 2007:16). In this perspective, Wallerstein accounts for international migration in terms of the dynamics
of the capitalist world economy. According to Hagen-Zanker (2008:7-8) Wallerstein emphasizes the dislocations and disruptions in peripheral parts of the world especially capitalist expansions in such of raw material, land and mostly low-cost labor. Olejarova (2007) contends that the capitalist infiltration of the global economic exchanges has resulted in creating a mobile population in non-capitalist peripheral societies. In this sense, North Africans migrations to Europe can be conceived, as working in tandem with this world system and the Arab Spring has just been a facilitating event.

The current study considers both the meso and micro-models of migration as significant in understanding and explicating migrations. Nonetheless, this study leans towards the macro-theories. The macro-perspectives are preferred in the study because it permits considerations of a spectrum of precipitating factors of migration at the domestic level and in the destination country – the push-pull factors. It holds that the push-pull factors were at play before, during and after the Arab Spring, and can help account for the changes in trend of inflow of migrants from Egypt, Tunisia and Libya into the EU before and after the debilitating effect of the Spring.

The theoretical leaning towards the macro-theories assumed in this study is further founded on the consideration that that the networks and structural underpinnings of the Meso-theories only account for negligible effect on the changes in trends before and after the Arab Spring that struck Egypt, Tunisia and Libya. Additionally, while the micro-theories, owing to their emphasis of rational choice can help account, to a little extent to migration in the pre-Arab Spring period, they fail to explain one fundamental issue; why the migrations from this countries to the EU was small. It also fails to account for forced migration resulting from the Arab Spring.
2.6 Chapter Summary

The chapter has reviewed existing literature on Africa-European Union migration dynamics. It has examined literature on the illegal migration trends before and after the Arab Springs and the underlying reasons. It has found that there is consistency in literature on the trends, with authors conceding that there has been a change in the emigration trends from North Africa to Europe before and after the Arab Spring. However, there is inconsistency among the scholars as to the exact number of
emigrants before and after the Arab Spring. Similar inconsistencies are also identified in existing literature regarding the drivers for migrations to the EU from North Africa.

The Chapter has also examined literature on the socio-political and economic ramifications of the illegal immigrations in the EU as well as literature on the EU’s countermeasures for illegal African migrations. It identified that much literature on the impacts of immigrants in the EU fall into two principal groups, either socio-political impacts or economic impacts. The chapter has also examined the countermeasures that the EU has put in place to curb illegal migrations from North Africa. It has identified the gaps in literature regarding the study’s areas of interest and discussed the theoretical framework for the study. Chapter two has also provided the conceptual framework of the study in a figurative form depicting how the variables of the study are related. The next chapter will provide a detailed discussion of the research methodology that will be applied in the study.
CHAPTER THREE

3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Chapter Three presents the methodology that was used to realize the study’s objectives and to answer the research questions. It presents a description of the research design, the sources of data and the techniques for data collection and analysis. The chapter also highlights the ethical considerations for the study.

3.2 Research Design

The research design for the study was a descriptive research design, a descriptive approach permitted the researcher to examine and define the transformations in the trends of illegal migrations from the countries of focus into Europe. It will further permit the description of the socio-political and economic effect of illegal immigrants in the EU. This approach was also vital in highlighting and assessing some of the countermeasures that the EU member states have put in place in an attempt to curb the influx of illegal immigrants from North Africa in the wake of the Arab Spring.

3.3 Sources of Data

The study was based entirely on secondary research hence as a qualitative study, it obtained information from existing sources of academic data on the subject. Hence, the study obtained the necessary information from books, peer reviewed journals, e-books and articles from e-journals as well as reports from established and relevant government and non-government sources. The secondary sources of interest mostly comprised of those published within the last 10 years so as to obtain data that is
relevant for current context. Nonetheless, where need arises, older sources was consulted but these were kept to the minimum.

3.4 Data Collection Techniques

There are several means of collecting data in a qualitative research such as the current one. These include direct participation and the analysis of existing material and relevant documents. This study used the historical study approach and adopted a background and context assessment technique to review the existing relevant sources of information on; the illegal migration trends before and after the Arab Spring and the underlying reasons, the socio-political and economic ramifications of the illegal immigrations in the EU as well as literature on the EU’s countermeasures for illegal African migrations. In this case, the data on historical particulars as per the research objectives were acquired from the existing or secondary sources. The secondary sources of data will provide the essential information for the research.

3.5 Data Analysis Methods

The procedures and the techniques that the researcher employs make sense of the data in a manner that facilitates the understanding and the making of inferences concerning the research objectives is the data analysis method (Kothari, 2005:44). This study employed a mix of content and logical analysis methods. Content analysis, involves an assessment or evaluation of documents and speeches within an aim of determining what themes emerge. It leads to the determination of latent emphasis on political views and scholarly opinions concerning events and happenings (Kothari, 2005). Logical analysis essentially encompasses a logical reasoning process that shadows a
constant and systematic assessment of literature concerning historical events and happenings and people’s reactions to this.

3.6 Ethical Issues

3.6.1 Ethical Issues Regarding the Researcher

The essence of research is to add or create value to the society and stakeholders, and not for the personal gain and gratification of the researcher. With this ethical consideration, the researcher aims at providing information that may empower the citizens especially of the recipient country to lobby their leaders regarding the enactment of laws and formulation of policies that influence the issue of immigration. The study also allows North African government official to conceptualize the effects of illegal migrations on their social-economic growth and also provides facts and data on the irregular migrant crisis into EU countries and facilitates not only policy formulation but influence country-specific responses to the crisis in. Lastly, the study contributes to the body of literature examining African illegal emigration into you Europe

3.6.2 Ethical Issues Regarding the Research Process

Plagiarism and fraud are vital issues in the research process and the research recognizes that these are legally punishable offenses and takes every precaution to avoid plagiarism and fraud. The researcher took precautions to avoid violating these ethical issues. The researcher also ensured proper use of the personal privileges that accrue to her during the research process. This includes integrity concerning the identification of information and the interpretation of the study findings based on the data collected.
3.7 Study Limitation

The following issues stand to influence and define the parameters of the study. One, the study is primarily a qualitative research hence may be affected by the scholars’ biases and the limitation of previous studies. Secondly, the lack of consistency in the reports on the number of emigrants from Egypt, Libya and Tunisia, as well as the inconsistency in the reports regarding the illegal immigrants entering the EU from this country stands to influence proper effective assessment of the trends and the underlying drivers of migrations to the EU. Thirdly, the lack of categorization of immigrants in the EU in terms of their places of origin stands to negatively impact on the assessment of the impact of the illegal immigrants in the EU.

3.8 Chapter Summary

Chapter Three has described the research methodology that was employed in the study. The chapter has outlined the methodology that will be used to realize the study’s objectives, presented a description of the research design, the sources of data and the techniques for data collection and analysis. The chapter has also highlights the ethical consideration for the study. The next chapter, Chapter Four provides the research findings as per every objective of the study and present a platform for the conclusion and recommendations in Chapter Five.
CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

4.1 Introduction

Chapter Four focuses on presenting the findings of the study with respect to the three research questions. As such, the Chapter presents and assesses findings concerning; transformations in illegal immigration trends into the EU from the North African states of Egypt, Libya and Tunisia and examines the underlying reasons, the effects of illegal immigrants in the EU and EU’s countermeasures against illegal immigrations from North Africa into the EU and their effectiveness.

4.2 Underlying Factors for North Africans’ Illegal Migrations into Europe

4.2.1 Factors Before the Arab Springs

Prior to the Arab Spring, Morocco and Algeria had been the main source of migrants to the EU with Egypt, Tunisia and Libya contributing a small population of people who migrated from North Africa to the Schengen Associated Countries (SACs), (Mahdi, 2014:5). Tunisia and Egypt (also Morocco) as opposed to Libya, had historically been principle countries of origin of migrants, relying a lot on labor outmigration before the Arab Springs (Browne, 2015:3). The Egyptian and Tunisian migrants went to the Gulf State and Jordan in search of employment opportunities in the oil producing countries thereby easing the domestic employment pressures at home and remitting funds back home (Browne, 2015:3).

However, with vast oil resources, the oil boom of the 1970s provided Libya the economic power similar to those of Gulf states, which permitted it to become a recipient rather than a sender of migrants to other countries including Europe (Mahdi, 2014:6). In fact, it is
estimated that by the time of the advent of the Arab Spring in Libya, about 250,000 third-country nationals either lived or worked in Libya (Browne, 2015:3). Thus, Libya was more capable of sustaining its burgeoning population (Idris, 2016:3). On the other hand, historically, Egypt and Tunisia had been an emigration country with many Egyptians and Tunisians especially the young seeking employment opportunities in the Gulf States such as Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates (UAE) and Qatar as well as elsewhere—including Europe (especially Italy) (Browne, 2015:3).

The drivers for migrations to Europe before the advent of the Arab Spring were mostly economic in nature (Idris, 2016:3). Some of the motivators for such migration from North Africa included job expectations, institutions quality and income expectations. Population explosion and the ever-escalating unemployment have been considered to be crucial motivators of emigration from North Africans to the Gulf and Europe prior to the Arab Spring (Wickramasghe, 2016:15). It is estimated that between 1970 and 2010 (just a year before the outbreak of the Spring), the population of the Middle East and North African (MENA) countries including Egypt, Tunisia and Libya almost tripled, rising from 128 million to an approximated 359 million inhabitants with nearly 30% of the population being between the ages of 25 and 30 (Idris, 2016:4). According Karioth (2014:79) the five North African countries, Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Morocco and Algeria are considered to have a combined population of 165 million, which is projected to hit 195 million by 2020.

The strain that these population growths in North African countries placed on employment creation and the provision of basic-socio-economic needs is huge. According to Idris (2016:4) the countries were unable to keep pace with the population explosion in job creation and employment leading to many people leaving the countries for a better life and employment in Europe and the rest of the Middle East. Hence, to a marked extent, economic
emigration from Egypt, Tunisia and Libya was a consequence of the state’s failure to attain one of the principle pillars of the authoritarian bargain, which is job creation and provision of basic socio-economic needs (Idris (2016:4).

The failure of the three North African countries to provide basic needs and employment for their citizens was responsible for the emigration of populations to the Gulf and Europe before the advent of the Arab Spring (Mahdi, 2014:5; Browne, 2015:3). The appeal of exclusionary social contract or authoritarian bargain, which the despotic leadership in Libya, Tunisia and Egypt had depended and centered its internal legitimacy upon crumbled. This contract meant that democracy was sacrificed at the expense of states’ ability to satisfy their citizens basic needs including, food and energy subsidies, employment and provision of social amenities (Idris, 2016:2). However, the states’ failure to keep their end of the bargain not only resulted in the migration out of the country by the young but in the outbreak of and spread of the violent protests of the Arab Spring throughout the region.

Additionally, with the breakdown of the exclusionary social contract and with it the internal legitimacy hitherto enjoyed by the leadership, the regimes resorted to exclusionary resource distribution, violence, repression which saw to more people leaving seeking asylum in Europe. The government of Muamar Gaddafi, Hosni Mubarak and Ben Ali were reported to have instigated drastic authoritarian and repressive strategies for silencing protests and those considered as political foes (Attina, 2016:16).

Increasingly evident is that prior to the occurrence of the Arab Spring, the pull factors relative to the push factors appear to be more influential in having caused the emigration of people to Europe in particular. However, some scholars such as Mahdi (2014:5) have argued that political instability and security issues (in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya) could also have been
considered as secondary reasons that motivated pre-Arab Spring migration to Europe from the three countries. Between 1956 and 1960 Tunisia for instance was experiencing a civil war, between late 1960s and late 1970s Egypt was experiencing a security situation with Israel and Libya was experiencing its own political instability between 1969 and 1977 as Gaddafi struggled to gain power. Nonetheless, at this time security did not feature much as a precipitator of migration.

4.2.2 Factors After the Arab Spring

The Arab Spring presented a paradigm shift in the trends and the drivers of migrations from North Africa, especially from Egypt, Libya and Tunisia to the EU (Mahdi, 2014:5). The event was responsible for causing an escalation in the migrations and also for causing a transformation in the drivers for migration to the EU (both legal and illegal). With respect to the first aspect, the tenacity and brutality with which Egypt, Tunisia and Libya responded to the protests for regime change presented a security situation for the public who became eager to migrate for safety (Morehouse & Blomfield, 2011:11).

The treatment of individual protestors and those perceived as being sympathetic to the opposition resulted in mass legal and illegal emigration of people who thought they were in danger to Europe (Attina, 2016:25; IOM, 2015a:12). Western Europe became the main destination of populations escaping the skirmishes in North Africa (Mahdi, 2014:5). In fact, in the first quarter of 2011, an exponential growth in illegal migration to EU through central Mediterranean region was reported in the media (IOM, 2015a:12). In 2011, Egypt accounted for 17% of the migrants received in the EU, while Tunisia and Libya accounted for 6% and 1% respectively (Mahdi, 2014:5).
The link between the Arab Spring and escalation in both legal and illegal migrants in the EU is further evidenced by reports that while the number of such immigrants to the EU from Tunisia had been 323 in 2010, this had increased exponentially to over 20,492 in 2011 (Frontex, 2011). Furthermore, in 2016 about 100,000 immigrants were recorded in Italy having come from Libya (Schmidt, 2016:8). In fact, it is reported that in the aftermath of the Libyan phase of the Arab Spring, Libyans accounted for up to 80% of the migrants that were received in the country (IOM, 2015a:12; Schmidt, 2016:8). The Arab Spring was the ‘tipping point’ for the escalation in the legal and illegal migration to the EU by Egyptians, Libyans and Tunisians (Browne, 2015:5). This further links to previous findings such those made by Boswel (2002:5), when he found that there is a connection between the amount of violence meted out in a country of origin and the levels of displacement from that country.

These trends in migrations from North Africa to the EU not only manifest an escalation but also suggest both continuity and shift in the drivers for migration to the Schengen area. For instance, while economic factors had been the main precipitators of migration to Europe in the pre-Arab Spring epoch, security reasons were now the dominant underlying factor (Morehouse & Blomfield, 2011:11). However, economic variables remain secondary factors in the reason to migrate to Europe otherwise the people would have just moved to safe parts of their countries or to other regional countries. Indeed, while the conflict and brutality associated with the Arab Spring was the primary push factor or motivation for migration to safer areas, economic reasons such as job and income expectations could have been crucial considerations for migrating to Europe (Morehouse & Blomfield, 2011:11).

As opposed to the pre-Arab Spring epoch in which the pull factors had been the most influential motivators for the emigration of people from Egypt, Libya and Tunisia to the EU, the push factors became particularly important in motivating people to migrate to the EU in
the wake of the Arab Spring. The need to escape the turmoil and conflict in the three countries was a principle factor in the irregular emigration of people from the affected North African countries to Europe (Frontex (2011). It was only much later, perhaps beginning in 2014, that the initial group of asylum seekers were then joined over the years with economic migrants who moved to the EU after the termination of the Arab Spring in the three countries to search for employment and income for a better living standard.

It can be argued that the principle origin of violence and repression as witnessed in the wake of the Arab Spring in Egypt, Libya and Tunisia was the existence of non-consolidated and weak governments, which were considered as lacking internal legitimacy. According to Boswel (2002:5), the foundations of the lack of legitimacy are two factors, which are also mutually reinforcing and which are state’s inability to satisfy primary socio-economic needs and narrow power base. It is evident that at the time of the outbreak of the Arab Spring in North Africa, the leadership of the three countries were lacking legitimacy and had resorted to violence and repression (Attina, 2016:25; de-Bel-Air, 2016; Fargues & Fandrich, 2012:2).

The failure to satisfy citizens’ socio-economic needs can be attributed to purely exogenous factors at play in North Africa, including demographic pressures, natural disasters and the effects of trends in the global economy all of which the governments of the affected countries had little control (Idris, 2016:4). However, the endogenous factors also played a crucially important role in precipitating the Arab Spring and inspiring the mass irregular migrations that followed the Spring. Such factors include but are not limited to state mismanagement such as poor policy implementation and planning, corruption and inadequate resource distribution (Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana, 2016:23).

However, the impact of the Arab Spring on the migration to the EU cannot be entirely attributed to internal or push factors as there had also been credible pull factors at play. For
instances, some analysts such as Browne (2015: 5) have attributed the escalation in the irregular migration to the activities of external actors. The Italian Mare Nostrum Operation (which was an air operation by the Italian government to tackle the increased immigration of North Africans to the EU) for one was considered to have been a major pull factor for migrants to the country and Europe in the wake of the Arab Spring in North Africa. In fact, an increase in the number of migrant boats departing the Libyan coast for Italy had increased with about 33,000 new migrants being recorded in 2015 compared to slightly over 26,000 in 2014 (Browne, 2015:5).

4.3 Effects of North Africans’ Illegal Migrations into Europe

4.3.1 Socio-Political

The Schengen Agreement signed in 1985 embodies and symbolizes the principle dimensions of the European success as relates to migration of persons. It implies an area in which there is unrestricted movement of people and in line with this principle the member states have abrogated their hold of the idea of internal borders in lieu to a single external one (EU-Lex, 2015). However, not all members of the EU are party to the Schengen region including United Kingdom (UK), Romania, Bulgaria, Cyprus and Ireland and for this region, the Schengen agreement has been a point of contention among the member states of the EU (Larive, 2015: 9 – 10).

The migration crisis that has affected the EU in the wake of the Arab Spring has therefore resulted in the resurgence in tensions between parties of the Schengen agreement and the non-parties. Larive (2015: 9 – 10) contends that the needs of the integration of migration agencies across the regions has become problematic due to the issues of the Schengen agreement. Indeed, the implications of the Schengen agreement, to the need for the
integration of border control, police coordination, as well as judicial legislation can be deciphered (Karioth, 2014:84; El-Enany, 2013:182).

Besides this effect of migration on the politics regarding the Schengen agreement, the migrations have also featured on the national debates of the EU member states and in some countries such France and Britain it has featured in the national campaign agenda. As a principle example, the political participation of immigrants has been an agenda and a matter of intense debate in the context of fighting terrorism, giving voting rights in most European countries. The debate on the disenfranchisement of immigrants incorporate talks about creating institutions of participation, as well as parliamentary and advisory instruments for migrants (EU Commission, 2016:11).

The socio-political effects of the migrations however seem not to be equally distributed among the EU countries. For instance, since 2011, the number of immigrants crossing into the Schengen area through Spain and Malta have subsided while those crossing into Italy has escalated (Browne, 2015:7). Furthermore, not long after the President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali (the former Tunisian President) ran into exile in Saudi Arabia, immigrants from Tunisia flooded Italy’s Lampedusa Island forcing the Italian government to declare the migrant crisis a humanitarian emergency and dedicate more resources to it (Seeber, 2012:2).

4.3.2 Economic Effects

One of the principle effects of immigrants in Europe has been their impact on the economic welfare of countries of residence and the native populations welfare. One perceptible impact of irregular immigrants is their burden to the public budgets of the countries of residence. This is mainly because their tax contributions to the public budget are negligible. Hence, without adding value to public tax in terms of contributions, the immigrants claim benefits
and consume (disproportionately) government-provided services and goods (Dustmann & Preston, 2004:2).

Furthermore, immigrants may precipitate more costly challenges to the local economy such as the escalations of unemployment as immigrants labour is less costly even for high-skilled labor markets resulting in less employment of local residents (FOMR, 2005:16).

However, contrary to this, migrants from Egypt, Libya and Tunisia have become part of the solution to Europe’s labor and skills shortage especially in countries such Germany, Italy and France where unskilled migrants from North Africa have come as a blessing to address the shortages in unskilled and semi-skilled labor markets. In fact, several empirical studies have determined that immigrants have a net positive impact to recipient states welfare system (Gott & Johnston, 2002). Loeffelholz and Kopp (1998, cited in FOMR, 2005:16) used macro-data on education, income and employment as well as other significant economic variables and found that immigrants positively contributed between DM 25 and 35 billion to Germany’s public budget. This finding does not however include the consumption of public services and goods and this further goes to suggest that migrants have a significant positive impact on the macro-economy of the country of residence.

In another study that looked at the broader economic impact of immigration by estimating the indirect fiscal effect of immigrants using macro-data on incomes, employment, education and other relevant socio-economic characteristics, the study found that immigrants make a net contribution to the public budget of DM 25 to 35 billion per annum. Furthermore, the study finds that, since 1988, immigration has created 85,000 new jobs and raised GDP growth rate by 1.3 per cent.
Immigration has also been found to increase the productivity of the receiving economies through the contribution of migrants to innovation. Another way in which immigration increases productivity is that immigrants free up the local workforce to move to higher productivity occupations. Despite the benefits of immigration, the public and the policymakers at the destination country usually believe that immigration can become an economic burden, as immigration is feared to lead to loss of jobs, heavy burden on public services, social tension and increased criminality (UNDP 2009a: 70) despite the evidence to the contrary.

Immigrants have indirect effects on labor markets and on the macro-economy. In line with the economic theory, international labor mobility stems from wage differences across regions and countries (Kerr & Kerr, 2011:4). As such, many people move from countries in which employment opportunities are lacking and those that have limited job opportunities and offer low wages. It has been observed that migrations to Europe before the Arab Spring and much after its end, from Egypt, Libya and Tunisia has been informed by people search for income and job opportunities in as much as to seek asylum (Browne, 2015:3). It has been found that influx of high-skilled migrants into Europe for instance, has reduced salaries for local high-skilled laborers and has resulted in an increase in returns to capital (FOMR, 2005:20). This is in line with the trade theory, which holds that the movement of factors of production result in an increase on return on capital (profit) as a result of reduction of factors of production (labour).

Migrations from Egypt, Libya and Tunisia to EU affected EU aid to Africa, both at the multilateral level and at the bilateral level. Following the Arab Spring, the EU doubled the amount of its aid allocation to Tunisia from €240 million to €445 million between 2011 and 2013 (Gafar, 2017:3). This aid was aimed at augmenting domestic economic recovery in the
country, encouraging judicial reforms, border management, capacity building and migrant protection.

In 2011, immediately after collapse of the Mubarak regime, the EU extended financial aid worth €20 million to Egypt with a promise of €132 million (Gafar, 2017:3). The aid was aimed at boosting socio-economic programs in the country. According to Elegati (2013:16) between 2010 and 2013, the EU granted some € 449.29 million to the country in support for human rights, democratic reform (11%), enhancing competitiveness in the economy (42.2%) and realizing development goals (46.7%). In 2012, under the forum of EU-Egypt Task Force, the European Bank for Reconstruction (EBRD) and the European Investment Bank (EIB) pledged €5 billion to Egypt, money that was aimed at boosting socio-economic reform efforts (Elegati, 2013:17). Under the Deuvile Partnership, Germany and France provided Egypt with $183 and $196 million respectively in support of various reforms and development programs to the country in the aftermath of the revolution in the country (Elegati, 2013:17).

Libya has also been a focus of increased multilateral and bilateral aid channeled through the EU and individual member states of the EU respectively. Scherer (2017) observes that out of the € 200 million the EU set aside for combating smuggling, the EU earmarked 45% of this (€ 90 million) for Libya. Bilaterally, Italy has set aside another € 200 million to help Libya and other North African countries enhance border security (Scherer, 2017). Italy has experienced a huge blow of the migrant crisis in its budget. The cost of the *Mare Nostrum* (which was military operation to save migrants from drowning was estimated at € 9 million per month (Fillmore, 2016:20).

In Spain, the migrant crisis has resulted in huge budgetary cuts and reduced expenditure in some areas of importance, such as funding for University research, which had been increasing by 40% in the pre-Arab Spring years (Arango, 2016:8). In Switzerland, CHF 6,000
is spent per immigrant towards integration, the federal government of Germany currently
spends €670 per immigrant and it recently decided to accord 16 states an extra funding of €8
billion up to 2018 and Belgian’s federal spending has increased due to contributions in the
welfare centers run by municipalities (OECD, 2017:4).

4.4 EU’s Countermeasures for Illegal Immigrations from North Africa

4.4.1 Border Security

One of the solutions that the EU implemented to control irregular migrations that were
escalating especially in the wake of the Arab Spring was the Integrated Border Management
(IBM) (Karioth, 2014:84). This approach encompassed and went beyond the building of
walls and the erection of border fences. It involved the integration of sophisticated technical
support, creative concepts such as human-rights-based operations, which provided an
efficient border control (Karioth, 2014:84; Takle, 2012:283).

The IBM also involved an inter-agency and inter-service cooperation among the customs,
border control services, police force and police guard services. The aim was for these bodies
to cooperate and coordinate their activities in a comprehensive way with an aim of achieving
the common objective, which was the reduction or termination of the illegal migrations into
the EU (Karioth, 2014:84).

Furthermore, EU’s response to curbing irregular migrations into the Schengen area has
entailed the deployment of rapid reactions aid missions, planes and boats within the
framework of Frontex (Takle, 2012:283). On 25, May 2011, the EU initiated a novel policy
dubbed “A New Response to a Changing Neighborhood”, which was a direct reaction to the
prevailing events in the MENA including Egypt, Libya and Tunisia (Seeberg, 2012:6). The
aim of the policy as outlined in the policy document was institution-building, collaboration
on migration issues, and the initiation of support programmes for rural and agricultural development in the MENA (Seeberg, 2012:6).

Some of the border security measures have been initiated unilaterally or at the national level. The Spanish government implemented the Integrated System for External Patrols (SIVE), to curb irregular migrations into the country (Spijkerboer 2007: 131). SIVE involved the establishment of 13 mobile radars, implementation of 71 patrol boats and 25 detection stations along the country’s Southern Coast line (El-Enany, 2013:182). Germany, through the Federal Ministry of Interior established the Joint Analysis and Strategy Center for Illegal Migration (JASCIM) (Karioth, 2014:87). JASCIM is situated in Postdam and comprises of all the key ministries dealing with illegal migration including the Federal Criminal Police, The German Federal Police, the Federal Office for the Internal Intelligence Service, the Federal Customs Service, the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Foreign Service (Karioth, 2014:87).

In 2011, the Italian government signed a Cooperation Accord (CA) with the then rebel National Transitional Council (NTC) in Libya, agreeing to share information on illegal migration and cooperation on repatriating migrants (Fargues & Fandrich, 2012: 6). While in 2012, the new administration and the Italian government concluded a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on security to fight the unauthorized departures of migrants from Libya. Further the MoU between the two governments provided the police forces in Libya with the technical and training requisites for effective border control. It also proposed mechanisms for the sharing of information between the two governments on illegal smuggling networks and illegal migrations from Libya (Fargues & Fandrich, 2012:6).

**4.4.3 Political and Legal Measures**
One of the principle responses to the migration crisis was the establishment of the Dublin regulation. Dublin regulation, which came into force on January 1, 2014, consists of making Member States responsible for the examination of the asylum applications of the refugees (Larive, 2015: 9 – 10). The country wherein the refugees first enter is in charge of registering the asylum request and fingerprinting the individuals. Usually the first EU country is the one that will have to welcome the refugees (EU-Lex, 2015).

For such reasons, most refugees refuse to be fingerprinted and registered in the country of arrival, namely Greece and Italy, and rather keep going to Germany or Sweden. With the migrant crisis, Germany over the summer of 2015 decided to suspend the Dublin rules and process the request of asylum of the Syrians that reached German territory. The migration crisis has demonstrated the limits of the Dublin regulation and is forcing EU leaders to rethink the legal process. This ultimately will require an even distribution of migrants across Europe through mandatory quotas. But this solution has been rejected by Eastern European countries, which have as well, at least in the case of Hungary, stopped processing asylum requests (Larive, 2015: 9 – 10).

The measures are not novel since the EU has been developing these external dimensions of its migration policies for over 10 years. For instance, before the Dublin regulation the EU had put in place the Stockholm Programme in 2009 (Fargues & Fandrich, 2012: 4 - 5). The Stockholm Programme was extent into the Global Approach to Migration and Mobility (GAMM), in which specific policies targeting Mediterranean countries takes place, includes four pillars: irregular migration and trafficking in human beings; maximizing the development impact of migration and mobility; legal migration and mobility; and, international protection and asylum policy (Fargues & Fandrich, 2012: 4 - 5).
Another measure that the EU countries have put in place in a bid to curb the influx of irregular migrants into the region is to persuade migration authorities in countries of origin to prevent potential migrants to EU from North Africa (Amnesty International, IT, 2005 cited in Spijkerboer 2007: 130). This move has however proved counterproductive as evidenced by the enforcement of such a policy in Morocco, which resulted in more migrants changing their point of departure south, to Tunisia and Libya (El-Enany, 2013:182). In 2009, 850 Libyan migrant asylum seekers in Italy were deported back to Libya in a bid by the Italian officials to curb the growing number of migrants to the country (El-Enany, 2013:179).

The counter measures adopted by the EU countries especially the most affected by both legal and illegal migrations have been mostly counterproductive and have in turn resulted to threaten the lives of the migrants. The intensified border control by the EU member states to prevent migrants from coming into the Schengen area have precipitated and escalation in migrant deaths, especially those attempting to reach Europe through the Mediterranean Sea (Spijkerboer, 2007:128).

The increased vigilance by the EU border patrol authorities have not resulted in the reduction of irregular migrants coming into the EU but have created a situation in which the migrants have to take especially risky routes, which result in the deaths of many migrants. Furthermore, while the activities of the Frontex and SIVE have resulted in a reduction in irregular migration at particular points, the overall outcome of this efforts has been in causing a displacement in migrants’ departure and crossing points to the EU (El-Enany, 2013:182).

4.5 Chapter Summary

Chapter Four has provided and discussed the study findings regarding the three research questions. The chapter has examined what factors underlie the transformations in trends in
illegal North Africans migrations to Europe before and after the Arab Spring? What have been the socio-political and economic effects of illegal immigrants in the EU? How effectives have EU’s countermeasures against illegal immigrations from North Africa been?

Chapter Five commences with a summary of the key findings of the study then proceeds to provide a discussion of the major findings in relation to the literature review and the theoretical framework. Chapter Five also provides the conclusion of the study and suggests alternatives for improvement and for future research.
CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

Chapter Five is the final chapter of the study. The chapter provides a recap of the study by highlighting the summary of the major findings of the study as per the research objectives. It highlights the defining outcome of the study with the aim of reiterating their importance and implications for policy. The chapter also presents the concluding remarks drawing from the study findings and major postulations made in the study. The conclusion is followed by the provision of recommendations both for improvement and for further research.

5.2 Summary of Major Findings

The general objective of the study was to assess the dynamics of illegal migrations of North Africans to the EU in the wake of the Arab Spring. It sought out to achieve the following three specific research objectives, namely; to examine the factors underlying the transformations in trends in illegal North Africans’ migrations to Europe before and after the Arab Spring; to assess the socio-political and economic effects of illegal immigrants in the EU; and, to investigate the EU’s countermeasures against illegal immigrations from North Africa. The study was guided by the following three research questions; (i) What factors underlie the transformations in trends in illegal North Africans migrations to Europe before and after the Arab Spring? (ii) What have been the effects of illegal immigrants in the EU? (iii) How effective have EU’s countermeasures against illegal immigrations from North Africa been?

58
The study adopted a descriptive research design and was a qualitative study or a desktop review based on purely secondary sources of information. It used a historical study approach, a background and context assessment technique to review the existing relevant sources of information. A mix of content and logical analysis methods were applied in data analysis. Some of the key findings of the study as per these research questions are stated below.

5.2.1 Underlying Factors for North Africans’ Illegal Migrations into Europe

The study found that prior to the advent of the Arab Springs, migration from Tunisia, Egypt and Libya to the EU had been limited. Most people preferred to stay in their countries despite the growing economic crisis and the increasingly oppressive regimes. It found that while Egypt and Tunisia had experienced a significant number of the populations leaving the country to look for employment opportunities abroad. Libya on the other hand had only experienced an influx of migrants from Egypt and Tunisia as well as other countries in the MENA mostly because the oil boom that enabled it to wade the escalating economic difficulties experienced elsewhere in the MENA.

The study found that prior to the Arab Spring, Tunisia, Egypt and Libya had relied on the concept of exclusionary social contract upon which the leadership defied standard democratic principles but demanded compliance and obedience upon providing the basic socio-economic needs for the population and employment. It has been found that while such an arrangement had proved effective for decades, the exponential population growth experienced in three countries threatened the respective
governments’ ability to sustain the authoritarian bargain. The result was increased repression and brutal violence on opponents and protestors.

The study has found that the governments of Ben Ali in Tunisia, Muamar Gaddafi in Libya and Hosni Mubarak in Egypt increasingly meted out violence against individuals and population and made people flee to Europe in search of asylum. Hence, it has been found that when the pull factors had been effective in causing migrations to Europe, this had been less effective as a factor. However, with the increasing oppression in the three countries, there was a gradual and constant irregular migration of people from the countries to Europe.

The study has found that the Arab Spring presented a highly significant paradigm shift in migration patterns from Tunisia, Egypt and Libya. It has established that the crisis in the countries inspired many people to seek asylum in Europe as they fled for their safety and the safety of their loved ones. It has found that at the height of the Arab Spring, government security agencies in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya had targeted civilians and this caused general fear among populations in the three countries resulting in intensified migrations to the EU.

It has further established that the Arab Spring resulted in more political instability in the three countries as the governments collapsed and even weaker governments replaced them. This resulted in more unfulfilled socio-economic needs for the population as well as poor governance of border areas especially the Mediterranean coastline resulting in greater number of people willing to take the risk and attempt to flee to Europe. The study has found further that there was also a shift in preferred destination for migrants from Tunisia, Egypt and Libya. It has found that while the
Gulf of countries and to a little extent Spain and Malta had been the preferred destination before the Arab Spring, countries such as Italy, Germany and France became the preferred destination of irregular migrants in the advent of the Arab Spring.

The study made some fundamental findings regarding the theory. It found that the meso and micro-theories only apply to a little extent in accounting for migrations of Egyptian, Libyan and Tunisian migrants to the EU. It determined that the historical ties between Libya and Italy including the geographical proximity of the two countries could be accounted for by the networks theory however, the extent to which this could account for the influx in such migrations is negligible. Nonetheless, institutional theory can only be applied to some extent to account for the migration trends of Egyptian, Libyan and Tunisian migrants to the EU given that a stream of black-market actors has emerged to assist migrants cross illegally into Europe.

The study further finds that while micro-theories, including the rational choice theory, the neo-classical and the new economics of migration theory help account for migrations, in the context of emigration of Egyptian, Libyan and Tunisian migrants to the EU their influence is negligible. Moreover, while rational choice and economic factors could help account for migration prior to the Arab Spring, their applicability in conceptualizing migration of Egyptian, Libyan and Tunisian migrants to the EU with the advent of the Arab Spring is problematic. The study therefore finds that the macro-theories that focus on the push-pull factors of migration highly help account for migration patterns before and after the Arab Spring.
The applicability of the macro-theories for this study is shown by the fact that before the Arab Spring mainly economic factors presented the pull factors that motivated people to migrate from Egyptian, Libyan and Tunisian migrants to the EU. These pull factors included better wages and salaries, adventure, labor demands and employment as well as better working conditions. However, with the advent of the Arab Spring, the push factors became more effective in play a role in the migration Egyptian, Libyan and Tunisian migrants to the EU.

The macro-theory accounts for this involuntary migration, caused by the instability and security dynamics resulting from the civil war security as opposed to economic concern was the main cause of the influx. Therefore, the study finds that the macro-theories not only help account for migrations before and after the Arab Spring, it also helps accounts for the shift in proportion and preferred destination of the migrants. Moreover, the macro-theory helps account for the economic motivations for the migrations of Egyptian, Libyan and Tunisian migrants to the EU after the end of the Arab Spring in the three countries.

5.2.2 Effects of North Africans’ Illegal Migrations into Europe

The effects of the migrations to Europe in the wake of the Arab Spring have been both positive and negative and extend from economic to social through to political. Among the most important effects of migration to the EU from Libya, Egypt and Tunisia have been that these migrations have presented challenges to the union as a whole. Challenges which have gone as far to threaten the Schengen treaty as parties to the treaty and the none parties are locked in debates in trying to form a coordinated response to the challenges. The study has also found that among the debilitating
challenges in Europe especially in countries such as Italy, Spain, France and Germany is the issue of the integration of the immigrants. The study has found that the influx of immigrants into Europe from Tunisia, Libya and Egypt has meant that the recipient countries have to contend with additional strain to the national public budget.

This strain is in terms of caring for the immigrants and the provision of extra security to the general public (inhabitants) and to the immigrants. Additional strain especially for the countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea has come in terms of additional border security measures, coordination of domestic and regional agencies concerned with preventing the influx of irregular immigrants and initiating preventive measures in immigrants’ countries of origin to thwart further escalation in immigration into the EU from these countries. Moreover, the EU countries have had to engage in greater diplomatic action and take a leading role in peacekeeping and conflict prevention, through its CSDP missions.

The main channels for negative economic outcome for the destination countries are increased job competition that allegedly brings down the wages for the locals, and the increased fiscal burden for caring for a growing population of immigrants. Incoming migrants need to be integrated into the labor force, which intensifies the competition for existing jobs. Especially in times of economic downturn, the general public and the policymakers tend to become more worried about the potential adverse impact of immigration on natives’ opportunities, and immigrants can be used as scapegoats to blame for rising unemployment even though no strong evidence exists to show that immigrants take natives’ jobs. A common worry is also a downward pressure on salaries caused by an influx of migrant workers.
5.2.3 EU’s Countermeasures for Illegal Immigrations from North Africa

The study has found that while the EU has struggled to deal with the illegal immigration of North Africans across the Mediterranean, the EU countries have established joint strategies to address the challenge presented by the immigration crisis from Tunisia, Libya and Egypt. The counter measures have however been largely ineffective in as far as addressing the irregular refugee inflow into the region.

The study has established that among the countermeasures that have been initiated involved the intensification of border security. In line with this, the EU created the IBM which is a direct response to irregular migrants coming in from Tunisia, Egypt and Libya through the Mediterranean Sea. The study has established that the IBM strategy integrated sophisticated technical support, creative concepts and human-rights-based operations, all which were aimed at guaranteeing efficient border control for the Schengen region.

The study also found that the EU initiated some practical measures such as the deployment of rapid reactions aid missions, planes and boats within the framework of Frontex. Moreover, the study found that the EU initiated a novel policy dubbed “A New Response to a Changing Neighborhood”, which was direct reaction to the prevailing events in the MENA including Egypt, Libya and Tunisia. It determined that the aim of this policy was institution-building, collaboration on migration issues, and the initiation of support programmes for rural and agricultural development in the MENA.

The study further established that the EU responses to curbing the migration crisis integrated local measures as well as preventive measures aimed at stopping the
would-be immigrants from leaving their countries of origin in the MENA including Tunisia, Egypt and Libya. It has established that the EU efforts to this end were taken both multilaterally and bilaterally and involved the quest for peace in the affected MENA countries especially the three countries in questions. The EU efforts entailed capacity building for local post-Arab Spring governments to increase their effectiveness in addressing border security issues so as to reduce irregular emigration of population from these countries headed to European shores. The study also found that the EU focused on creating enabling local conditions for populations in the MENA especially in Egypt, Libya and Tunisia to makes it less valuable for them to leave for Europe.

The study found that apart from the strategies taken at the multilateral level, EU countries had also initiated unilateral measures at national level to prevent refugees from entering their own borders. It found that the Spanish government implemented the SIVE, which involved the establishment of 13 mobile radars, implementation of 71 patrol boats and 25 detection stations along the country’s Southern Coast line, to curb irregular migrations into the country. It found further that Germany, through the Federal JASCIM had integrated different agencies and ministries directly linked to dealing with the immigrants into one unit.

These included the Federal Criminal Police, The German Federal Police, Federal Office for the Internal Intelligence Service, the Federal Customs Service, the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Foreign Service. However, despite all the countermeasures taken at the unilateral and multilateral level to curb illegal immigrant’s influx, it has not effectively reduced immigrations into the EU from Tunisia, Egypt and Libya.
5.3 Conclusion

5.3.1 Underlying Factors for North Africans’ Illegal Migrations into Europe

Illegal migrations of North Africans to the EU are not new but predate the Arab Spring. However, the political turmoil, the difficult economic realities, the conflict and instability precipitated by the Arab Spring has escalated illegal migrations to the EU by North Africans from Egypt, Libya and Tunisia. In fact, the migrations of North Africans from Egypt, Tunisia and Libya has grown exponentially especially with outbreak of the Arab Springs and in its aftermath. The current economic, security and political instability brought about by the Arab Spring in the three countries paints a grim picture for possible decline in illegal migrations to the EU. Nonetheless, approximations for irregular migrations influx of North Africa into Europe remains uncertain due to several reasons including lack of current data across the countries of focus (Egypt, Tunisia and Libya), data inconsistencies between the sending and the receiving countries, data collection methodology across the region.

5.3.2 Effects of North Africans’ Illegal Migrations into Europe

The effects of the exponential growth in illegal migration to the EU by Egyptians, Libyans and Tunisians are both genitive and positive. Positively, the migrants contribute to the labor markets offering cheap labor to the European economies. Nonetheless, they work mostly in the informal sectors transport, crafts and services. They also provide market for local industries as they become part of the local consumption. However, the potential of the migrants to contribute positively to local labor and consumption markets is contingent on the effectiveness of the local authorities to manage them.
If the excess supply of labor is combined with poor ability of the local authorities to manage immigration, the result is commonly increased disparities and expansion of slum areas in the cities. The inability of the local authorities to account for and manage the illegal immigrants in particular, precipitates in negative impacts for the recipient countries. The association of illegal migrants with acts of terror and crime has been found to be true in some areas. Their contribution to decadence of moral conduct is also possible especially when they resort to organized crimes, such as prostitution, human and drug trafficking.

5.3.3 EU’s Countermeasures for Illegal Immigrations from North Africa

Border security has been one of the principal areas that have been directly affected by immigration. The EASO established in 2011 and the EUROSUR established in 2013 are some of the agencies that have been created to ensure that illegal migrations to the SAC. Additionally, the EU has also established political, diplomatic and legal measures to stop migration from the source. Through its CSD missions, the EU aimed to reduce illegal immigrations from the North African countries by addressing the root causes of the push factors. However, the counter measures are only slightly effective if effective at all given that there is an escalation in migrants into the EU. This suggests that there need for the EU countries to re-evaluate their counter illegal immigration measures. The policy should also be part of a broader international strategy to address the migration crisis.
5.4 Recommendation

Based on information gathered and the study findings, the study makes the following recommendations for improvement and for further research concerning the findings made.

5.4.1 Recommendations for Improvement

5.4.1.1 Underlying Factors for North Africans’ Illegal Migrations into Europe

The EU policymakers need to appreciate the significance of the underlying push-pull factors in precipitating the current migrant crisis from Egypt, Libya and Tunisia. They need to join forces in addressing the economic and conflict causes of migration from Egypt, Libya and Tunisia. The policymakers of most affected EU countries such as Italy, Spain, Germany and France among others must initiate bilateral efforts with Egypt, Libya and Tunisia to facilitate the efficiency of preventive measures that have been formulated and implemented to forestall irregular immigration from these countries.

The policymakers must acknowledge that a spectrum of factors including national and global inequalities, literacy and illiteracy levels, security, unemployment and lack of economic opportunities as well as environmental factors are all potential precipitators of illegal migration and formulate strategies for addressing these factors in the countries of origin.

5.4.1.2 Effects of North Africans’ Illegal Migrations into Europe

The government and policy-makers both in Egypt, Libya and Tunisia need to prioritize the issue of illegal migrations in their security and economic agenda. The
policymakers in these countries need to engage and/or join forces with the EU and individual EU member states in formulating and implementing the anti-irregular migration strategies. The policy-makers in the destination countries in Europe need to appreciate the security, social and economic implications of illegal migrations (for the sending and receiving states) and formulate effective response and coping strategies for the recipient states.

Moreover, policymakers in the EU should formulate effective strategies of tapping into the labor potential of the immigrants to ensure that the economic potential of the immigrants are harnessed for the mutual benefit of both. Policymakers should develop effective, which focus on the sending countries and center on seeking solutions to political and economic challenges that precipitate migration.

5.4.1.3 EU’s Countermeasures for Illegal Immigrations from North Africa

The EU countries need to re-evaluate their current countermeasures for illegal immigration into the region. They need acknowledge that the current measures are largely ineffective in addressing the problem. They should also appreciate the fact that the impact of the illegal migrants in the continent affects the member states (across the Schengen area) irrespective of their (internal) borders.

As such, the policymakers of the EU member states need revise the current policies, formulate new countermeasures and work to ensure that each member state is fully committed to the implementation of the joint strategy. In adopting a new countermeasure and policy for illegal immigration into the Schengen area, the EU member states need to consult and work with the governments of current ‘senders’ of illegal migrants to the EU with an aim of enhancing the effectiveness of such policies.
5.4.1.4 Suggestions for Future Research

Researchers need to conduct extensive research on the effects of illegal migrants from North Africa into the EU. Researchers need to adopt primary techniques of research and examine the nature of contributions or otherwise of migrants from North Africa in the EU. Researchers need also to assess why the preventive strategies and countermeasures that EU countries have implemented appear to be ineffective in addressing the refugee crisis especially illegal migrations from North Africa. Furthermore, future researchers need to examine why EU countries seem to be adopting different policies in responding to illegal immigrations from North Africa, with some accepting the immigrants and others rejecting them. Additionally, and more importantly, the researchers need to conduct more study to contribute to the formation of effective coping and preventive strategies by the affected governments and the international bodies such as the UN, the EU and the African Union (AU) or the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU).
REFERENCES


Choe, J. (2007). African Migration to Europe. [Online], available at:


de Bel-Air, F. (2016). Migration Profile: Morocco. [Online], available at:


Elegati, M. (2013). Foreign Funding in Egypt after the Revolution. [Online], available at:


https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/57a0895340f0b652dd00018e/HDQ1350.pdf. [5/03/2017]


International Organization for Migration. [Online], available at:


APPENDIX 1: MAP OF NORTH AFRICAN STATES SHOWING PROXIMITY TO EUROPE

Source: https://www.google.com/maps/place/North+Africa