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POLICY RESPONSES TO MIGRATION FLOWS THROUGH THE  
MEDITERRANEAN SEA: AN ANALYSIS OF EUROPEAN UNION AND ITALIAN  
POLICIES

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By Megan M. Krynen

A thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for completion  
Of the Bachelor of Arts degree in International Studies  
Croft Institute for International Studies  
Sally McDonnell Barksdale Honors College  
The University of Mississippi

University, Mississippi  
December 2018

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### **Dedication**

To one of the best professors at the University of Mississippi, Dr. Christian Sellar, who worked with me for over a year on this work and to my parents and all my friends who pushed me to succeed while also listening to my rants about the Italian Immigration Crisis.

### **Abstract**

This research seeks to understand the relationship between immigration policies enacted by both the European Union and the Italian Government and the amount of migrants entering Italy through the Mediterranean Sea. The three research questions that are addressed in this research are A) What were the key policy debates leading to the current policies regulating immigration at both European and Italian level? B) How did the policies affect migrants' decision to move? C) How did the same policies influence and were influenced by native Italians attitude towards immigration? The methods used were a textual analysis of European Union and Italian legislative texts and a multiple linear regression with data on how many migrants are entering Italy compared to when the legislation was enacted and other variables. The research found the European Union and Italian policies were different, but not contradictory regarding international migration. European Union policies were more concerned with protection, while the status of the migrant and their path to either refugee status or citizenship was more of the priority of Italian legislation. The research also found the policies of the European Union and Italy had not successfully reduced the amount of migrants entering Italy through the Mediterranean prior to 2018. Even if the intentions of the policies were not to reduce the amount of migrants and refugees; the refugee population and asylum applications have continued to increase at a steady rate.

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## **Chapter 1: Italy and the EU Contradictory attempts to regulate migration**

### **1.1 Introduction**

In 1991, the Treaty on the European Union (EU) was written with the goal of creating a single European market and unified foreign policy. With the adoption of the Schengen agreement in 1999, the 26 EU member states and a few non- member states became a borderless area similar to a singular state where only an external border and a common visa policy existed. The number of international migrants who depart from Libya, the country of embarkation, with intentions of moving through the EU by landing in Italy first after traveling through the Mediterranean has reached 2 million in 2015 and 2016 (UNHCR 2018). Italy had been the most important country of entry in the EU for most refugees fleeing African countries and Syria since the beginning of the crisis in 2011, to 2018, when new restrictive policies shifted migration flows to Spain (Kingsley 2018). From migrants' perspective, Italy is an obvious choice, because its coastlines are one of the most accessible external borders of the European Union. Thousands of people travel by boat from Libya to the island nation of Malta and then to the Italian island Lampedusa (Verlag 2014). However, the migration issue in the Mediterranean affects not only Italy, but all the countries that are members of the EU. Once migrants enter Italy, they move through to the rest of Europe because of the EU's open border policy and burden other EU member States. These migrants attempt to reach the European Union with the hopes of escaping their own war torn countries or a more prosperous economic future. Thus, under the principle of subsidiarity that states that "intervention by the Union when the objectives of an action cannot be sufficiently achieved by the Member States, but can be better achieved at Union level" (European Union 2018) migration is regulated by a mosaic of EU and Italian policies.

The interactions between the European Union and the Italian government level of policy making are important because the final destination of the immigrants is various locations throughout the EU. Before 2018, Roughly 75 percent of the migrants arriving in

Europe landed in Italy. This is relevant because the Italian economy cannot handle such a huge influx of immigrants. Other countries in the EU have been angered by the immigration influx and since Italy receives the brunt of the immigrants first, Italy has been left with the problem. Even as the EU offers financial support, France, Switzerland and Austria are attempting to seal their borders from Italy in order to prevent the migration (Squires, 2017).

The European Union and Italian Government have both attempted to address the unprecedented amounts of migrants crossing the Mediterranean. Media depictions of small boats filled passed capacity has drawn world attention to the situation in the Mediterranean because of the violation of human rights. The influx of migrants has become a hot button topic in Europe, especially in Italy which is visible from the 2018 elections resulting in a victory for conservative parties and a government headed by the populist, anti-immigrant ‘5 Stars Movement’. This thesis aims to analyze data and determine how the policies enacted by either the EU or Italy have affected the amount of migrants that cross the Mediterranean and land in Italy. *I argue that the EU and Italian policies are contradictory regarding international migration and have not successfully reduced the amount of migrants crossing the Mediterranean prior to 2018.*

My argument is framed by the following three research questions. The answers to the listed research questions will give a better picture of how the policies enacted were or were not effective, what being effective means in this situation, and contribute to the debate of the future of international migration to the European Union through Italy and the Mediterranean Sea.

- A) What were the key policy debates leading to the current policies regulating immigration at both European and Italian level?
- B) How did the policies affect migrants’ decision to move?

C) How did the same policies influence and were influenced by native Italians attitude towards immigration?

These questions will contribute to the discussion of international migration theory by ascertaining if policy is a motive or deterrent for migration. More specifically, it will expand on push-pull framework in international migration theory which dictates that people migrate due to push and pull factors; push factors are forces that cause to leave a location, while pull factors are forces that encourage migration to a new location. The push factors associated with the Italian immigration crisis would be the disruptions in the migrants' origin countries. Migrants are then pulled to migrate to certain countries rather than others because of the policies of the receiving country. The migration policies of EU or Italy could actually be the pull factors that are encouraging migrants to assume the potential risk of the journey across the Mediterranean.

The thesis will consist of five chapters. This introductory chapter introduces the issue, contextualized within the literature on migration, and provides a detailed description of the methodology used to complete the study. The second chapter will consist of a textual analysis, more specifically a lexical analysis, of a corpus of policy documents from both the European Union and Italy. The textual analysis will answer the first of the three research questions in the framework which will help understand the possible underlying intentions in each policy enacted. The connotation and words selected for the documents could give an idea of the policy debates leading to the formation of the policies and what the intentions were towards the international migration of the government that issued them.

The third and fourth chapters of this thesis will respond to the other two research questions presented in the framework by measuring how migration levels through the Mediterranean Sea changed after the EU policies or Italian government were enacted. Quotes from government officials at the local, national, and supranational levels will gather

if the policies have changed the migration flows and if there will be new policies implemented in the future.

The final chapter will consist of extrapolating future migration flow trends based on the results if the policies in the EU and Italy stay the same regarding international migration. The goal of the analysis is to determine if the policies have reduced or encouraged migration through the Mediterranean Sea and the effect on attitudes towards migration by the native Italian citizens.

### 1.1 Migration Theories

In order to understand this research on the policies enacted regarding the Italian immigration crisis, there must be an understanding of why there is an immigration crisis at all. More specifically, what is the reason that people migrate from one country to another? The goal of international migration theory is to explain the movement of people from one country to another. By understanding why people migrate, it is possible to see what lead to the formation of specific migration policies. Governments are interested in controlling international migration because of how it affects the economy and the cultural identity of the country. The influx of migrants to a receiving country affects the economy and welfare policies. A massive amount of migration into one area it puts a strain on the provided welfare structure. Citizens of receiving countries also complain of the loss of jobs to immigrants. Migration becomes a policy issue as well when considering and protecting the identity or safety of a given country. For these reasons, the national governments of receiving countries must enact policies that prepare an economic and resettlement plan.

The Italian immigration crisis is named for the large amount of migrants traveling from Libya through the Mediterranean to reach Italy. By examining the pre-existing theories surrounding migration and their development, it is the goal of this thesis to put the Italian immigration crisis in the context of current scholarly work on international migration

theory. International migration theory is a fairly new and developing area. Individual migration theories have slowly developed over time in individual areas of studies without much dialogue between them. Recently, there have been some attempts to compare and contrast the theories in order to establish a more comprehensive migration theoretical framework. Migration theories have developed thematically over time. The initial international migration theories were the neoclassical microeconomic and macroeconomic theories. After the inclusion of the social aspect to the migration theories, there was the emergence of the new economics of migration theory, dual labor market theory, world systems theory, rational theory, network theory, cumulative causation, and institutional theory (Massey 1990). Over time, it is possible to see why different migration theories developed in certain areas of study based on the global events. The 20<sup>th</sup> century marked the beginning of the neoclassical economics era which centered around utility maximization. Micro and macro-economic theories dominated migration explanations during this era (Messina and Lahav 2006). It was then expanded after the industrial era to include social reasoning as well, because it was discovered that economics alone did not explain migration (Massey 1990). The ever-changing governments and migrations situations have made it difficult to have a single overarching migration theory. A dialogue in migration theory exists that began with economic reasoning and expanded to include social reasoning, and finally being influenced by the emergence of neoliberal policies that create a strong state-controlled border. This thesis aims to fill in the gaps of international migration theory by incorporating policy effects on international migration with preexisting theoretical frameworks and using the Italian immigration crisis as a case study. I will give a background on migration theory by explaining how it changed over time with the addition of new and sometime differing theories.

Initially, international migration theory centered around the idea that the decision to migrate was made by an individual. Neoclassical economists believed individuals made the

decision to migrate with the intent to maximize income (Massey 1998). In the neoclassical era, the developments by Lewis in economic growth theory influenced the earliest migration theories (Lewis 1954). Lewis identified that labor is eventually exhausted in the agriculture sector causing wages to rise, and therefore also causing wages in the capitalist sector to increase and diminish the amount of profit. A possible solution to this problem is creating unlimited labor through immigration so labor does not become exhausted. In the context of migration, this macroeconomic approach was built on to explain how the movement of labor from capital-rich countries to capital-poor countries because of higher wages would cause an equilibrium evening out effect (Messina and Lahav 2006). The sending country would experience a rise in wages, while the receiving area would have a drop in wages and this would continue until wages were equal and migration stopped (Massey 1998). High skill workers would migrate to the capital- poor countries to earn more for their skill set. The policy implications for the neoclassical economic macro theory would be for the government to regulate labor markets in sending/receiving countries in order to control immigration.

Continuing in the neoclassical era, a microeconomic model emerged to explain international migration (Messina and Lahav 2006). It is based on the idea that migration is the individual's choice which they will make if it is the best option to increase their utility (Faist 1997). In the cost-benefit model the benefit will outweigh the cost and usually be monetary (Massey 1998). The individual will take into account the negative side-effects of migrating such as cost of travel, adapting to a new culture, and possibly moving away from family relations or friends. The negative side effects are then compared to the possible job with predicted wage based on skill set. The migrant will move if the possible returns will offset the cost (Todaro 1976). This neoclassical microeconomic theory stemmed into the rationalist migration theory approach of cost-benefit (Haug 2008). The policy implications for the neoclassical microeconomic theory is in order for the government to affect migration, expected earnings in the receiving or sending countries must be changed by lowering the

likelihood of employment, raise the wage in the origin country, or by increasing cost of migration (Massey 1998).

In contrast to the neoclassical economists, there was a shift to “new economics of migration”. This theory expands on the previous microeconomic theory to argue that it is not just the individual who takes into consideration cost and benefit before migrating (Stark, Bloom 1985). The aspect of family becomes a part in migration and the decision to migrate becomes a group decision because even though the costs may be higher for the migrating individual, the benefit is higher for the group and risks are minimized. Labor markets are not the only determining condition as thought by the earlier neoclassical economics (Massey 1998). Diversifying the family encourages migration in case of other market failure in the country of origin. In a developing country there is not the same safety net markets that exist in developed countries like the capital and credit markets; therefore, families in developing countries have an incentive to have a member migrate for a foreign wage (Massey 1998). This is a branch away from the idea that there will be immigration to a country with higher wages because in this case a stable economy with lower wages could still benefit the family more (Messina and Lahav 2006). This theory has also been related to how cooperation increases the success of a migrant and therefore explains how a migrant is willing to aide a more recent migrant because both groups will benefit. The policy implications of this theory is that governments can influence labour markets, insurance markets, capital markets, and consumer credit markets to affect migration rates. Incentives for migration will increase if the government has strong insurance programs and loan programs (Massey 1998).

The industrial era saw the application of the push-pull framework to migration by Brinley Thomas (1972). The push-pull framework in economics determined that migration coincided with the economic growth of one country while another experienced decline. The transatlantic migrations of the industrial era between the United States and Britain supported

the theory. While Britain experienced push there was pull in the United States, and vice versa. However, the push-pull effect is not applicable as much in times after the industrial era which made it an incomplete international migration theory. There is not the same labor recruitment that existed before, there exists the opposite where barriers are put in place to prevent labor migration.

Dual labor market theory emerges in opposition to the rationalist theories above as there is a shift to the industrial era. In this theory, the decision to migrate is not a micro-level decision, instead it is that developed countries need immigration labor to continue to be a competing industrial economy (Piore 1979). Instead of the individual or family making the decision to migrate, governments or employers in industrial countries will recruit the labor. Unlike earlier theories, the wages are not a reason to migrate and hold relatively constant even if there is a drop in labor supply because of social or institutional reasons. Industrial societies have four characteristics that prevent them from being able to exactly fit in the neoclassical economic models and the new economics of migration. The first is structural inflation because wages are determined by the employer and do not necessarily reflect the supply and demand relationship. Wages are a reflection of social status and also subject to institutional mechanisms such as union contracts and regulations. Next, developed countries also have hierarchical constraints on motivation that are associated with the social reputation of having a bottom tier occupation. Workers are needed that will work for the income regardless of stature of the job which is why immigrant workers have been idea. Even if immigrant workers are taking jobs that are deemed lower in society, in their origin countries they will be well respected. Thirdly, economic dualism exists that causes the bifurcation of the labor market. There is a capital-intensive sector where workers have stable and skilled jobs, while in the labor-intensive sector employers can lay off workers in unskilled jobs at any time without cost. Demand among citizens of the receiving country is higher for the capital- intensive sector so employers use immigrants to fill the labor-intensive sector.

Lastly, the demography of the labor supply confirms that the previous three qualities make these group of jobs unappealing to most members of the receiving country. Usually the lower tier labor jobs in the past are filled by women, teenagers, or rural-to-urban migrants. As those dynamics shift, immigrants become the next ideal supplement for employers (Piore 1979).

After World War II, the “developmentalism” theory that had said every country was developing and had the ability to be developed if there was a certain path followed began to lose popularity (Wallerstein 1974). In place of this theory, the world-systems theory emerged with the idea that the expansion of markets fuels international immigration instead of the choice of the individual or household as previously studied (Massey 1998). This included the realization the societies were not firm units to measure. A world system is a social system with boundaries and a single division of labor that has dynamic and static parts over time (Wallerstein 1974). There have been two world-systems up to this point according to world-system theory; “world- economies” and “world-empire”. A world-empire has a central power and single labor division, but multiple cultural groups. A world-economy has a large labor division, but multiple power centers and cultural groups. The “world-economy” is able to flourish because of capitalism and instead of socio-political structures. In regard to migration theory, the world-systems theory is a neoliberal idea that explained how capitalism is what influences economic migration. The expanding global market happens because capitalist firms are in search of new consumers, labor, and capital. New markets are created because of the capitalist investment and exchange of labor; therefore, migration is not fueled by the previously thought wage rates.

The reasons that initiate international migration are not the same ones that necessarily sustain it over time and area. Moving away from purely economic reasoning, Massey’s article “Social structure, household strategies, and the cumulative causation of migration”

builds on the previous migration theories of individual or household choice and adds a social aspect to the cost-benefit model (1990). If migrants are moving based off of the global market and capitalism, then what causes them to choose one economic opportunity over the other? The rational theory assumed that migration is a choice and does not take into account the context that may force migration despite the household's wants. Massey argues that migration is a very dynamic idea that is not solely based on economic individual utility, but rather is a household decision that is affected by the "local socioeconomic conditions; that local conditions are, in turn, affected by evolving political, social, and economic structures at the national and international levels; and that these interrelationships are connected to one another over time" (Massey 1990). This shift to incorporate social reasoning into migration theory produces new theories such as network theory, institutional theory, cumulative causation, and migration systems theory (Messina and Lahav, 2006) .

After economic reasoning lost popularity, social capital and network theory emerged. Social capital and network theory establishes how social ties are important when linking migrants in the destination country with future migrants in the country of origin (Gurak and Caces, 1992). These friend or relative ties influence and increase migration because the costs are lowered when a network is established (Massey, 1990). There is a negative impact on migration when it includes leaving family or established community regardless of the economic factors. The risk of moving is lowered when there is a community of migrants produced from relations that can aide a new migrant in housing and job opportunities. The cost of the first migrant to move is high, but the initial migrant lowers the cost of all migrants after that had a pre-existing relationship. This theory can still accept and follow the previous economic international migration theories, but it explains the rate of migration that will continually increase from a sending area to a specific receiving area. This network of migrants is a social aspect of migration theory that promotes migration with each new migrant.

After social capital and network theory emerged, Massey built off a theory called cumulative causation by Myrdal (1967). In cumulative causation, the idea is that migration is not an isolated and individual event. Migration actually changes the social dynamics of an area and the economic opportunities which will lead to more migration. The migration of individuals actually forms a new social structure at a certain point. Once there is a certain amount of migrants from the same origin country, the cost of movement is dramatically reduced because almost all households have some tie to the migrants in the area of the receiving country (Massey, 1990). However, eventually the leaving of migrants will cause a labor shortage in the origin country and wages will rise which will eventually slow the rate of migration because it will even out and the attraction will be lost. This shows that the migration of an individual affects not only themselves, but also the overall migration structure of encouraging or discouraging others to migrate resulting in the “circular and cumulative causation”. With the “cumulative causation”, there have been eight ways that it has been related to migration including expansion of networks, distribution of income, distribution of land, organization of farm production, culture of migration, distribution of human capital, and social labeling (Massey 1998). The expansion of networks is the way each new migrant increases the network and lowers the cost for the next one. The distribution of income is how after a household improves its income with migration, the neighboring households will notice and be encouraged to migrate. With the distribution of land, migrants purchase land in their origin country for respect but do not farm it because the foreign wage is still more profitable so the demand for labour is lowered in the origin country causing the pressure to migrate to increase. Alternatively to the reasoning of the distribution of land, with the organization of farm production migrant households do farm the land they purchase but the demand for labour is still lowered because the migrant households are able to buy farming advances with their foreign capital that replaces the traditional labour. The culture of migration explains the ideas that are brought back from a migrant being in an

industrialized country that change how they feel toward the traditional labour in their origin country. These migrants are more likely to migrate again which influences others to migrate and becomes a part of the community. The distribution of human capital refers to the initial migration of skilled workers that can lead to a depletion of human capital in the origin country while the receiving country experiences economic growth. Social labeling is the result of migrants becoming the main workers of a certain job, so much so that the job earns the title “immigrant job”. Cumulative causation is difficult for the government to affect, but it will follow an s-curve which means migration will begin slowly and then increase quickly.

As time went on, the changing world brought new challenges to migration theory such as the rise of institutions. Institutional theory explains how international immigration is sustained once it has begun in the more recent neoliberal capitalist society. It states how institutions are a product international migration. The receiving capital-rich countries create barriers to entry even though a high demand to entry from migrants exists (Messina and Lahav, 2006). Institutions arise to facilitate the entry of these migrants through the barriers created by the receiving country. These institutions are largely related to human smuggling, and arise by groups seeking to profit off of immigration barriers. It is not a structured or regulated group so potential migrants are taken advantage of monetarily or physically which causes other institutions to arise like humanitarian organizations to protect the potential migrant. Humanitarian organizations arise to advocate for the relocation of mistreated migrants. These institutions facilitate migration in a way that is deviant from the natural occurrence of the migration, the costs and risks associated with the migration are lessened which affects the migrant’s decision to migrate.

Massey has been one of the few scholars to attempt to condense pre-existing migration theories into one that is more applicable and overarching for the current world in the book *Worlds in Motion*. Rational theory and standard economic models proved to not be

enough to encompass all of international immigration (Massey, 1998). Without the possibility of employment and higher wages, there is very little migration. However, it does not explain why migration flows did not exist earlier in time when the economic situations of two countries were still different. There is also a lack of explanation in the neoclassical economic models to explain why similar developed countries experience different levels of immigration. The neoclassical macroeconomic migration theory of wage equilibrium was proven to be flawed because wage differentials do not disappear in reality; there is not an equilibrium wage throughout the world as a product of increased international migration.

Contemporary migration theory has had to experience a shift from simple social and economic contributions, because of the more current migration situations in the world (Massey, 1998). The recent border control policies which are a product of neoliberalism make most of the original immigration theory inapplicable. Standard economic models are not useful because borders impede the free movement of labour. Intervening factors such as the state are now an important aspect of migration theory (Lee 1996). Previously, distance had been one of the few intervening factors discussed by scholars in migration theory. Now there has been a change because the distance is no longer an impediment because of modern day technology, instead the state is the barrier that prevents or allows international migration flows. Massey explains that the shift in migration theory is becoming more migrant focused. The simple mechanical models originally used have been exchanged for more dynamic ones that allow for the interaction of micro and macro decision making and their implications on migration. Migration theory has actually shifted to become purposefully less clear. There is a context and a migrant; neither which follow the same assumption of previous theories such as rational behavior that migrants will react the same regardless of situation.

The international migration theory evolution also shows the shift from finding explanations of change to why certain individuals migrate; there is a realization that international migration is a dynamic process (Baker and Tsuda 2015). This thesis will build

on the study of migration in relation to disruption that was done by Baker and Tsuda in 2015 by looking at how policies set forth by a receiving country may add to the “disruption” and not simply the situations in sending country. Disruptions in international migration theory refer to “substantial interruptions that disturb the accustomed activities of a society and have a significant structural impact from the macro level of civilizations, nations, and cities to the meso level of ethnic groups/tribes, institutions, and families” that cause people to leave their origin country. These disruptions have been classified as political, economic, social, or natural. For this thesis, the disruption international migration theory may contribute to an understanding of why there are migrants leaving Africa because of the political change in certain countries, but it does not encompass an explanation of why so many individuals migrate to Libya from different origin countries with the intention of crossing the Mediterranean rather than other African countries or the Middle East. The migrants in Italy are mostly from the origin countries of Tunisia, Eritrea, Sudan, and Nigeria (IOM 2018). These migrants are undertaking the risky journey across the Mediterranean to Italy rather than migrating to Saudi Arabia or Jordan which has a closer proximity to Sudan and Eritrea.

The paper entitled “Schengen’s *Soft Underbelly? Irregular Migration and Human Smuggling across Land and Sea Borders to Italy*” by Ferruccio Pastore, Paola Monzini and Giuseppe Sciortino explains the irregular migration in Italy as a result of the Schengen Agreement under the European Union (2006). The International Organization for Migration (IOM), an inter-governmental organization focused on migration management, presents that most of the irregular migration in Europe is attributed to the criminal organizations that have arisen to smuggle humans (IOM). That would follow along the institutional theory for international migration. However, this article presents a counterargument that irregular migration in Europe is a product of the policies enacted by the European Union or rather the failure of such policies. The article claims that the international migration into Italy is a product of the geopolitics. Due to the geopolitics, complex networks of smugglers have

arisen in the sending countries of Tunisia and Libya. For the thesis, there is interest to see if either the policies of the EU or the Italian government have changed the migration flows through the Mediterranean. The thesis will expand on the push-pull framework in migration theory established by Brinley Thomas. Instead of using the framework for economic factors such as the decline of one economy coinciding with the economic growth of another; the framework will be applied to the Italian immigration crisis. The push factors are the situations of conflict and violence in the origin countries while the pull factors are the policies of the receiving countries.

The Italian immigration crisis is the result of the disruption caused by war and political instability as well as migrants seeking better economic opportunities (IOM). The majority of migrants are coming from the sending countries of Eritrea, Somalia, and Sudan where migrants are fleeing repression, poverty, and conflict. The migration policies of the EU make it an attractive destination for the migrants leaving Africa and the proximity of Italy makes it the initial destination. In 1991, the Treaty on the European Union was written with the goal of creating a single European market and unified foreign policy. With the adoption of the Schengen agreement in 1999, the 26 EU member states and a few non-member states became a borderless area similar to a singular state where only an external border and a common visa policy existed. The irregular migration in the Mediterranean to Italy has become prolific because of the EU policy responses and lack of Italian policy responses. Building on the push-pull framework, the disruptions in the origin country have a push effect, while the migration policies of a receiving country have a pull effect causing the migrant to choose that country over others.

## 1.2 Methodology

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the effect of migration policies enacted by the European Union and Italian government on international migration through the

Mediterranean from 1990 until 2017. This will be achieved by analyzing the following research questions: a) What were the key policy debates leading to the current policies regulating immigration at both European and Italian level? b) How did the policies affect migrants' decision to move? c) How did the same policies influence and were influenced by native Italians attitude towards immigration?

**In order to answer question a)** I will perform a textual analysis on a collection of policy documents and literature about the international migration from both the Italian Government and European Union. This corpus will be a compilation of legislative texts from both the European Union and Italian National Government. The policy documents that will be collected and analyzed include the Schengen Agreement, the Dublin Regulation, the European Agenda on Migration, the Martelli Law, Turco-Napolitano Law, and the Bossi-Fini Law. These documents are important because they have directly shaped Italy's actions regarding international migration. These six documents give a full picture of what the EU dictates for member states involving migration and how the policies of the individual member state interact with the EU policies.

The textual analysis will be based off the one used by Beauguitte and Richard in "The EU and Its Neighbourhoods: A Textual Analysis on Key Documents of the European Neighbourhood Policy. Geopolitics" in order to highlight the relevant characteristics of discourses such as stability and changes, actors, spaces and scales (2015). Following the study done by Beauguitte and Richard, this study will build off the textual analysis work by Lebart and Salem which is an approach that analyzes the vocabulary because it prevents some of subjectivity that occurs from reading documents in full.

The corpus that has been selected for this study will be divided into "text units" that are similar in size and therefore statistical individuals. The variables are the vocabulary used in the selected documents which will be presented in a table named the Aggregated Lexical

Table. I will “identify broad thematic areas” in the entire text and then analyze the document separately with the methods above to see the stability and changes, actors, spaces and scales over time. The aggregated lexical table will display segments of text that are statistically significant because of how often they appear in the texts which will help determine the overall topic of the corpus. From this table, I will draw conclusions about the intent and focus of the legislative documents based on the term frequency.

**To answer question b)** I will look at pre-existing migration data from the ISTAT, IOM, and UNHCR up to 2017 in order to see if there is a change in data patterns after implementation of major policies by mapping out and recording data break points. I will also be using the inferential statistic technique of multiple linear regression in order to see if more than one of the variables is a predictor of another. Multiple linear regression allows to see if there is an association between an independent variable and the outcome while holding other variables constant. It is appropriate for this study because it will show whether each policy enacted resulted in lower rates of migration through the Mediterranean. My independent variables will be categorical: the policies enacted by the EU (the Schengen Agreement, the Dublin Regulation, the European Agenda on Migration) as well as the policies enacted by the Italian National Government (Martelli Law, the Dini Decree, Turco-Napolitano Law, and the Bossi-Fini Law). The dependent variable is continuous and will be the number of irregular migrants entering the EU through Italy and the Mediterranean after each policy was implemented. I will then obtain the best fit line by using the Least Square Method. The Least Square method entails minimizing vertical dimensions sum of squares from each data point to the line. I will code a binary variable POST. This variable would take the value "1" after the policies were enacted and "0" before. I will then estimate the effect of this variable on the number/percentage of migrants entering.

If the statistical test is inconclusive then it can most likely ascertained that the policies did not change the migrants’ decision to choose Italy as their destination country. Since I

will be using a multiple linear regression, I will be able to see which policy had the most significant correlation between implementation and migration across the Mediterranean, whether that be a policy enacted by the EU or the Italian Government. If the data shows a statistically significant relationship between EU policies and migration, but not Italian policies and migration then it can be concluded that the EU policies affected the migrants' decision to move, but not the Italian policies and vice versa. A problem with this test is that I will not be able to rule out other changes that took place during the same time period.

**I will answer question c)** by collecting data from the EU, national, and local levels about their opinion of the Italian immigration crisis and corroborate it with the results from the textual analysis and multiple linear regression. In order to achieve this, I will use news articles in order to get quotes from officials in the European Union and Italian government about the status of the immigration crisis and policy steps moving forward. I will use data from the Eurobarometer in order to ascertain the Italian public opinion of immigration. Italy is a member of the EU, Italy must follow and respect the policies set forth by the EU while also protecting the domestic interests. The EU forms policies that must encompass the problems of every EU country. The reaction of the Italian public will show how the national and supra-national policies have worked and quotes from the national policy makers will give an idea on how the policies have been implemented in conjunction to EU policies. Depending on the data, I will evaluate if the policies enacted have made a change in the immigration crisis and what direction each governing body is intending to move.

## Chapter 2: Textual Analysis

### 2.1 Introduction

I will be expanding on the critical discourse approach using micro- analytical perspective; specifically, by using a textual analysis similar to the one used in “The EU and Its Neighbourhoods: A Textual Analysis on Key Documents of the European Neighbourhood

Policy” (2018). Critical discourse analysis seeks to find a relationship between language, ideology, and power (Liu, 2016). According to Critical Discourse Analysis, there is a relationship between human action and text because the human action influences the “production, distribution, and consumption” of the text. The goal of this study is to determine the social practices i.e. the sentiments and policy debates of the different governing bodies during the time the different legislations were produced by analyzing the documents. Since the documents being analyzed are textual communications between a governing body and the citizens, the study will have a post-structuralist approach (Wiesner, 2017). Post-structuralism is a rejection of the structure; every part of the human experience and the way we communicate is textual and based off the written language. The post-structural approach means focusing on the differences that exist between the texts. This allows for texts to be compared in order to reveal the discourse and tensions between them; this approach is also important for this study because it allows for the existence of multiple and diverse opinions in a discourse and why some things were said at a certain point in time and others were not (Hughes, 2005). This is necessary for this study to see the different policy debates that exist in the Italian government legislation and the EU legislation. It is important to address the target audience of the text and under what circumstances the text was produced in order to ascertain what the text aims to achieve (Wiesner, 2017). The textual analysis allows for a more uniform comparison of the documents because it will compare and group the words being used in the policies rather than attempting to ascertain the meaning of the entire document at once. By using this method, it is possible to look further than what is explicated stated and analysis potential power relationships and prejudices (Beauguitte, 2018). The changes in society will be revealed through the analyzation of the text because of the words used that have a reflection on the policy debates.

In order to compare the texts of Italian policy and European Union policy, there must be a common language but Italian documents are only published in Italian. There is a gap in

literature on how to compare and analyze policies that are originally published in different languages which is an important issue when speaking of a textual analysis on European Union documents and Italian official documents. This issue must be discussed before approaching any textual analysis because of the potential consequences. The study by Baumgartner addresses the issues that this research will also approach, the study included “which languages to use for the data analysis in a situation where the data has been collected in several different languages and how to determine the most appropriate stage of the research for transitioning from the languages used to collect and analyze the data to the language of the final research product” (2012). The study found that when it reached the data analysis phase that it was best to compare the different language transcripts in the same language which would be the target language or the language that the study would be published in (Baumgartner, 2012). Therefore, the target language for this research will be English because it is the native language of the researcher and the language it will be published in.

For the texts to both be in English, the Italian government documents must be translated. The main concerns of translating is that the meanings and connotations of words can be different according to which language used. Vergaro completed research on the differences in Italian and English business letters which gives more information on translating Italian to English and the potential problems in a comparative study (2004). The study found that when reading a document as a whole, different language translations mattered less than on the micro-level (Vergaro, 2004). They pointed out how translating lost some of the personality and creativity used in the different letters. They concluded that more research needed to be done before generalizations could be made to other genres besides business letters. Since official policy documents attempt to be devoid of the personality that exists in sales promotion letters, the translation of Italian documents to English will not be a

substantial issue, but I acknowledge that it is a potential flaw in the study and therefore results.

The English language has become important in the policy interactions of the EU and Italy, therefore, I have chosen English as the target language for this study. The establishment of the European Union has produced a new language phenomenon. The term that has been coined for it is “Euro-English” and “EU English” (Modiano, 2003). English is used in international communication by most of the countries of the European Union (Truchot, 2002). Non-natives speakers are speaking English with other non-native speakers which has produced the particular language characteristics such in choice of words and sentence structure. The target audiences of the European Union documents and the Italian official documents overlap. European Union documents address all of the European Union member states which includes a diverse gamut of languages. Primarily, the target audience of Italian official documents is Italian speaking Italian citizens.

For the purpose of this study, the word corpus will be defined as the group of documents that will be analyzed. The aggregated lexical table is the chart that displays the segmented terms that appeared most often in the texts and includes the respective frequencies.

## 2.2 Corpus Selection

The corpus for the textual analysis includes six official documents that were published between 1990-2015. Three are legislative texts from the Italian National Government. The other three documents are from the European Commission, a part of the European Union that proposes and implements legislation, although the documents are not technical legislative texts they are important because Italy is a party to them. The six documents included in the textual analysis are the Schengen agreement, the European Agenda on Migration, the Dublin agreement, the Martelli Law, Turco-Napolitano Law, and

the Bossi-Fini Law. These documents show how the current migration policy in Italy has been shaped from the interaction of EU policies and then their own national policies over time.

The time period of twenty-five years is large, but important because it includes the initial year that Italy signed the Schengen Agreement from the EU which is the signal of the major shift in how migrants would move through not only Italy, but the rest of the European Union. The corpus is homogenous because they are all text that have the intention of affecting migration in Italy.

### 2.3 Corpus Description

The documents in the corpus were written in different parts of time and by comparing the textual content along with the Aggregated Lexical Table, it is possible to see the connection between the text and the policy intentions of the respective governments as well as the restrictiveness on migration. Italy first signed the Schengen agreement in 1990 but it did not come into full effect until 1997. It had an effect on the border and land control policy and was less restrictive. Before Italy became a party of the Schengen agreement, the national government adopted a more restrictive policy towards migration in 1990 called the Martelli Law which particularly targeted irregular immigration by putting sanctions on people who facilitate irregular immigration, incorporated more organizations like the navy and army to expel irregular immigrants, and required visas for immigrants. However, this national policy did incorporate less restrictive parts such as the reform on the Italian asylum-seeking procedure by making it possible for non-Europeans to seek asylum in the country. The Dublin agreement came into effect in 1997 which was a more restrictive policy on migration because it stipulated that application for asylum can be rejected if the same application has already been received by another European Union member state. In 1999, the Italian law “Turco-Napolitano” provided social benefits and was therefore less restrictive for migration because it granted access to education and the national health system for all

immigrants regardless of their legal status, including irregular migrants, but in this case limited to urgent and/or essential treatment. It also outlined the creation of permanent residence permits that migrants could apply for after legally residing in Italy for at least five years. If they were an EU citizen and acquired the permanent residence permit, then they were granted even more privileges and allowed to vote in local elections. There was a shift in the language in Turco-Napolitano to be more restrictive because it gave the state the power of deportation and then immediate escort to the border in cases of illegal entry, ineligibility for a residence permit, or threat to public order. The national policies continued to be more restrictive with the Bossini-Fini law in 2002 which stipulated that third-country nationals could only immigrate to Italy if they had a job contract. There was no longer a temporary visa to look for work. In addition, Non-members of the EU must now be fingerprinted to remain in Italy and the long-term residence cards changed from residing in Italy for five years to six years. The European Agenda on Migration came into effect in 2016 which was a more restrictive policy that provided more for search and rescue efforts in the Mediterranean, Reduced the incentives for irregular migration, better management of the external border, and a strengthening the common asylum policy.

#### 2.4 Test Statistics: Aggregated Lexical Table

The methodology for analyzing the corpus follows the research done by Laurent Beauguitte, Yann Richard, and France Guérin-Pace who built off the textual analysis work of Lebart and Salem, and the original work of Benzécri (2015). The text analysis work of Lebart and Salem included a statistical approach where the vocabulary used in the text is analyzed in order to understand the content of the full text and consequently lessens the subjectivity that comes from reading the text as a whole. The statistical aspect seeks to find the relationships between frequencies in large sets of numerical data (Lebart, 1991).

In order to run the data through the textual analysis program, the texts are divided into statistical units. The basic unit used in this study is called “graphical form” which is a group of a series of characters that is separated from other groups by delimiters (Lebart, 1991). Delimiters are characters such as blanks, periods, commas, and etc. Essentially, a graphical form is a word such as a noun or article. This study will look at the frequency of determined graphical forms; the frequency allows for filtering of the basic data. Some graphical forms that are different have the same meaning while some behave differently in the context of the text which will be noted.

An Aggregated Lexical table is formed by dividing the text into text units of similar size which are then “statistical individuals whose variables are all the vocabulary used in the corpus” (Benzécri). The aggregated lexical table displays segments of text that are statistically significant because of how often they appear in the texts which will help determine the overall topic of the corpus. The program used was Sketch Engine and both the corpus of Italian documents and then the corpus of European Union documents were entered in order to compare the repetitive segmented texts in each. The corpus is compared to a reference corpus in the program. General language corpora are used as reference corpora to represent non-specialized language. The results of the program are multi-word expressions which appear more frequently in the focus corpus than in the reference corpus and, therefore, match the typical format of terminology in the language.

<b>Term</b>	<b>Freq</b>
Refugee status	25

Table 1: European Union Legislation

<b>Term</b>	<b>Freq</b>
international protection	96
national law	62
other contracting	27
asylum seeker	25
residence document	18
national section	16
stateless person	16
unaccompanied minor	15
Supervisory authority	15
illicit trafficking	14
Residence permit	15
Application	12
Examination procedure	12
External border	11
Preventative action	11
Illicit transportation	10
National protection	10
Third state	10

Table 2: Italian Legislation Keywords

Asylum seeker	20
Legislative decree	16
Recognition of refugee status	15
Interested party	14
Asylum application	7
Territorial commission	6
Residence permit	6
Unified conference	5
Temporary stay	5
National territory	5
Central service	4
Police office	4
Temporary residence	4
Police headquarters	4
Economic planning	4
Public force	3
Asylum request	3

## 2.4 Textual Analysis Results

The key terms found in both the European Union legislation and the Italian government legislation is reflected by Table 1 and Table 2 respectively. The interpretation of the connections between the text and interaction is as follows. Some of the top segmented texts that appeared in the European Union documents are international protection, national law, asylum seeker, stateless person, and supervisory authority. In the Italian government legislation, some of the recurring segmented texts were refugee status, asylum seeker, recognition of refugee status, and asylum application. From this table, I argue that the Italian government is more interested in policy that dictates the status of the migrant and what to do with that specific said migrant. The European Union documents are more concerned with security and enforcement of the legislation across the member states from the information in the aggregated lexical table. From this test, we can draw connections between the interaction and social context.

There are data break points in the European Union Legislations between international protection which has a frequency of 96 and national law with a frequency of 62. There is also a data break point between asylum seeker with a frequency of 25 and residence document with a frequency of 18 (Table 1). From the European Union Documents, I believe one of the most telling data break points is between international protection with its frequency of 96 and national protection with its frequency of 10. The European Union from this textual analysis seems far more concerned in the protection of the Union as a whole rather than the individual national countries that are a part of the European Union. The Italian National documents had a data break point between refugee status with a frequency of 25 and recognition of refugee status with a frequency of 15 (Table 2). The European Union documents had no mention of refugees which is a separate group of migrants who receive special protection under international law. This is interesting that stateless person was mentioned 16 times and

refugee not at all in the European Union documents because stateless person is a more broad term that does not insinuate the same level of protection required as refugees. The data break points between the set of European Union policies and the Italian National government laws show the European Union having a higher frequency of words correlated with protection and policing like supervisory authority with a 15 time frequency and preventative action with a frequency of 11 compared to the Italian national documents with police office with a frequency of 4 and police force with a frequency of 3. These data points seem to show that the written policies of the European Union are more restrictive on migration than originally thought with an increased presence of words pertained to security and enforcement compared to the Italian government whose immigration policies dealt with the type of migrants and the application process that the migrants would have to undergo.

Migrants as well as citizens in Italy must interact with the policies that are stipulated by both the Italian government and European Union. From the data, it can be gathered that the intentions of early Italian legislation was to restrict migration but then shifted to become more concerned with the legal status of the migrants and gave more benefits to those that gained legal status. Obtaining legal status from the national government became more challenging in 2002 which would then restrict migration. The policies of the European Union have the common theme of protection and encompassing European area with external borders. The EU policies shift from being less restrictive to more restrictive over time. It can be gathered that the recent shift to restrictiveness in both the European Union and Italian migration policies is a reaction to the influx of migrants through the Mediterranean to Italy's external border.

## Chapter 3: Data and Analysis

### 3.1 Introduction

This part of the study aims to answer the research question "How did the policies affect migrants' decision to move?" This paper will follow the UNHCR definition that

considers migrants entering Italy from the Mediterranean both refugees and migrants (UNHCR). I collected data for different migration trends into Italy in order to compare the trends as well as run a multiple linear regression with the refugee influx population and the policies enacted by both the Italian national government and European Union. The hypothesis is that there is a correlation between the policies of the EU and the Italian government and the amount of migrants entering Italy. Correlation is different from causation because the presence of one variable does not automatically change another variable but rather shows a connection or mutual relationship between the variables. I will first describe the data sets used and then the results of the two-part analysis. The first part of the analysis is a comprehensive look at the migration trends into Italy over the recent years that compares the different aspects of the broad migration situation. The second part of the analysis is the multiple linear regression that seeks to investigate the hypothesis.

As discussed earlier, there are different types of migrants that differ according to their reason to migrate. There are economic migrants that migrate based off of voluntary reasons such as finding a good job and then there are also migrants like refugees who have to migrate for involuntary reasons like escaping conflict. Italy has had all different types of migrants over history which is important to state before looking what the most recent reason for these migrants to move through the Mediterranean is. Immigration trends are a relatively new and important concept in Italy. The shift in migration trends in Italy began in 1950s when Italy went from being a country of emigration to a country of immigration. The economic boom of the 1950s and 1960s caused the shift because citizens were more attracted to stay because living conditions improved and the creation of the welfare state had begun (Bettin 2014). The next decade brought emigrants who migrated to Italy for a variety of reasons: unskilled workers were needed, ex-colonial ties, and political refugees. Italy lacked an immigration policy which increased immigration as northern European immigration countries adopted stricter immigration policies, but it also led to an increased amount of irregular migrants in

Italy. The 1990s and 2000s brought economic immigrants to Italy who accounted for most of the new job creations during that time. However, the recession caused many migrants to lose their jobs and therefore forced them to emigrate. The most recent changes in the migration trends into Italy have yet to be explained by determinate predictor.

The terms used to describe migrants differ across the board and are a product of different international policies (Scalettari 2007). International policies produce and use these labels to accomplish some underlying goal of the policy; the definitions used are not products of academic work. Therefore, Scalettari warns that relying on these categories in research could be potentially damaging to scientific understanding. For this research, however, that is exactly the point; what does the Italian Government or European Union aim to do by choosing the word they do in the policies i.e. migrant or refugee? The word “refugee” does not actually define a sociological group as one might expect. The academic world has attempted to differentiate refugees from other migrants by if there was forced migration or voluntary migration. The issue with this is that there is so much more that goes into the decision to migrate that cannot be simplified to those two determinates. It is difficult for a migrant to be classified as a refugee because there is no broad definition that applies across the spectrum; therefore, it is an official status given by and at the discretion of a national or supranational institution. The term refugee came about after World War II to differentiate from other migrants. The term refugee is a bureaucratic label and not a sociological group. There are international laws and conventions to protect refugees but not other migrants. This has recently caused migrants from the south who are trying to move to the northern hemisphere to claim refugee status since there are more strict laws on legal migration. The question still remains on the difference between refugees and irregular migrants; the answer differs according to which organization or institution is asked. The UNHCR says there is a difference and the difference depends on the reasons the migrant left their origin country. The High Commissioner Lubbers stated that: “refugees and migrants are

fundamentally different...Migrants, especially economic migrants, choose to move in order to improve the future prospects of themselves and their families. Refugees have to move if they are to save their lives or preserve their freedom” (Lubbers 2004). Other organizations like ILO say there is not a significant difference in migrants versus refugees because they have similar reasons for migrating, but refugees are the only group with protected rights and all deserve these protected rights.

Currently the decision of what the migrants are called is up to the governing body. What makes this research even more difficult is that the word migrant and refugee have been used interchangeably when referring to the “crisis” in Italy and the Mediterranean. According to the UNHCR, the mass amounts of people arriving in Italy by boat have been both. The UNHCR stated "The majority of people arriving this year in Italy and Greece especially have been from countries mired in war or which otherwise are considered to be 'refugee-producing' and for whom international protection is needed. However, a smaller proportion is from elsewhere, and for many of these individuals, the term 'migrant' would be correct"(2015). Therefore, this research must look at data entitled with both “refugee” and “migrant” in order to get the full picture of the migration flows through the Mediterranean. I will also look at refugee data from the origin countries of the refugees enter Italy in order to see how the level of conflict in the given countries has caused a disruption and internally and externally displaced individuals.

### 3.2 Data Set

Since most of the migrants arriving in Italy from the Mediterranean are classified as refugees, I will be using the data on the refugee population in Italy from the UNHCR for the multiple linear regression. Available data on migration into Italy is incomplete and has only recently become a priority for government structures and other organizations. The most

complete and continuous data for the refugee population in Italy comes from the UNHCR. According to the data description provided by the UNHCR, refugees are defined as “people who are recognized as refugees under the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees or its 1967 Protocol, the 1969 Organization of African Unity Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, people recognized as refugees in accordance with the UNHCR statute, people granted refugee-like humanitarian status, and people provided temporary protection”. The migrants excluded from this data set are asylum seekers which will be defined as “people who have applied for asylum or refugee status and who have not yet received a decision or who are registered as asylum seekers” (UNHCR). This data is pertinent to the study because as stated before the refugees make up a major part of the people entering Italy through the Mediterranean.

Data gathered from Eurostat includes information on the annual total number of immigrants into Italy, the amount of asylum seeker applications filed each year in Italy, and the amount of third country nationals who were denied entry at Italy’s external border. The data from Eurostat is collected by the Member States Ministries of Interior. The data on total number of immigrants into Italy spans from 1990 to 2016. By definition given by Eurostat, Immigrants are people who establish their “usual residence in the territory of a Member State for a period that is, or is expected to be, of at least 12 months, having previously been usually resident in another Member State or a third country”. The issue with this data in relation to this research is that the people entering Italy through the Mediterranean are not necessarily intending to stay in Italy for twelve months as another destination in the EU might be their end goal, but it will be useful for overall immigration trends in relation to the enacted migration policies. The data for asylum applications includes third-country nationals or a stateless person of all ages who submitted an application for international protection to an EU Member state. A third country national is any person who is not a citizen of the European

Union. The data on third country nationals who were denied entry at the external border includes third-country nationals who were formally denied permission to enter the Schengen Area of the European Union at the external border of Italy. This data will not be a part of the regression analysis but interesting to note in a discussion of supranational and national migration policy and to correlate trend lines with election results and change in political climate.

Data for specifically sea arrivals into Italy is even more recent with data only going back until 2014 to 2017 by the UNHCR. The UNHCR has collected information on the amount of people arriving on the Italian coast from the Mediterranean which includes a mix of refugees and migrants. The timeline does not necessarily mean that there was not an issue or data to be collected prior but rather that it is when the migration started to receive national attention therefore caused increase research. Unfortunately, data and research is reactive in this case so I will be extrapolating that data to show a trend line.

### 3.3 Independent Variable

. The two independent variables will be categorical: the policies enacted by the EU and the Italian National Government. The documents used will be the same ones described in the corpus of the textual analysis part of this study. For the purpose of the multiple regression, the focus will be the year the particular policy took effect in order to see if there was an increase or decrease in refugees the year following the policy enactment. The documents include the Schengen Agreement, the Dublin Regulation, and the European Agenda on Migration as well as the Martelli Law, the Dini Decree, Turco-Napolitano Law, and the Bossi-Fini Law. Since the policies are categorical, I coded them as a binary variable with either a “1” if a policy was present or a “0” if not. For each year of refugee population data, there is a corresponding “1” or “0” according to whether or not there had been a piece of

legislation put into effect. The policies are coded for the year immediately following their enactment in order to gauge the initial reaction to the policy by migrants. In the years following the initial year after the enactment, the migration flows would either level out because the policy was effective or the other migrants discovered that the policy was not a deterrent as originally expected.

### 3.4 Dependent Variable

The dependent variable is continuous and will be the number of refugees entering Italy each year. Choosing this data does not account for all other types of migrants entering Italy, but for this study the data set is the best since the migrants entering Italy through the Mediterranean have been labeled as refugees. The best data for this study would be the yearly sea arrivals, but the UNHCR only has that data from 2014 so it is not complete enough run an accurate multiple linear regression. The sea arrival data is the most pertinent data because most refugees enter Italy through the Mediterranean. Previously, there had been a large amount of refugees entering Italy and Greece by traveling through Turkey, but that migration was restricted with the EU-Turkey statement. There was a major shift in migration flows in 2015 from the central Mediterranean route from North Africa to Italy to the eastern Mediterranean route which went through Turkey to Greece because of increased and widely spread knowledge of the danger associated with the central Mediterranean route (Katsiaficas 2016). The EU-Turkey statement in 2016 changed that because it stipulated that any irregular migrants or asylum seekers arriving to Italy or Greece from Turkey would be returned back to Turkey essentially closing the eastern Mediterranean route; the central Mediterranean route to Italy became the sole route and therefore, experienced increased traffic.

### 3.5 The Analysis

The charts show some very interesting trends with migration into Italy over the past ten years. The total immigration into Italy has been on a downward trend since 2010 according to the data from Eurostat; however, the people included in that are immigrants who are intending to reside in Italy for twelve months or longer. The people arriving in Italy as part of the crisis are a mix of refugees and migrants who do not necessarily intend to reside in Italy specifically for twelve months or longer; it is a passing point as they make their way throughout the European Union. For this reason, the data on the refugee population is more reflective of the people who are moving through the Mediterranean and entering Italy even though it is a mix of migrants and refugees. The refugee population in Italy steadily and quickly increased by 82,523 people from 2012 to 2017 which can be seen in Figure 1. The refugee population is increasing even with an increase of third country nationals denied entrance at the external border (Figure 2). The amount of migrants and refugees entering Italy from the sea has seen a slight decrease from the peak in 2016. Annually, they are still receiving over 100,000 migrants and refugees by sea. Asylum applications have dramatically increased by 100,000 annually since 2013. From this data, I can draw the conclusion that even though the amount of people entering Italy has not changed significantly in the last five years; the amount of migrants that are refugees has greatly increased.

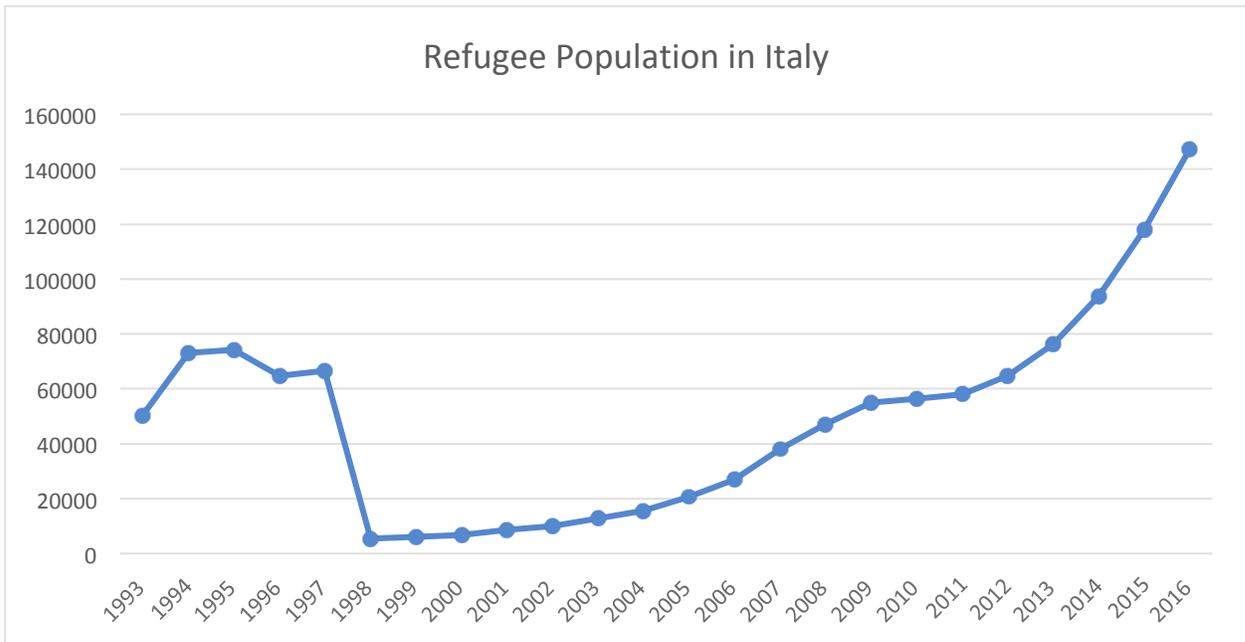


Figure 3.1: Influx of Refugee Population from 1993 to 2016 from UNHCR

Figure 3.2: Total Annual Immigration into Italy from 1990 to 2016 from Eurostat

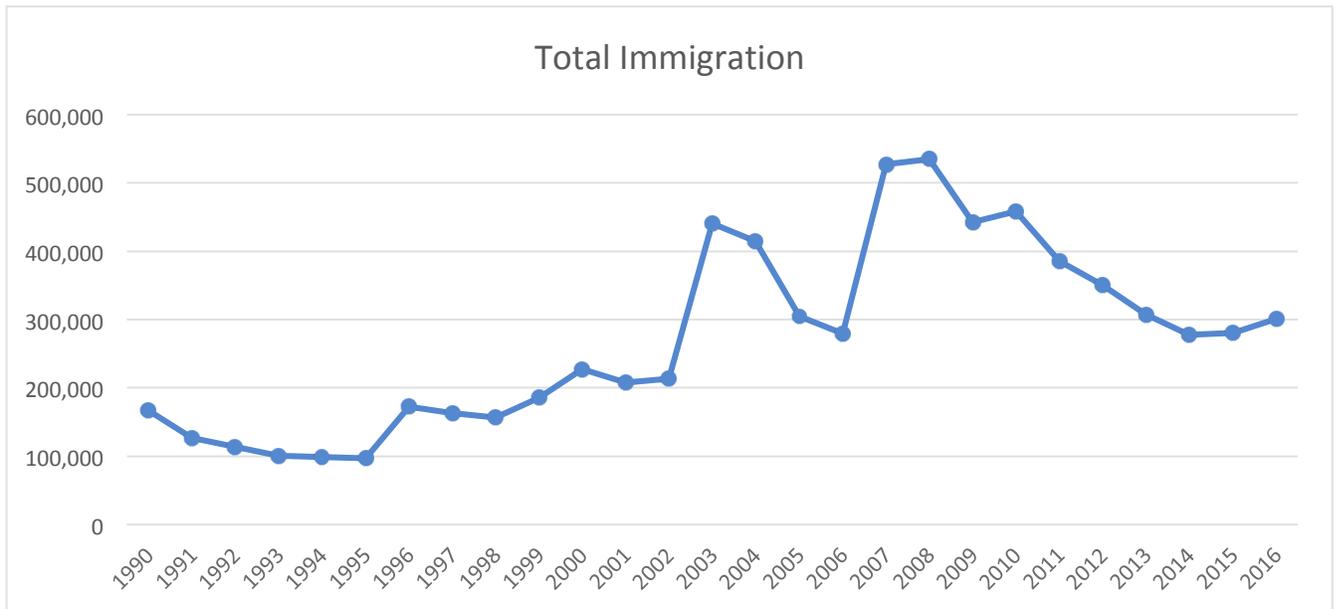


Figure 3.3 Asylum Applicants in Italy from 2008 to 2017 from Eurostat

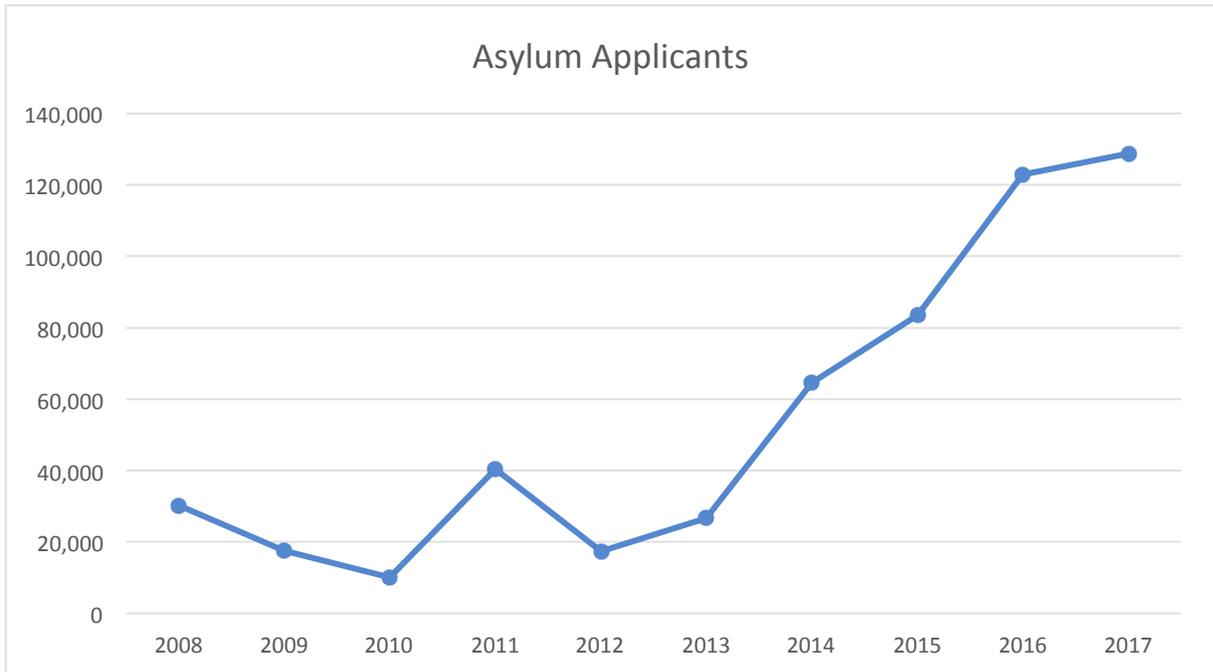
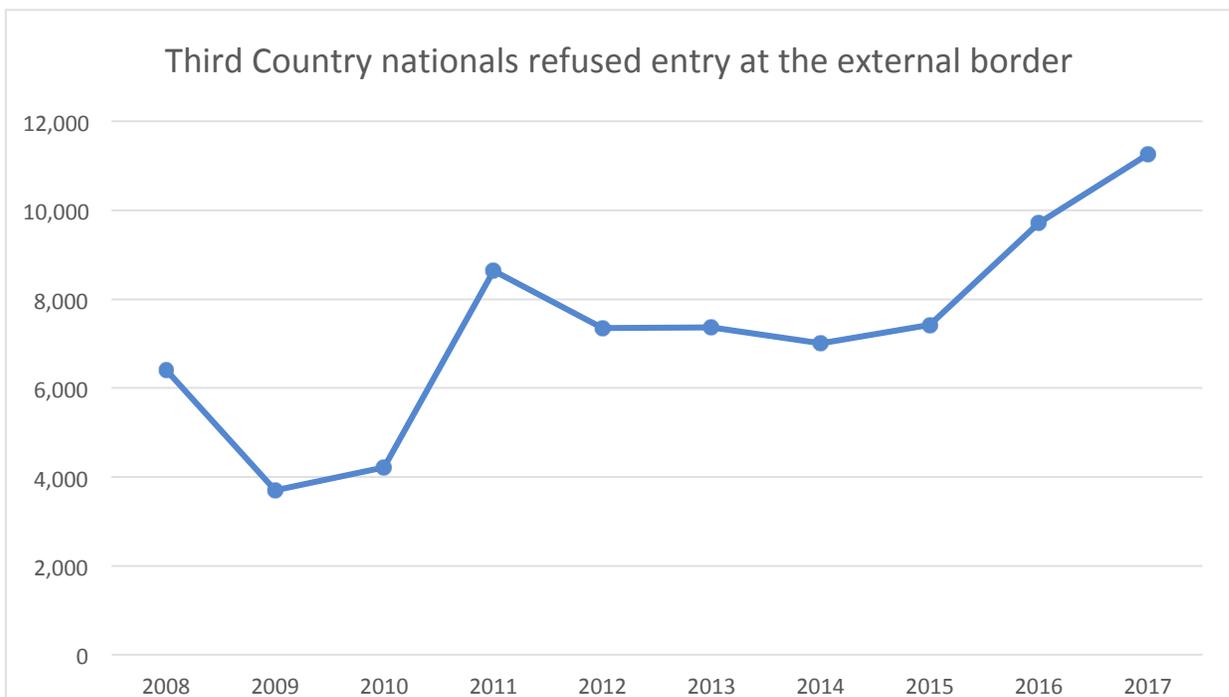


Figure 3.4: Third-Country Nationals refused entry at Italy's external border from 2008 to 2017



Eurostat

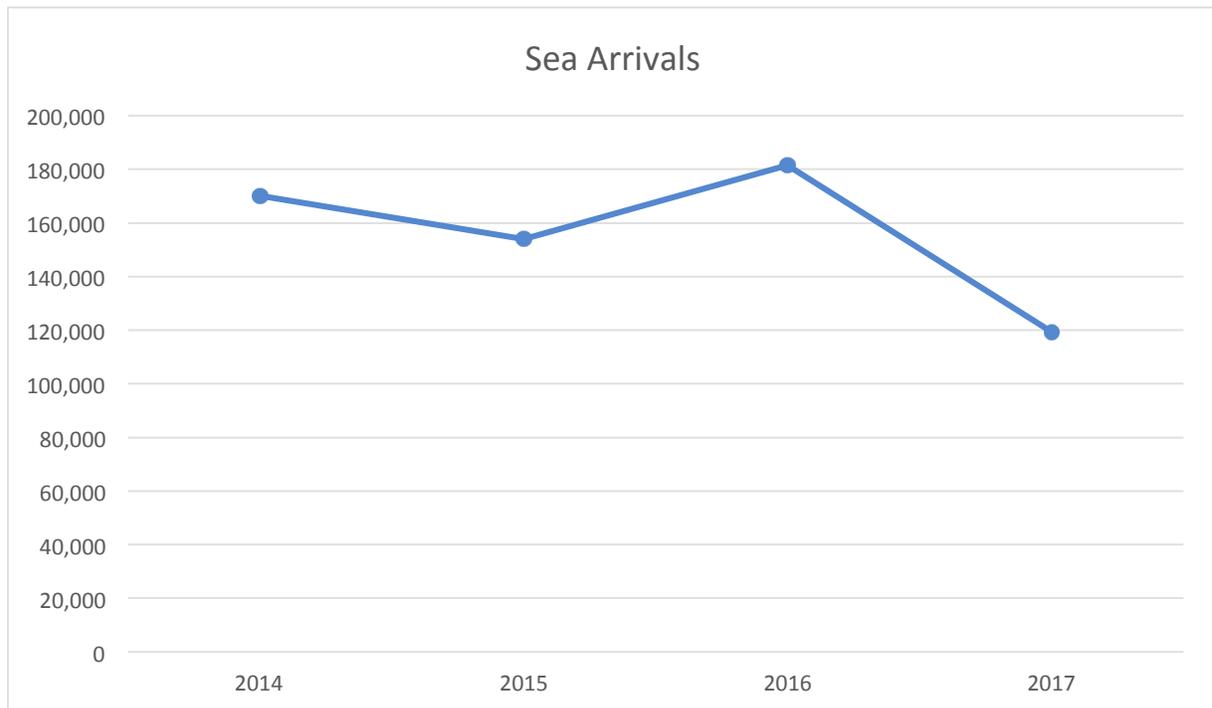


Figure 3.5: Annual sea-arrivals to Italy from 2014-2017 from the UNHCR

### 3.6 Multiple Linear Regression

The goal of the multiple linear regression is to determine if the independent variables have a relationship with the dependent variable. If there is statistical significance, the independent variables will be one of the predictors for the dependent variable. In the multiple linear regression, there is variation in Y because variation in X exists which is displayed in the results below (Table 1). The R Square of the multiple linear regression was 0.233096638 which means that about 20% of the variation can be explained by the policy enactment. The P-Value of the Italian legislation and European Union legislation is 0.017 and 0.45 respectively which means I reject the null hypothesis for the Italian legislation and fail to reject the null hypotheses of the European Union legislation since it is not less than 0.1. The null hypothesis means there is no change in the dependent variable that can be explained by the independent variable. By failing to reject the null hypothesis, there is no

effect on the amount of refugees entering Italy by the European Union policies. By rejecting the null hypothesis of the Italian Government documents, the Italian policies do have an effect on the amount of refugees entering Italy. There is a negative relationship between both the European policies and the Italian policies with the refugee population. Since the coefficients are negative, that means that each time there has been a legislation produced by either government the population of refugee decreases. Each Italian legislation caused more of a decrease in the refugee population than the European Union legislation. The standard error of the regression is the average distance of the data points from the regression line in dependent variable units. With the standard error being 40591.81, there is about 40591 people from the regression line meaning the data points are pretty far from the regression line.

Since only 20% of the variation can be explained by policy enactment, I will look at the other independent variables in order to see if they have an effect on the refugee population in Italy. The other independent variables I will look at is the GDP growth annual percentage and unemployment percentage of total labor force in order to see if economic factors have a more significant correlation with the change in refugee population. The R Square of the multiple linear regression was 0.196652031 (Table 3.3) which means economic factors like the unemployment rate and GDP only account for about 19% of the change in the amount of refugees in Italy. The P-Value of the GDP growth is 0.37 and since it is not less than 0.1, I fail to reject the null hypothesis. The P-Value of the Unemployment rate is 0.03 and since it is less than 0.1 then I will reject the null hypothesis. There is not any multicollinearity among the independent variables. All of these independent variables do not have a strong linear relationships and therefore correlation with the dependent variable. Neither Italian and European policies or economic factors explain the fluctuation of refugees into Italy fully. Some correlation exists but not strong enough to say either are a determining factor or that causation exists.

Table 3.1: Multiple Linear Regression Statistics Results Italian National and European Union Policy

<i>Regression Statistics</i>	
Multiple R	0.48280083
R Square	0.23309664
Adjusted R Square	0.16337815
Standard Error	40591.8117
Observations	25

Table 3.2: Multiple Linear Regression Results for Italian National Policy and European Union Policy

	<i>Coefficients</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>t Stat</i>	<i>P-value</i>
Intercept	72892.14286	10848.618	6.71902567	9.3979E-07
European Union Policy	-23298.14286	30684.52542	-0.7592799	0.4557443
Italian National Policy	-44720.14286	17342.71473	-2.5786126	0.01713737

Table 3.3 Multiple Linear Regression Statistics Results for GDP Growth and Unemployment

<i>Regression Statistics</i>	
Multiple R	0.443454654
R Square	0.196652031
Adjusted R Square	0.123620397
Standard Error	41545.11491
Observations	25

	<i>Coefficients</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>t Stat</i>	<i>P-value</i>
Intercept	-38113.97218	42758.48424	-0.891378	0.38237204
GDP growth (annual %)	-4039.624255	4494.908239	-0.8987112	0.37853791
Unemployment, total	9612.230337	4250.407348	2.2614845	0.03395547

Table 3.4 Multiple Linear Regression Results for GDP Growth and Unemployment

### 3. 7 Political Climate

The political climate in Italy has been changing in reaction to the amount of migrants and refugees entering Italy. Political opinion regarding migration began to take shape in the early 1990s (Gattinara 2016). At that time Partito Repubblicano Italiano, a small government coalition party, Movimento Sociale Italiano, radical right party challenged the “right to migrate”. In the late 1990s, a centre-left coalition government was elected. The refugee population in the 1990s had a steady increase until a sharp drop in 1997. In 2001, Silvio Berlusconi and a centre- right coalition called Forza Italiana were elected. The refugee population remained low and static until 2005 when it slowly began to increase. The 2006 general election brought a centre-left leader as Prime Minister, Romani Prodi, won and Giorgio Napolitano, a former communist, was elected as president. During the time span of 2005-2008 there was an increase of refugees by over 20,000. In 2008, Berlusconi returned to power with his centre-right party. From 2009-2012, the influx leveled off. The 2012 local elections showed leftist parties gaining ground; a centre-left block gained control of the lower house but not the Senate. After 2012, the amount refugees quickly and drastically increased. In 2014, Matteo Renzi forms a new left-right coalition government. The 2018 elections brought the Five Star Movement, a right-wing party that gained support with an anti-immigration rhetoric. They had the most amount of votes but did not get the outright majority. The popularity of the right wing Five Star Movement correlates with the large amount of migrants and refugees entering and residing in Italy.

Since the policies enacted by either governing body or the economic factors could fully explain the effect on the refugee population, I will complete a multiple linear regression for the political parties that were in control of the Italian National government to determine if there is a correlation with the amount of refugees in Italy. My independent variables will be the right wing governments and the left wing governments. In order to complete the multiple linear regression, I will code the years the respective political parties were in power similarly to the coding of the policy enactments. If the party was in power that year, it will be coded

with a “1” and the other party that year will be coded with a “0”. The P-Value for both the left wing and right wing parties was more than or equal to 0.1 (Table 3.6) which means that I will fail to reject the null hypothesis for both. The R square is 0.34 which means that the political parties in control can explain about 34% of the changes in the refugee population. The right wing political party has a negative coefficient of -41801 which means that every year there was a right wing government there was about 41801 less refugees entering Italy on average (Table 3.6).

Table 3.5 Multiple Linear Regression Statistics Results Left Wing and Right Wing Political Parties

<i>Regression Statistics</i>	
Multiple R	0.589066525
R Square	0.34699937
Adjusted R Square	0.287635677
Standard Error	37456.30342
Observations	25

Table 3.6 Multiple Linear Regression Results for Left Wing and Right Wing Political Parties

	<i>Coefficients</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>t Stat</i>	<i>P-value</i>
Intercept	65713.66667	21625.40686	3.0387251	0.00602762
Left Wing	12367	24177.93989	0.51149933	0.61409728
Right Wing	-41801.96667	24656.75746	-1.6953554	0.10411683

### 3.8 Origin Countries Internal Displacement and Refugee Data

This thesis focuses on how the policies of the European Union and Italy have affected migration flows through the Mediterranean. The migrants entering Italy by sea are both a mix of refugees and economic migrants. The refugees are leaving their origin country due to some type of conflict. In order to apply the push-pull framework to the Italian immigration crisis, I will compare the internal displacement in the origin countries as well as the refugee

populations leaving the origin countries to the refugee population entering Italy to see the correlation of the level of conflict pushing migrants and the amount of refugees that Italy is receiving.

The migrants arriving by sea belong to origin countries scattered throughout Africa and the middle east, who make the journey to Libya in order to enter Italy through the central Mediterranean route. According the UNHCR, the most common countries of origins are Tunisia, Eritrea, Sudan, Pakistan, Nigeria, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Guinea, Libya, Iraq, and Syrian Arab Republic (2018). Using data from the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, I have created a scatter plot with trend lines for the amount of internally displaced people in the countries that have the highest amount of sea-arrivals to Italy with the refugee population of Italy since 2008. An internally displaced person is a person who has been forced to leave their home because of some level of conflict but have not crossed an international border. This conflict includes armed conflict, violations of human rights, and generalized violence. These individuals are not refugees because they not have crossed an international border in order to gain refugee status and refugee protection from the country. I chose this indicator because the internal displacement how conflict exists in the given country and how it is affecting the citizens. There are gaps in the data that prevent it for being adequate data for a multiple; most of the provided data is an estimate.

I then retrieved data on the total amount of refugees who have left each origin country that were most common in the sea-arrival data from the UNHCR. The idea is that the amount of refugees from these origin countries will correlate with the refugee population in Italy because the conflict has caused a push factor. This data is an indicator of the conflict in the region because it is an estimation of how many people have crossed international borders because the conflict in their origin country has left them with no choice; those individuals have received official recognition of their refugee status. The data on refugees does not

include individuals who have applied for asylum and are still awaiting a decision.

Registrations, surveys, and estimates provided by UNHCR field offices, NGOs, and governmental agencies make up the data on refugees.

According to Figure 3.6, the origin countries of Cote d'Ivoire and Libya experienced high levels of displaced individuals beginning in 2013 that reached a peak in 2015. These countries were experiencing a conflict that grew larger and displaced more of their citizens. Their amount of displaced citizens has decreased since 2015 even though the level refugees entering Italy has still been increasing. Data for Syria, Sudan, and Nigeria are displayed in Figure 3.7 because of aesthetic reasons. The displaced population within the countries of Syria, Sudan, and Nigeria are so much higher than those of Cote d'Ivoire, Eritrea, Libya, and Mali that it is challenging to adequately display in one graph. Syria, Sudan, and Nigeria have extremely high displaced populations since 2012 which leads me to conclude that levels of conflict have been extremely high in those origin countries. Individuals that were forced to cross an international border because of the level of the conflict in their country are reflected in Figure 3.8 and Figure 3.9. In Figure 3.8, Cote d'Ivoire, Guiana, Tunisia, and Libya had less refugees originate from their countries than the amount of refugees Italy received since 2012. The origin country is specified because it is where these refugees call home and were forced to leave; plenty of refugees leave Libya to cross the Mediterranean to Italy but they are not Libyan. Nigeria has experienced an increase in refugees departing that correlates with the increase of Italian refugee population. Eritrea and Sudan have much larger amounts of refugees departing that supersedes the amount entering Italy, both have increased along similar lines. There are significantly more refugees leaving origin countries than the amount that enters Italy. The question I have addressed is why these refugees are choosing to travel across the Mediterranean to Italy instead of another country like their counterparts. The policies of the European Union and Italy "pull" them to Italy and make it a more appealing choice.

Figure 3.6: Annual number of displaced individuals in the origin countries of Cote d'Ivoire, Eritrea, Libya, and Mali and the annual refugee population entering Italy from 2008-2017 from the UNHCR

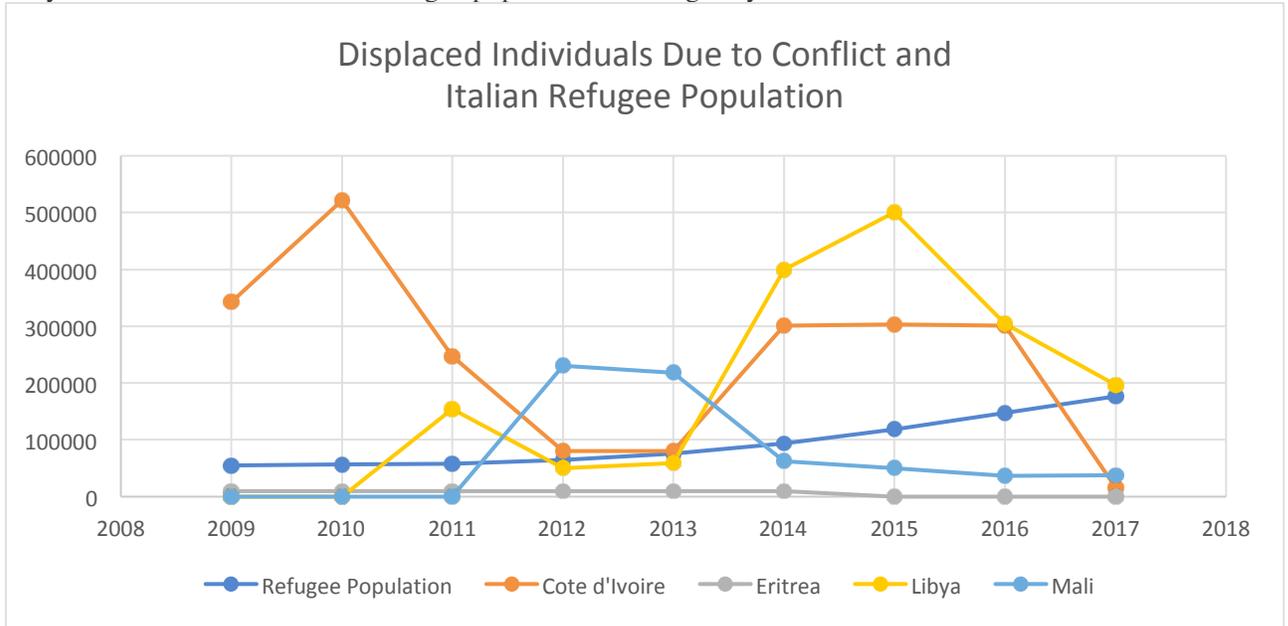


Figure 3.7: Annual number of displaced individuals in the origin countries of Syria, Sudan, and Nigeria and the annual refugee population entering Italy from 2008-2017 from the UNHCR

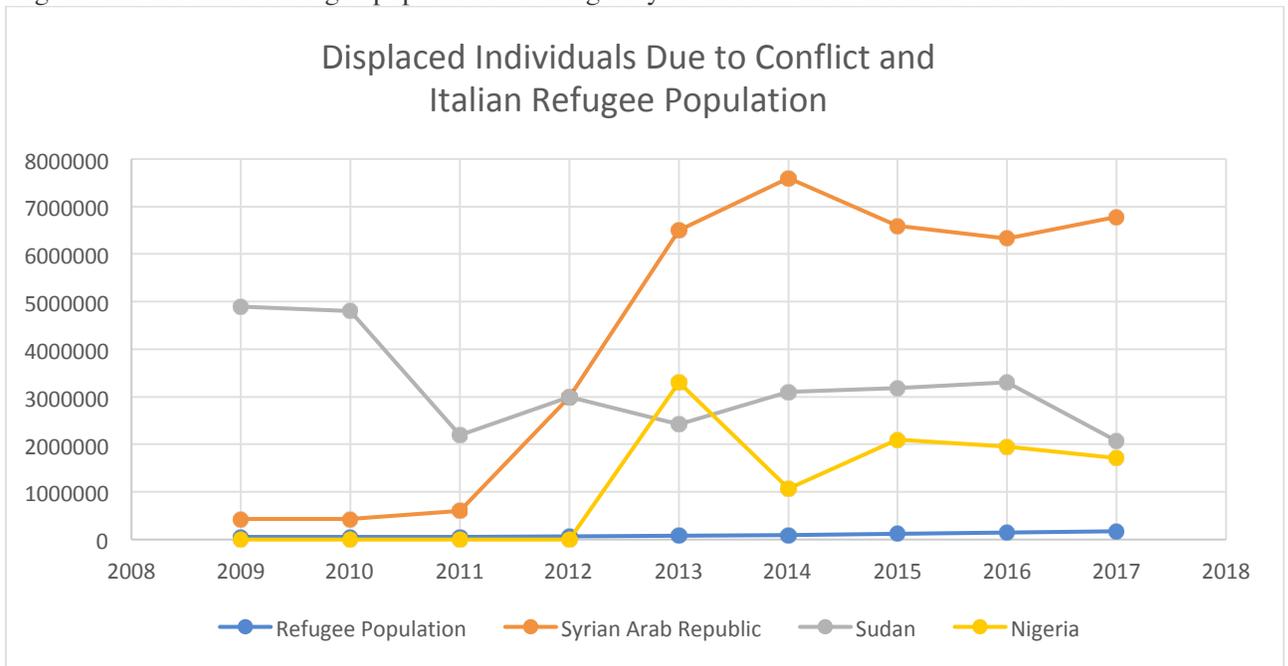


Figure 3.8: Annual Refugee Populations departing from the origin countries of Tunisia, Libya, Cote d'Ivoire, Nigeria, Mali, and Guinea and the refugee population entering Italy from 1993-2017 from the UNHCR

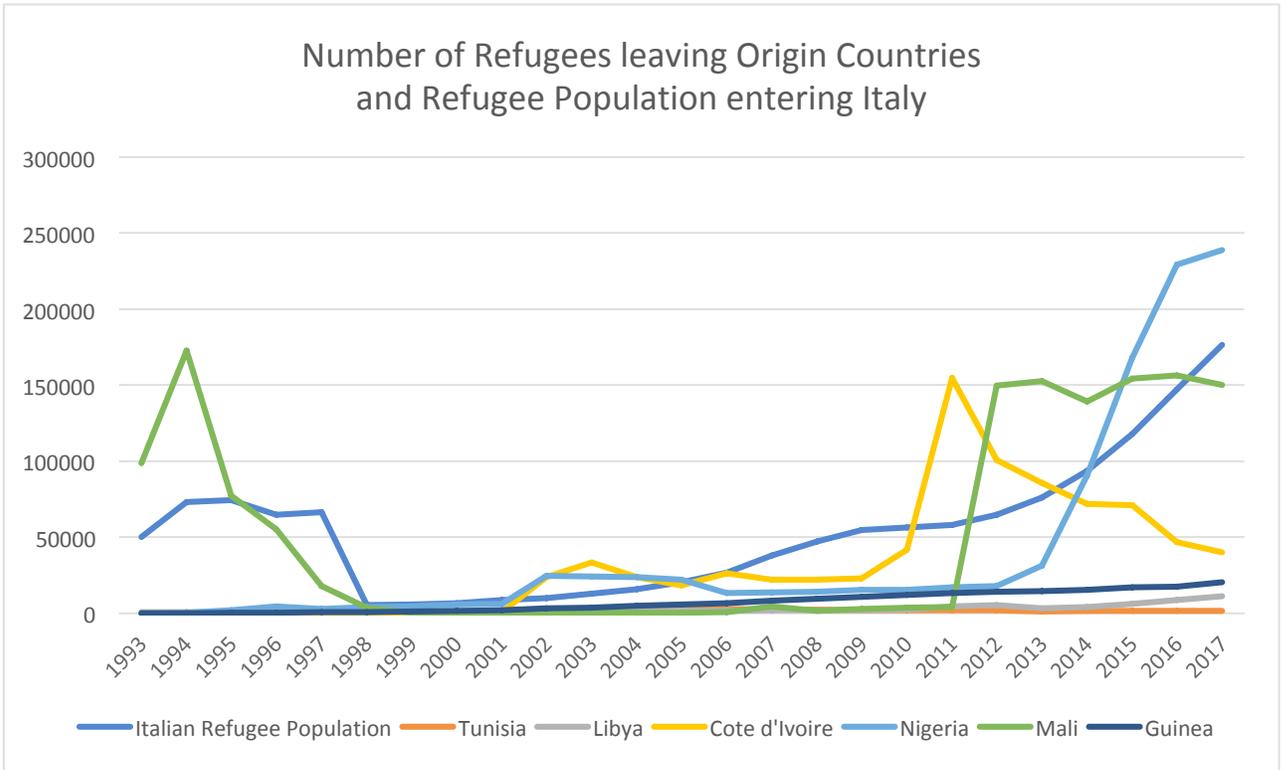
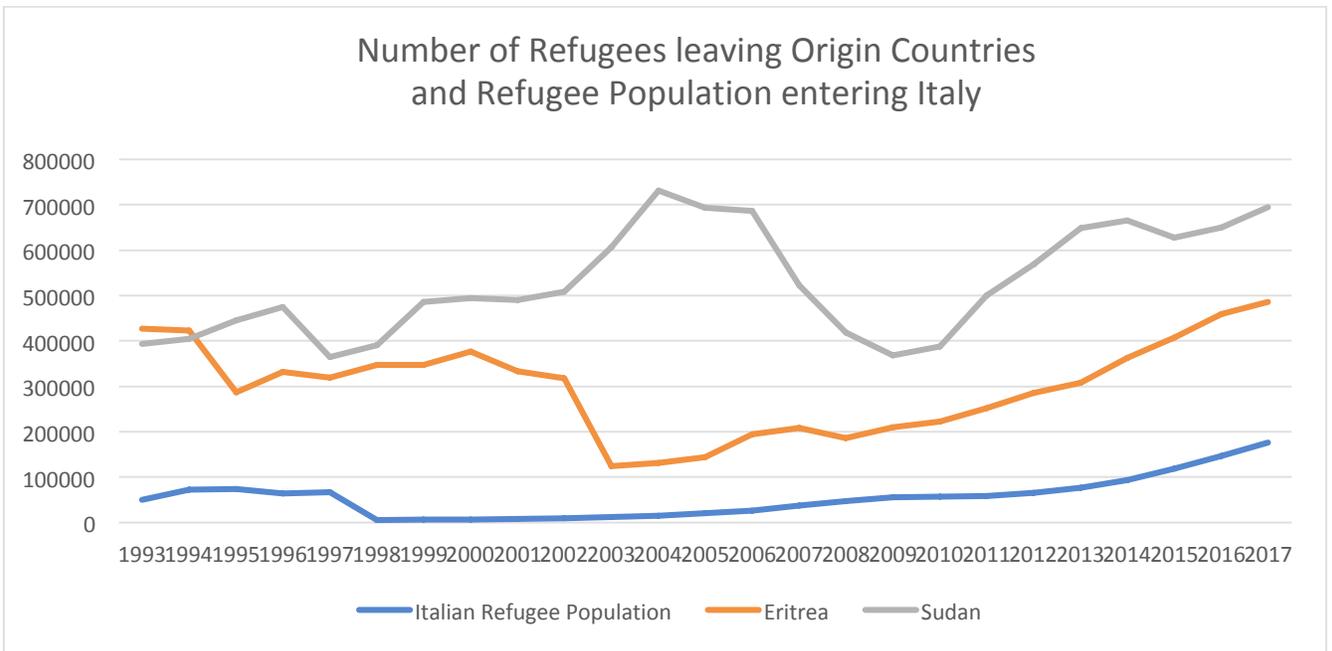


Figure 3.9: Annual Refugee Populations departing from the origin countries of Eritrea and Sudan the refugee population entering Italy from 1993-2017 from the UNHCR



## Chapter 4: Conclusion and Current Climate

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter will analyze the research and corroborate it with primary research. This thesis sought to research the effectiveness of policy responses to migration flows through the Mediterranean Sea by both the European Union and the Italian government. The intentions of the policies were not always necessarily to restrict migration to Italy, but since the policies had not restricted the migration or adequately addressed the influx of migrants and refugees in to Italy prior to 2018; the citizen of Italy were unhappy with the migration situation and political parties have capitalized on it by campaigning on anti-immigration platforms. This thesis addressed policy responses and migration patterns from 1990 to 2017. New data and policies have come out in late 2018 that have reflected a return to normal migration levels after this thesis was started. My research is limited to 2017 and the reaction to the perceived immigration crisis in Italy in 2018. By looking at newspapers, Eurobarometer, and individual interviews, it is possible to see the current opinions on the immigration crisis from the perspective of the Italian Government, the citizens of Italy as a whole, and the individual Italian citizen. Recent newspaper articles include quotes from officials in the National Italian Government that reflect the government's opinion on the immigration crisis and the future steps that will be taken with policy. The Eurobarometer collects the public opinion on different subjects from various member states in the European Union. I will compare the results of my research to see if they align with the current opinions.

### 4.1 Data Interpretation

The purpose of this study was to determine how the multilevel policies have affected the migration flows through the Mediterranean into Italy. I completed a textual analysis on both Italian National Government policies and European Union policies regarding

immigration in order to gather the intentions and implications of the policies enacted and how the policy debates differed between the governing bodies. Through this I found that European Union policies focused more on security and enforcement measures than the Italian Government policies which addressed the application processes of migrants and the recognition of refugees. The European Union policies were far more interested in international security rather than national security. There was a data break in the European Union legislation corpus between the term international protection with a frequency of 96 and the term national law with a frequency of 62. The European Union is concerned with the security of the member states as a whole rather than the individual member state. The Italian National government legislation utilized the term refugee status with a frequency of 25 while the European Union documents did not. This is an important finding since as I have stated the refugee have a certain amount of international protection and right that other types of migrants do not and half of the migrants arriving in Italy are classified as refugees. The Italian Government documents note and recognize that distinction. The data break points between the set of European Union policies and the Italian National government laws show the European Union having a higher frequency of words correlated with protection and policing. These data points seem to show that the written policies of the European Union are more restrictive on migration since there is an increased presence of words pertaining to security and enforcement compared to the Italian government whose immigration policies dealt with the type of migrants and the application process that the migrants would have to undergo.

The multiple linear regression sought to discover whether the policies enacted by either governing body affected the migrants and refugees decision to move. The Italian policies did; each time an Italian policy was enacted, less refugees entered Italy. This can still only account for about 20% of the refugees and their decision to migrate. Since the

policy enactments of both the Italian National government and the European Union could only account for 20%, I ran two other multiple linear regressions with different independent variables to determine to what degree that they correlated with the dependent variable of the refugee population. The independent variables of GDP growth and the unemployment rate in Italy are economic factors that could entice an individual to migrate; the multiple linear regression showed that they could only account for 19% of the change in the amount of refugees in Italy. Finally, I ran a multiple linear regression with the political climate as an independent variable to determine whether having a right wing government or a left wing government in power had an effect. The political climate explained about 34% of the changes in the refugee population. Every time a right wing government was in power, there were on average about 41,801 less refugees entering Italy while the left wing governments had an average of 12,367 more refugees entering Italy.

I also compared different trend lines regarding migration to others and when the policies were enacted. The refugee population dropped in 1998 to 5,473 where it had been 66,620 the previous year. This correlates with the European Union Dublin Agreement which came into effect in 1997. 1998 marks the lowest point for the refugee population in Italy as it has steadily increased since then. There was an absence of Italian National policy decrees from 2012 to 2016 which was when the most dramatic increase in the refugee population occurred; 64,779 in 2012 to 147,302 in 2016. However, the total immigration into Italy which only pertains to individuals who plan to stay 12 months or longer has actually decreased since 2012. This is due to the type of my migrants arriving by sea and that Italy is not their final destination. The asylum applicants to Italy have increased since 2012 from 17,335 to 128,850 in 2017. The trend lines in the data showed that even though the sea-arrivals has recently been declining from 181,436 in 2016 to 119,369 in 2017; the asylum applications to Italy and the refugee population has been steadily and quickly increasing. The European Agenda on Migration from the European Union that was enacted in 2016 could

have had an impact on the reduction of sea-arrivals since the goal and intent of the legislation was to provide better management of the external border; however, there is still over 100,000 sea-arrivals. This leads me to determine that the current policies have not restricted the migration flows through the Mediterranean.

Where will the European Union and Italian Government go from here? Policies continue to change and take shape over time. Looking to the future, recent quotes from media sources and public opinion can give a glimpse into the future of migration policy in Italy. In 2018, the European Union and Italian government have made a shift to be outspoken in their intentions to enact anti-immigration policies.

#### 4.2 Moving Forward: Opinions of Policy Makers, the Public, and the Individual

This thesis aimed to investigate the effectiveness of policies enacted to reduce migration flows through the Mediterranean. My findings show an increase of in sea-arrivals and refugees in Italy without an effective policy response from either the European Union or the Italian National government. My research showed that recent policies implemented by either governing body have not restricted migration. Even if that was not the intention of the policy; the policies have not set up a structure to handle the influx of the migrants and refugees. Policies attempted to with the classification of the migrants and the process to become refugees or residents; but did not handle settlement plans. The inadequate policy response has caused individuals at every level to have an opinion regarding migration policy in Italy. This is reflected in statements by the Italian Government found in newspaper articles, the public opinions based on surveys through Eurobarometer, and the individual Italian citizen who is affected by the increased refugee population. From these different areas, there is an overarching theme of the desire to adopt anti-immigration policies. The question that is left to tackle is what level of government is responsible for the policy solution.

The Standard Eurobarometer is a collection of surveys produced by the European Commission in order to investigate a social group's attitude toward a certain subject. Each survey includes 1000 face-to-face interviews in the given member state. These surveys reflect the public opinion toward a concept such as immigration. The opinions of the Italian citizens are largely anti-immigration. Even with the policies of the EU that have not restricted migration flows, Italian citizens still want to work with the EU on immigration policy. According to the Eurobarometer, 72% of Italians believed that decisions on immigration policy should be made jointly with the EU compared to 21% who thought that was the decision of the national government in 2011 (European Commission). There is not data to show the public opinion of which institution should handle immigration policy since 2011. However, there is data that shows how the Italian citizens view the European Union in general. 1000 citizens were surveyed and asked, "In general, does the European Union conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative, or very negative image?". In 2011, 40% of the Italian public had a fairly positive view of the European Union and 13% had a fairly negative one compared to 2018 when 32 % have a fairly positive view and 17% have a fairly negative view. The anti-immigration sentiments in the national government are being supported at the local level by the Italian citizens. In 2018, 63% of Italian citizens had negative feelings toward immigrants from outside the European Union which is down from 2015 when it was 70% at the height of the immigration crisis. Currently, 74% believed immigrants were more prone to participate in criminal activities (Eurobarometer). The recent election in the National Italian Government reflects the anti-immigration public opinion of Italian citizens.

I interviewed an Italian citizen on their individual professional experience of the immigration and interestingly it differs from the public opinions collected by the Eurobarometer surveys. I was put into contact with him by a snowball method of mutual acquaintances who knew about his work with immigration in Italy. Gianmarco Lattanzio is

originally from Rome, but studies in Bologna. He and some colleagues produced the website, the Subway Wall. When asked about his perception of the Italian immigration crisis as a native student, Lattanzio stated, “Only seven percent of our population comes from outside the borders of Europe. Public opinion believes that the percentage of “outsiders” (immigrants) is 3 times the real one (7%).” He went on to point me in the direction of an article that is published on their website he said “busts some of the myths about immigration like the connection between immigration and criminality.” Referencing an article from the website, the Subway Wall, they produce, it states that the “the flows have not yet assumed the dimensions of an exodus” (Vanelli and Balbo 2018). They argue that the politics and media have presented the situation in the Mediterranean as more of a “crisis” than it actually is. As far as refugees go, most of the refugees stay on the same continent of their origin country. This could actually be supported by the data I presented that showed the origin countries with conflict had a much higher amount of departing refugees than the refugee population entering Italy. Finally the article presents that crime is not linked to immigration as the media portrays; the amount of foreigners detained in Italy in 2018 is 19,800 while it was 21, 854 in 2013. Lattanzio is an individual who has an opinion that differs from the public opinion because of his professional experience.

Interviews are difficult to obtain with officials in the Italian National government for an undergraduate student in the United States. Therefore, news articles are the only source that is obtainable in order to gather quotes from Italian officials that reflect their attitudes toward migration. The local level opinions of the Italian citizens is reflective of the most recent national election. The right-wing Lega party formed a coalition government with the Five-Star Movement in June 2018. The coalition government came to power by using anti-immigration rhetoric. Currently, the European Union solutions have not been enough to end the immigration crisis according to the Italian Government. Italy’s deputy prime minister

and interior minister Matteo Salvini stated that “Sicily had to stop being the refugee camp of Europe” and “Get ready to pack your bags” in reference to illegal migrants arriving in Italy (Eillyatt 2018). The Prime Minister, Giuseppe Conte, made statements that “the Schengen Zone of visa-free travel across much of Europe was in danger if the EU failed to reach a consensus on the issue of migration” because the Italian administration feels that the burden of the large amount of refugees arriving is not shared with all the countries throughout the EU (BBC 2018). The most recent elected administration gained popularity by campaigning on anti-immigrant rhetoric. The current leaders of Italy have been making statements that are anti-immigrant and also anti-European Union.

The EU also seems to be hardening its stance against migration with the plans for “Fortress Europe”. The European Union at a summit in June 2018 began making plans to prevent boat from leaving Africa and traveling across the Mediterranean with the intention of “breaking the business model of smugglers and preventing tragic loss of life,” (Taylor 2018). The EU Commission released a statement in July 2018 that expanded on “Fortress Europe” and the idea of controlled centers. The controlled centers would help the in the initial receiving of migrants and distinguish between the ones that need international migrants and the “irregular migrants with no right to remain in the EU” and would speed up the returns of those migrants (European Commission 2018). They have also supported the implementation of “regional disembarkation platforms” where the migrants who were determined as needing international protection will be resettled in one of the 20 member states and the others will be sent back to their origin countries.

#### 4.4 Conclusion

My original hypothesis was that European Union and Italian policies are contradictory regarding international migration and have not successfully reduced the amount of migrants crossing the Mediterranean. Through my research, I reject that the European Union and Italian policies are contradictory regarding international migration. Both governing bodies have similar interests that even if they focus in one area over another and they do not contradict. European Union policies were more concerned with protection, while the status of the migrant and their path to either refugee status or citizenship was more of the priority of Italian legislation. Overall there were not obvious points where the legislations contradicted each other or disagreed. I do fail to reject my hypothesis that the policies of the European Union and Italy had not successfully reduced the amount of migrants entering Italy through the Mediterranean prior to 2018. Even if the intentions of the policies were not to reduce the amount of migrants and refugees; the refugee population and asylum applications have continued to increase at a steady rate.

I have found that the migration policies of the Italian government and especially the European Union have served as a pull factor for refugees and migrants. Migrants and refugees choose to take the journey across the Mediterranean even though the risks associated with it are high because of the policies in Italy and the movability throughout Europe. There has been a lack of adequate policy response by Italy and the European Union in the recent years to address the influx of migrants into the country. Since the policies have encouraged migration and not restricted it, there has been an attitude change across Italy toward migration. The opinions and attitudes of citizens have become more negative towards migrants causing anti-immigrant right wing political parties to gain popularity.

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