

ABSTRACTS

SESSION 1 - Mobility and European policies in the Contemporary Age

Gianluca Borzoni, *Italy and the Mediterranean Migrations between European multilateralism and national choice. A diplomatic assessment.*

As for the main European institutions and most of the EU Member States, Italy too did not seem ready to respond to the increase of the Mediterranean migration flows at the beginning of the second decade of the 21st century. The delay showed by the Italian government in perceiving this new challenge was particularly burdensome, due to the geographical position of the peninsula, set at the centre of the migratory routes towards Central and Northern Europe. The aim of this paper is to outline the major foreign policy lines followed by Italy in dealing with the migration issue in recent years under a historical perspective which considers the previous background that inspired current actions (as for the refugee crisis from the Balkans during the 90s and the African route characterizing the recent crisis), also related to EU's achievements – i.e. the Agenda on Migration of 2015, the EU-Turkish Deal and the Migration Compact of the following year – and internal debate.

Gian Lorenzo Zichi, *The migration strategy of the European Union in Africa in the 2000s. Between cooperation and externalization.*

Even if since the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 the migration issue has been one of the priority sectors of cooperation for the European Union (EU), the need for a broader and better structural management of the phenomenon has emerged as an important element in the foreign policy agenda of the Union during the 00s, in relation with the increased flows from the MENA (Middle East and North Africa) area towards Europe. Face to the imbalance and delays of a common European policy on migrations, based on the relocation of the migrants arrived in the continent, between late 2015 and 2016, the EU has thus updated its migratory strategy, searching for a more structured relation with third countries. This approach is based on the so call *externalization strategy* which showed relevant results particularly concerning the African continent.

The present paper aims to analyse the genesis of this approach, that represents a partial evolution in the decennial cooperation line towards the main African countries of origin and transit, but also a sort of delegation to external interlocutors for problems which the Union is still far from define, mostly for a persisting security accent from EU capable of rising political doubts in dealing with African partners.

Zoltan Grunhut, *From EU-phoria to EU-phobia. Contextualizing cosmopolitanism and authoritarianism in Europe*

The European Union (EU) was designed to build on and to facilitate multilateral, i.e. multilevel, multiactor and multisector cooperation as a form of governance. Yet, not just regarding to the formal institutions (regulations, strategies, policies, plans, procedures, interventions, etc.), but also towards the informal ones (social values, norms, codes, customs, conventions, etc.) the EU has to promote integration which latter should be understood as a cosmopolitan shift of the member and partner states' societies. Without achieving this ideal (maybe naively defined) social coexistence, the political objectives of the EU are continuously challenged, from policy formulation to practical implementation all together. The paper, in a very simple fashion, argues that progression of cosmopolitanism (EU-phoria) or, on the contrary, trends of emerging authoritarianism (EU-phobia) is related to sociopolitical and socioeconomic actualities, like prosperity supports constructive consensus-seeking and integration, both at supranational and national level, while recession undermines those processes, and generates, instead, isolation and disintegration. In the social mood of EU-phoria, when economy is booming, representatives of power (i.e. the interlinked social and political elite) mobilizes the middle class to share more with the underclass social groups, to be open toward members of these collectives. During recessions, however, sociopolitical and socioeconomic tensions are emerging; the power immediately reacts, by changing its rhetoric and policies; it starts to encourage middle class to defend their 'status' and their 'culture' from the underclass; and the process of 'othering' pervades against certain social groups and entities (immigrants, ethnic, religious, sexual, political minorities, women, EU, etc.). The paper proposes a multitheory in two stages: the first part focuses on the cosmopolitan idea of the EU based on concepts of Balibar, Beck and Delanty; while the second unfolds the emergence of 'othering' invoking arguments from Badiou and Boudon. Accordingly, the paper

contextualizes social integration/disintegration, in general, and among these processes inclusion policies, in particular, in a conceptual sense through elaborating a multitheory based on various frameworks.

Maxime Chervaux, *Populism: the borderline state of the European Union*

Taking into account the recent advances in psychology and the question of representation developed by the French School of Geopolitics, we want to see (1) how the research on borderline personality disorder can enrich our comprehension of the recent populist outbursts all through the Union over the past three years, and (2) how the migration crisis that unfolded following the Syrian Civil War has nourished the populist discourse in European countries. We recognize that populism can have two different results on the polity, either enlarge its borders to take in more groups otherwise left out of the political system, or tighten the polity, by excluding more groups and individuals from the reach and the protection of the state. Populism thrives in the confusion that results from blurring "limits" within a country, a society, or a political organization. We believe that the quick pace of enlargements in the EU (the union almost doubled in less than fifteen years), and the negotiation towards still larger trade agreements have blurred the limits of the union and made a populist rhetoric more forceful, despite the emergence and/or the description of Russia as a threatening Other at the borders. The recent migration crisis reinforced this impression, and as such, the political and social ground for a populist campaign in certain countries and regions. It encouraged populist leadership (in Hungary, Poland), gave more resonance to grassroots populist movements, and helped others emerge. By scanning them, we notice that the migration crisis, instead of tightening the ranks of the European Union, backfired on the Union as the public seemed keen on pushing the long-delayed debate on the purpose of the Union (Brexit) and on the definition of what it means to be European

SESSION 2 - Migration policies: comparison of national cases

Daria Signorotto, *"There is no option but to take them". Great Britain and the diaspora of the African-Asians (1968-1971)*

My speech focuses on the migration policies of both Wilson's Labour and Heath's Tory governments. It concentrates in particular on how they dealt with the influx of British citizens of Asian descent leaving Kenya and Uganda due to the rising pressure of Africanization policies in both countries. In March 1968 Wilson's Government passed the Commonwealth Immigrants Bill, aimed to contain the influx of African Asians. This move caused tensions among the Commonwealth, already under pressure because of Britain's decision to become a member of the European Community.

Among the other ex colonial powers, France in particular was facing similar issues, as immigrants from its former territories were settling on French soil. In this context, I underline the peculiarities of Great Britain's process of redefinition of its national identity, as well as the growing conflictuality of its increasingly restrictive immigration policy compared to its nationality legislation of 1948 which, since its enactment, had remained inclusive towards Commonwealth citizens and British citizens living in the Colonies.

Donato Di Sanzo, *The murder of Jerry Essan Masslo and the political debate about immigration in Italy towards the enactment of the 1990 Martelli law*

In 1988, escaping from the apartheid regime, the South-African Jerry Essan Masslo came to Italy and asked for asylum. The Italian government did not recognise any kind of International protection because, according to the law, only migrants coming from Eastern Europe could ask for asylum in Italy. A year later, Jerry Masslo was murdered by criminals in Villa Literno countryside (South-Italy), where he went as tomato-picker. His murder shocked the Italian public opinion that started to take an interest in the conditions in which immigrants were living in Italy. The Italian government decided to declare the state funerals for Jerry Masslo and the event introduced a debate about immigration that involved public opinion, mass media and politics. The Masslo's murder was a watershed

in the history of immigration in Italy and led many public actors to stand for a reform of the legislation. Mainly based on primary sources, such as the reports from parliamentary sessions and the documents stored in the archives of the Italian political parties and associations, this paper aims to retrace the story of Jerry Essan Masslo's murder and the following political debate towards the approval of the first organic law on immigration in Italy: the 1990 Martelli law.

Monica Miscali, *Inside or outside Europe? Italian immigration and the migration policies of Norway from the post-war period to the 90s.*

My presentation will deal with and analyse the issue of Italian immigration to Norway starting from the post-war migration legislature up to the current period. To highlight not only the major changes, it will in this context be of particular importance to focus on how migration policies had a significant impact on the type of immigrants arriving in Norway during this period of time. Norway and Italy had for a long time - and until the end of the Second World War - both been labour-exporting countries with a scarce need for workers. After the Second World War, however, things changed. While Italy continued to be a country that favoured labour export, Norway began suddenly to import it. In this historical period many Italians moved to the North to work. The improvement of the economy, the changed social and political conditions in the post-war period initially led Norway towards a more liberal migration policy, which was reconciled with the need for labour existing in the country and that was in tune with the opening that was taking place in other European states. Later, with the increase in the number of migrants, Norway would eventually decide to further amend its immigration laws. The '70s turned out to be a period of economic crisis across Europe and many nations would partly as a consequence of this decide to review their legislation on migration. Accordingly, in 1975, Norway decided to block the immigration flow. This did not mean a total closure but that "døren sto på gløtt", i.e. that the doors were only slightly open. There was therefore still a possibility of entering the country, but under certain and stricter conditions. The immigration of Italians to Norway would in this period feel and be influenced by the repercussions of the vicissitudes of migration laws and policy. To arrive in

Norway and find work would therefore eventually enforce a more highly qualified type of manpower immigration, a course of progress that would contribute to distinguish it from the previous form of emigration. As well as to deal with the aforementioned topics, in this paper I will try to answer the following questions: How did migration policies affect the type of migrants who arrived in Italy from the post-war period up until today? What were the different trends at different stages and how were they going to change over time? How did Norway choose the type of migrants to accept and which ones they decided to reject? What was the percentage of women among the immigrants and how would it change over time.

SESSION 3 - Mobility in post-colonial Europe

Lucio Valent, *Decolonizing the Imperial Defence. British Decolonisation and the End of a Cultural Tradition*

An underrated level of decolonisation is the vanishing of political traditions and strategic customs. They were habits stratified along decades if not centuries in almost all the colonial ruling classes of the Imperial Powers. It was a process of reassessment going hand-to-hand with the first signs of a migratory phenomenon that brought in England (or took back to home) populations previously settled in Asia and Africa from the old Motherlands. My paper will give a short analysis on the consequences of the end of the Empire in the defence system and, generally speaking, on the self-perception of the British society. This caused practical and political problems, but cultural consequences also. Because of its long habits of considering itself as a global rather than a European power, the United Kingdom was forced to face the consequences caused by the retreat during the 1960s. The main problem was to find a new political and military role inside that European continent previously deemed as a source of dangers not only for the British security, but for what the Britishness at large meant. In other words, I will sketch shortly the practical problems caused by the return at home of thousands of British soldiers; the change of the cultural basis on which the idea of Empire was grounded; the perception of Europe that inspired the politicians' actions in the 1960s; the reasons which moved the new British foreign policy in Europe and in the globe after 1968; through which means

the new strategy was justified with the national public opinion and with the European and World ones; and which forward strategy was envisaged by the experts for British foreign policy in the decades ahead. In other words, I would like to assess which the new general strategic and political system the British Government envisaged when the migration from the old colonies to the British Island became evident and real.

Beatrice Falucci, A double decolonization? Similarities and differences in the flight of Italians from Libya in 1943 and 1970.

Is it possible to talk about a “double decolonization” for Libya? What differences can we find in the memories of those who fled from the former Italian colony after World War II and after Gheddafi's rise to power?

An analysis of the memories of the 1943 refugees, and the documents produced by the 20,000 Italians who abandoned Libya under the pressure of the new Jamāhīriyya government, to define how and when the Italian cultural and economic hegemony in Libya actually came to an end.

Alessandro Pes From colonies to partners? The 1949 Conference of the European Movement and the reshaping of African – European Relations

The first years after the end of the WWII were crucial for the birth and development of the European Movement and the European integration process. The 1948 Congress of Europe in The Hague with its large and various audience signed the existence of a relevant support to the idea and political project of European unity. The congress held in The Hague showed also the will of the European Movement to locate the main problems of post-war Europe and to find practical solutions following a European perspective despite a national approach. In April 1949 the European Movement held an economic conference in Westminster; most of the issues debated at the conference were related to the possibility to create a free-trade European area. Despite it wasn't the main issue of the conference the representatives of the European Movement approached at Westminster the questions related to decolonization and the re-shaping of African-European economic relations. Analysing the records of the Italian representative at the conference, Riccardo Astuto di Lucchesi, the paper analyses the ways representatives of different European countries proposed in

Westminster a new model of relation between Africa and Europe and how the proposals were related to the previous colonial model.