

LUDOVIKA – UNIVERSITY OF PUBLIC SERVICE

Doctoral School of Military Science

THESIS BOOKLET

Captain Mariann Vecsey

**From West Africa to the Central Mediterranean route;
European Union and Member States' responses to handle the migration
crisis**

titled Ph.D. dissertation

Topic supervisors: prof. Dr. Anna Molnár, prof. Dr. János Besenyő

Budapest, 2022

Table of Contents

Formulation of the scientific problem	3
Hypotheses	5
Research objectives	5
Research methods.....	6
The summary conclusions.....	11
New scientific results	12
Recommendations	14
Practical applicability of research results	14
List of publications	16
Professional-scientific biography of the doctoral candidate.....	19

Formulation of the scientific problem

The migration and refugee crisis in 2015 caused serious problems for the European Union (EU), which had to face significant internal and external challenges. The refugee system of the European Member States was not prepared to receive almost two million people arriving on different routes.¹ Until now there is no consensus in the EU on the reconsideration and transformation of the Dublin system. The implemented measures aimed at the transfer of refugees almost reached the desired objective (40,000 people from Greece and Italy until 20 July 2017, from which 33,846 people were transferred to other countries up to 7th March 2018, which marked the last report on the relocation scheme)², but it resulted in even more fragmentation in the BREXIT torn EU. At the same time the reconsideration of the refugee regulation system was started, but the process was proven to be too slow and too dividing to be an effective solution to the situation.

The most important transit country of the route coming from West Africa, from Mali to Italy, is Libya. The long period of existing anarchy in the North African country creates a safe haven for the migrant smugglers, and also provides an easy passage to the migrants. The Africans using Libya as a transit country are not Libyan nationals but started the perilous journey to Europe from a Sub-Saharan country in the hope of a better life.³

The intra-continental migration trends in Africa are not leading only towards Europe, but they are more complicated. Among the internal routes we can find intra and inter regional routes, and routes to other continents. The scale of the intra-continental migration can be seen by the different armed conflicts, oppressive political regimes, ecological, demographical and economic problems, causing a tremendous burden to the African countries of which 33 is on the United Nations' (UN) list of least developed countries at the time of the writing.⁴

The EU, building on its former Africa strategies, the existing contracts and the strategic partnership with the African Union (AU), tries to implement adequate responses to the migration crisis. Migration causes great problems on both continents and means a big challenge for the countries of origin, the transit countries as well as the destination countries. The experiences of the 2015 migration and refugee crisis made the EU take steps. Handling the

¹ SZUHAI, Ilona, TÁLAS, Péter: 'A 2015-ös európai migrációs és menekültválság okairól és hátteréről' [The reasons and background of the migration and refugee crisis of Europe in 2015], in TÁLAS, Péter (ed.), *Magyarország és a 2015-ös európai migrációs válság [Hungary and the European migration and refugee crisis in 2015]* Budapest, Dialóg Campus, 2017, p. 9.

²2nd Emergency Relocation Scheme. <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/legislative-train/api/stages/report/current/theme/towards-a-new-policy-on-migration/file/2nd-emergency-relocation-scheme> Downloaded: 04.11.2021.

³ IOM World Migration Report 2020. https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/wmr_2020.pdf Downloaded: 01.06.2020.

⁴ UN list of least developed countries. <https://unctad.org/topic/least-developed-countries/list> Downloaded: 01.05.2022.

phenomenon is a complex challenge, which requires a comprehensive approach. These programs must be implemented not only in destination countries, but in countries of transit and origin as well to be successful in the long term. They must include topics like economy, politics and climate change. The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP) and later, the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) could serve as an example how to address the above mentioned topics with their basket and later pillar structure.⁵

The EU is not capable of launching a comprehensive set of programs by itself. It needs the cooperation, co-ownership and local ownership of the affected countries as well. This cooperation cannot only be forged by bilateral agreements, but with the support of different African regional organisations and with the strategic partnership of both the AU and on the global level the UN. The European Union has to exploit these opportunities if it wants to handle the migrant situation.⁶

Member States of the European Union can also influence how the EU, in a whole, manages migration with their national policies. The programs launched by Member States are not necessarily as effective as the programs launched by the organisation. However, they can fit into the framework of the EU programs, and can help achieve the objectives of the EU, or they can go through a Europeanisation process.⁷

Decreasing irregular migration to a manageable size became one of the greatest challenges of the European Union in the past years. Managing irregular migration requires the European Union to reconsider its existing policies, strategies and regulation systems in order to create a successful structure for the long term. One of the continents of origin is Africa, where the massive intra-continental migration flows and refugee crisis, which have a wide variety of different factors to trigger migration, are causing immense problems for the countries. The decrease of irregular migration is not just requiring action from the European Union. The EU has to cooperate with African countries and organizations in order to ease the migration pressure from the south. Besides the common countermeasures taken by the European Union, Member States, like France, Germany and Italy, are also involved individually to solve the pressing

⁵ N. RÓZSA, Erzsébet, MARSÁI, Viktor: From a Fragmented Cooperation to an Integrated Approach – The Emergence of the Maghreb and Sahel Region and its Consequences for the European Union. EuroMeSCo. 2022. Paper No. 53. <https://www.euromesco.net/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/Paper-N%C2%BA53.pdf> Downloaded: 30.06.2022. p. 8.

⁶ European Agenda on Migration. https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/docs/communication_on_the_european_agenda_on_migration_en.pdf Downloaded: 02.04.2017.

⁷ MOLNÁR, Anna: 'A menekült- és migrációs kérdés nemzeti és uniós szintű politikai aspektusai Olaszországban' [National and European political aspects of the refugee and migration crisis in Italy], in TÁLAS, Péter (ed.), Magyarország és a 2015-ös európai migrációs válság [Hungary and the European migration and refugee crisis in 2015] Budapest, Dialóg Campus, 2017, ps. 199-203. ; RADAELLI, Claudio M.: 'Europeanisation: Solution or problem?', European Integration online Papers, October 2004, <http://eiop.or.at/eiop/pdf/2004-016.pdf> Downloaded: 19.11.2020. p. 3.

migration issue. These Member State initiatives can go through a Europeanisation process. On the migration route from Mali to Italy there were several European Union and Member States countermeasures taken to decrease migration, of which French, German and Italian initiatives are in the focus.

For the purpose of the research, Europe means the European Union, the term Africa includes all the countries on continental Africa and the islands. West Africa is understood as the Member States of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). The Sahel is understood as the G5 Sahel (Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania and Niger) countries. The West African migration route understood as the route from Mali through Niger to Libya.

Hypotheses

H1: Most of the African migratory movements are internal within the continent, and the pattern will not change in the long term irrespective to the EU's policy changes.

H2: The EU introduced its integrated approach to crisis management in its Global Strategy in 2016, when regionalisation also gained momentum. The regional approach can change the relationship between the European Union, the African countries and the regional organisations will gain more importance.

H3: Irregular migration can be successfully managed by the use of every tool of the integrated and comprehensive approach of the European Union.

H4: At the European Union level externalization of the management of the irregular migration started, solutions will be developed to handle irregular migration outside of the borders of the European Union, with inclusion of local actors.

Research objectives

The thesis analyses how EU policies affect irregular migration to Europe. The EU demonstrated over time that it is willing to engage in the management of irregular migration, both internally and externally. Irregular migration from the Middle East towards the EU became manageable with the EU-Turkey deal.⁸ Thus, irregular migration flows originating from the south remained to be an area to address. At the time of the start of the research, in 2016, the Central Mediterranean route was the most used migration route from Africa to the European Union. Therefore, it was the most visible, with the most data and research available.

Visibility must be taken in consideration when researching African countries as well, since data availability and statistics are scarce, or outdated. Three countries for a case study on the West African migration route were chosen, which leads up to the Central Mediterranean route,

⁸ EU-Turkey statement, 18 March 2016. <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2016/03/18/eu-turkey-statement/> Downloaded: 11.06.2017.

where an analysis on how the EU initiatives were turned into actions was conducted. The three countries in geographical order from the south to the north are Mali, Niger and Libya. All three of them are hosting EU missions on their territories, which provides the countries with visibility. To analyse countries within the same geographical region fits into the EU's intent of regionalization as well as with the integrated approach of crisis management introduced by the EU's Global Strategy of 2016.⁹

However, the EU is not the only actor in these countries. As formerly mentioned, EU Member States can also be influential on the European level. Thus, three Member States were selected, whose bilateral relations were examined with Mali, Niger and Libya. The Member States were selected by their Official Development Assistance (ODA) contributions and the number of troops engaged in Africa. Both of the indicators suggest that the selected countries are dedicated to be engaged in Africa.

As the result of the case selection process, France, Germany and Italy were chosen for the case studies. In terms of ODA contributions by amount in 2021 Germany was the second, France was the fifth and Italy was the seventh biggest contributor.¹⁰ Regarding military contribution, France, Italy and Germany were the most significant players in Africa among EU Member States.

The thesis considers what triggers migration in West Africa. Besides these processes steps taken by the European Union to handle mass irregular migration internally and within the selected countries were examined. Among the tools used by the EU as the part of the integrated approach, Common Security and Defence Policy missions and operations were analysed as well as European Border and Coast Guard Agency (FRONTEX) operations along the West African and Central Mediterranean migration routes.

Research methods

For my research, case study method was utilised, which enables an in-depth analysis of the selected topic. Gary Thomas (2011) argues that the case study is not necessarily a research method, but a research design, and the method is what the researcher uses to analyse the selected case.¹¹ Charles Ragin (1992) however handles case study as a method. Both agree on that the

⁹ MOLNÁR, Anna: Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe. A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy. http://www.nemzetbiztonsag.hu/cikkek/nb_2016_2_07_molnar_anna_-_kozso_jovokep_kozos_cselekvés_erosebb_europa_kozos_kul_es_biztonsagpolitikai_strategia.pdf Downloaded: 29.09.2017.

¹⁰ Preliminary ODA levels in 2021. <https://www.oecd.org/dac/financing-sustainable-development/development-finance-standards/ODA-2021-summary.pdf> Downloaded: 01.05.2022. p. 9.

¹¹ THOMAS, Gary: 'A Typology for the Case Study in Social Science Following a Review of Definition, Discourse, and Structure.' in: *Qualitative Inquiry*, 2011. 17(6), 511–521. doi:10.1177/1077800411409884 p. 512.

case must be selected carefully, and the selection process must be presented clearly.¹² Applying the case study methodology has its limitations as well. According to Willis (2014) the most common concern is that case studies lack methodological rigour and researcher subjectivity.¹³ This is echoed by George and Bennett (2005)¹⁴, who list the case selection bias as one of the shortcomings as well. This connects to another pitfall; it is argued that case study outcomes are hard to verify and commonly represent the researchers' prejudices.¹⁵ Additionally, the selected case is not necessarily generalizable. Yin (2009) states that, however generalization cannot be applied to a population, it can be used to a theoretical proposition.¹⁶ It is also argued that case study is mostly useful for generating hypotheses, thus they are only the first step of the research. Notwithstanding these limitations, Flyvbjerg (2006) argues that context-dependent knowledge and experience derives from the use of case study methodology. It is important because context-independent theory in social science was never successful he claims.¹⁷

Gerring and Seawright (2008) underlined that the case selection can both be the result of a pragmatic or a logistical process. They define the latter as the prominence of a case in the literature.¹⁸ According to Andrew Abbott (1992), both a single and multicase narrative can be used.¹⁹ This approach is contested by Lijphart (1971), who declares that the single case approach is preferable.²⁰

All the above-mentioned authors agree upon, that multiple types of case studies exist, depending on the aim of the research. Within the typology of the case studies, also multiple views exist. According to Thomas, this is the result of mixed criteria for classification. He considered the typology created by George and Bennett the most useful, since their research was based on wider known and utilised typology, defined in earlier works of Arend Lijphart and Harry Eckstein. According to these works, the typology is classified by theory-building

¹² RAGIN, Charles: Introduction: Cases of "What is a case?". in: RAGIN, Charles and BECKER, Howard (eds.): *WHAT IS A CASE? Exploring the foundations of social inquiry*. New York, Cambridge University Press 1992. ps. 1-2.

¹³ WILLIS, Ben: The Advantages and Limitations of Single Case Study Analysis. in: *E-International Relations*. 2014. <https://www.e-ir.info/pdf/50706> Downloaded: 30.06.2022. p. 4.

¹⁴ GEORGE, Alexander and BENNETT, Andrew: *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, MIT Press, 2005. ps. 31-32.

¹⁵ FLYVBJERG, Bent: Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research. in: *Qualitative Inquiry*. 2006. Vol. 12. Issue 2. pp. 219-245. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800405284363> Downloaded: 30.06.2022. ps. 234-237.

¹⁶ YIN, Robert K.: *Case Study Research Design and Methods*. E-book edition, Sage Publications, 2009. Kindle.

¹⁷ FLYVBJERG, Bent: Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research. ps. 221-224.

¹⁸ GERRING, John and SEAWRIGHT, Jason: 'Case Selection Techniques in Case Study Research A Menu of Qualitative and Quantitative Options'. in: *Political Research Quarterly*, 61(2), 294-308. doi:10.1177/1065912907313077 ps. 294-295.

¹⁹ ABBOTT, Andrew: What do cases do? Some notes on activity in sociological analysis. in: RAGIN, Charles and BECKER, Howard (eds.): *What is a Case? Exploring the foundations of social inquiry*. New York, Cambridge University Press 1992. p. 62.

²⁰ LIJPHART, Arend: 'Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method.' in: *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 65, No. 3. (Sep., 1971), pp. 682-693. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1955513> p. 691.

research objectives.²¹ George and Bennett (2005) listed five previously identified types of case studies and added a sixth. These types are the atheoretical/configurative idiographic, disciplined configurative, heuristic/outlier/deviant, theory testing, plausibility probes and building block studies.²² Out of these six diverse types, I have selected theory testing, “*which assesses the validity and scope conditions of single or competing theories*”.²³

For this, the definition of migration, securitization, Europeanisation, and regional security complex theory are introduced in chapter II. These definitions are important to understand in order to assess the European Union’s actions to tackle irregular migration. Understanding how the African Union, and more closely researched African countries think about migration can bring the EU and the AU closer to harmonising their policies. Ultimately, this leads to a better understanding of each other and more successful cooperation on this particular field.

As the preferred method requires, first the case must be selected. In selecting the migration route, I followed partially the logistical process, which means that there are more available data on the selected case. In the context of irregular migration from Africa to the EU, the most used, thus the most visible migration route was the Central Mediterranean at the time of the writing. To assess, however, the key dependent variable of the research question, irregular migration, I decided to select African countries as well. This process also relied on mostly the logistic approach, which in this case was ensured by the EU missions present in African countries. This is also in line with the migration route approach utilised by the Rabat Process. Geographical proximity is also an important aspect on how one assesses threats, as the regional security complex theory states. West Africa and particularly the Sahel region within, is an ideal choice for this research for multiple reasons. First, this region was defined as a strategic interest of the EU, as it includes the neighbours of our neighbours.²⁴ This means that the Sahel region is considered important, because the countries are the southern neighbours of the ENP countries. Second, Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) missions and operations are also deployed along the West African and Central Mediterranean migration route, which means that the region’s visibility is higher, thus more researchable. Third, the Sahel region in general is a very interesting incubator area for the EU’s regional approach on security problems. Fourth, according to Trémolières (2009), West Africa has the most mobile population in the World with

²¹ THOMAS, 2011. p. 515

²² GEORGE and BENNETT 2005. ps. 62-63.

²³ GEORGE and BENNETT 2005. p. 62.

²⁴ Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe, A Global Strategy for the European Union’s Foreign and Security Policy. European External Action Service
http://ec.europa.eu/archives/docs/top_stories/pdf/eugs_review_web.pdf Downloaded: 25. 09.2017. ps. 34-36.

around 3 per cent of migrants within the region.²⁵ These factors made the region ideal for the case study.

West Africa also offers a multi-layered research interest. The ECOWAS, as an active regional organisation, and the African Union also provide regional and continental initiatives on migration. A third researchable layer is the national policies of course. These are the ultimate elements of the research, defining how the EU policies could be translated in the analysed countries. Along these lines I selected Mali, Niger and Libya.

After examining the African perspective, it is necessary to investigate the EU's approach to Africa, and to migration. These actions provided the independent variable of the hypotheses of the research. The thesis investigates the policy development in two fields, as well as the practical steps taken. Among the practical steps, the CSDP missions and operations in the region will be addressed as the primary external steps of the EU.

EU Member States were also selected, which have the most influence within the EU or plausibly in the selected African countries as well. For this process a pragmatic approach was followed. An examination on which EU Member States contributed the highest amount of ODA and how many troops are deployed to Africa from the respective countries was conducted to specify the countries for the case study. Africa received USD 35 billion from the USD 117.6 billion allocated bilateral ODA flows, which shows the importance of the tool. The amount of the ODA signifies the economic power of the provider, which can be translated into influence within the EU as well. According to the reported ODA levels, Germany, France and Italy were the three biggest ODA contributors in 2021 from the EU. Germany contributed USD 32.23 billion, which was the second largest sum globally, while France contributed USD 15.45 billion and placed fifth on the list. Italy contributed USD 6.02 billion, which was the seventh highest amount worldwide.²⁶ Regarding to military contribution, it was no surprise that France had about 9,909 troops deployed to Africa in 2022.²⁷ France takes part both in EU and UN missions on the continent, and also launched its own military operations, like Operation Barkhane in the G5 Sahel countries and Task Force Takuba in Mali. Over time however France lost its initial

²⁵ ECOWAS Common Approach on Migration (Annex A). in: TRÉMOLIÈRES, Marie (ed.): Regional Challenges of West African Migration – African and European Perspectives. OECD publishing, 2009, https://read.oecd-ilibrary.org/social-issues-migration-health/regional-challenges-of-west-african-migration_9789264056015-en [DOI] Downloaded: 26.10.2019. p. 229.

²⁶ Preliminary ODA levels in 2021. <https://www.oecd.org/dac/financing-sustainable-development/development-finance-standards/ODA-2021-summary.pdf> Downloaded: 01.05.2022. p. 9.

²⁷ Ministère des Armées: Opérations. <https://www.defense.gouv.fr/operations/operations> Downloaded: 28.08.2022.

influence in Mali, and by early 2022, Bamako asked for the withdrawal of French troops from the country.²⁸

Italy had 1,935 troops deployed to Africa in 2022.²⁹ But Italy is also important as the first EU destination country on the Central Mediterranean migration route. The country experiences mass migration directly. Italy, as France, has bilateral initiatives with Niger and Libya. The country also takes part in EU and UN missions. Italy is also an example to a successful Europeanization of a national policy. The EU operation in the Mediterranean builds on a previous national operation, the Mare Nostrum. To Italy's request, the EU transformed it to a European endeavour. Germany had the least deployed troops among the three EU countries in Africa, with 858 personnel.³⁰ This is however compensated with the highest ODA contribution among the examined countries.

During the research international and Hungarian primary and secondary sources were studied, primarily the treaties of the European Union, its policies, strategies and the connected international agreements. Besides the primary literature, Hungarian and international secondary literature, books, essays, articles, and international organisations' databases that assist in understanding the migratory process were studied. I used the method of document analysis and content analysis to examine the policy development within the EU and the AU to build the case study.

To develop the case study, 15 semi-structured in-depth interviews were also conducted in person and online during the research between 2016 and 2022 with EU officials from DG HOME, active and former officials from EU missions and operations, like EUNAVFOR MED Operation Sophia, EUCAP Sahel Niger and EUCAP Sahel Mali. Among the interviewees there were two middle management level EU officials from the European Commission, a former head of mission, a deputy commander, a deputy head of mission, a chief of staff, a branch chief and two analysts of different CSDP missions and operations. The interviewees were selected using the snow-ball method. The interview questions were not standardised, because of the multifaceted and differing experience and field of expertise of the interviewees. The list of

²⁸ HARRIS, Marielle, DOXSEE, Catrina and THOMPSON, Jared: The End of Operation Barkhane and the Future of Counterterrorism in Mali. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/end-operation-barkhane-and-future-counterterrorism-mali> Downloaded: 01.05.2022.

²⁹ MARTINELLI, Giovanni: Missioni all'estero: aumentano gli impegni per le Forze Armate italiane. <https://www.analisedifesa.it/2022/07/missioni-allestero-aumentano-gli-impegni-per-le-forze-armate-italiane/> Downloaded: 28.08.2022.

³⁰ Bundeswehr: Mali – MINUSMA. <https://www.bundeswehr.de/de/einsaetze-bundeswehr/mali-einsaetze/minusma-bundeswehr-un-einsatz-mali> Downloaded: 28.08.2022.; Bundeswehr: Die Bundeswehr im Südsudan – UNMISS. <https://www.bundeswehr.de/de/einsaetze-bundeswehr/die-bundeswehr-im-suedsudan> Downloaded: 28.08.2022.; Bundeswehr: Mali – EUTM Mali. <https://www.bundeswehr.de/de/einsaetze-bundeswehr/mali-einsaetze/eutm-bundeswehr-eu-einsatz-mali> Downloaded: 28.08.2022. and Bundeswehr: Westsahara – MINURSO. <https://www.bundeswehr.de/de/einsaetze-bundeswehr/die-bundeswehr-in-marokko> Downloaded: 28.08.2022.

questions was personalised each time to gain the most possible information related to the present research and to fit the interviewees' scope of experience. The interviews were conducted anonymously with the individual consent of the interviewees.

1. Table: The number of interviews conducted according to institutional affiliation (Edited by the author)

Institutional affiliation of interviewees	EU officials	Staff of EU missions and operations	Member State official	Researchers
Number of interviews	2	7	3	3

The interviews were qualitative, mostly using open-ended questions to learn more about the EU's approach to migration policies from the addressed EU DGs. Regarding to the staff of EU missions and operations, the open-ended questions aimed to tackle the success assessment of the respective mission or operation, its tasks, and the implementation of the regional and integrated approach. The Member State officials were asked about national policies towards the three case study countries, Mali, Niger and Libya. While the researchers were asked questions about the regional approach, EU policies towards Africa, and the developing security situation in the three case study countries.

The summary conclusions

Through the thesis, migration theories; regional West African migration patterns; AU, EU, joint and ECOWAS policies were examined in five chapters, as well as the EU's practical steps to assess the effects on migration. For this, a case study, including three selected African states was developed. I investigated how the policy and practical steps from the EU affected migration in West Africa and migration patterns is the Central Mediterranean route.

I introduced relevant migration theories and defined the theoretical background of the research in the second chapter. The chapter remained theoretical and provided a fundamental understanding for the discussed topic.

While studying the different migration theories, I realised that neither of them assesses migration as a complex phenomenon, and most of the time just two disciplines were used to create a theory. Thus, I intended to create a theory, which investigates migration as a complex phenomenon. For this, I decided to combine two of the introduced migration theories. Push and pull model and cumulative causation theory. A comprehensive migration theory must include all the factors which influence the decision on migration; all those which are related to external and internal incentives. When examining migration, it is important to assess the environment of the country of origin first. The first indicator for migration is armed conflict. When a country is not safe and secure, even those people, who normally cannot afford the costs of migration

tend to change their residence, even if this move is temporary and internal. The second indicator can be the economic one, like poverty, workforce sectoral data. The economic indicator, however, is crosscutting with demographic data, like fertility and population, and climate change, which can also be measured as which countries are the more fragile. Besides this, social indicators must be taken in consideration: the potential culture of migration, the structure of the society – if migration is a family or, in a less likely case, a personal decision – the extent of diaspora. Additionally, some indicators related to the possible country of transit and destination are also needed. The security situation, the legal environment for migration and additional economic indicators. All these factors should be examined together to assess how likely a migratory decision is from a specific country.

In the third chapter AU, Europe–Africa joint and ECOWAS policies and strategies were examined, as well as the migration patterns in West Africa. Although data on intra-African migration remained scarce through the years, some improvements were seen with the establishment of the FMPs.

After assessing intra-regional migration routes, EU-Africa relations and EU migration related policies were discussed in chapter four. These were important to analyse, since most of these policies are hoped to tackle migration either externally or internally.

In chapter five the practical steps of the EU were investigated, along with the introduction of the Central Mediterranean migration route. CSDP and migration must be examined together since 2015, when the idea was introduced to use EU missions and operations to tackle migration outside the EU's borders.

In chapter six, case studies were developed, analysing three African countries, Mali, Niger and Libya, and EU and Member State actions in these selected states.

New scientific results

The dissertation analysed four hypotheses, regarding to which the findings are the following:

H1: Most of the African migratory movements are internal within the continent, and the pattern will not change in the long term irrespective to the EU's policy changes.

In chapters two and three - when examining the policies of different organisations and regional migration trends -, I proved that a policy in itself cannot significantly deviate migration patterns, however, in the following chapters I also found that policy changes with an immediate effect on migrant route safety, and the security environment on the migration route together have an effect on the migration patterns, even in the short term. Additionally, I proved that West African migration would remain mostly on the continent in the long term, unless an unexpected event happens, which has immense effect on migration. I verified both parts of the first hypothesis,

with an additional finding, that multiple events on a migration route can have a multiplier effect and can influence migration patterns in the short term.

H2: The EU introduced its integrated approach to crisis management in its Global Strategy in 2016, when regionalisation also gained momentum. The regional approach can change the relationship between the European Union, the African countries and the regional organisations will gain more importance.

Whereas the EU has started to implement an integrated approach, it also utilises the regional approach in some cases. After examining how the AU and the EU assess each other and which actors have a history of working together, I verified, that regional organisations, like the ECOWAS are not active enough to be an eligible partner for the EU. The EU just renewed the CPA, with which the OACPS was divided into three regional protocols. It is proved, that the EU is going to follow a continental approach in the future. In addition to the continental approach, regions have gained momentum, but not through regional organisations. Thus, it is expected that the EU's relations to African regional organisations will remain the same. While researching African documents related to migration, I created a unique body of literature of the collected documents, which has never been done before even in international literature. I also verified that the differing approaches towards migration from the African and European perspectives hinder effective cooperation on the matter between the two continental organisations. Thus, my second hypothesis *was proven wrong*.

H3: Irregular migration can be successfully managed by the use of every tool of the integrated and comprehensive approach of the European Union.

Unfortunately, tools are just one part of the EU's action to handle migration. I verified, that it is highly likely that with the utilisation of all tools, the EU could successfully engage itself to tackle migration. As it was established through the case studies, the EU actions were necessary, but not always sufficient. The EU must work in the future on how it can make its projects sufficient as well. Through of the research it became clear that the EU does not understand priorities in the same way as its African counterparts do. To be able to tackle migration successfully, these differences must be tackled, as stated in the previous paragraph.

H4: At the European Union level externalization of the management of the irregular migration started, solutions will be developed to handle migration outside of the borders of the European Union, with inclusion of local actors.

This pattern can be seen through the Chapter V. which investigates CSDP missions and operations. All the missions and operations are engaged in training, advising, or supporting the security sector reform. The training of the armed forces of a third country can result firstly in expanded security, and also in a reliable local actor, who can deal with migration. For this,

Niger can be a perfect example, because Niger established a criminal law which penalises migration related crimes and introduced a migration strategy as well since the beginning of the mission in the country. I verified, that the practice of externalizing the handling of migration will be continued in the future. Not just on the EU, but Member State level as well.

Recommendations

The limitations of this thesis define the directions of future research possibilities. One of them could be the examination of the created migration theory in practice and its further refinement. Testing it for example in other regions would show if the theory is truly applicable.

A more complex investigation of the 2018-2020 deviation in the migration pattern in the Central Mediterranean route would also be a possible direction to investigate. This direction would also contribute to a deeper understanding on the deviation of migration patterns in general.

The usage of the terms irregular and illegal migration remained rather mixed through the research period. An investigation on the usage of the terms would provide more context to the political discourse in the EU. It seems a minor question, but with the securitization taken place with regards to migration, the evolution of the usage, the connotations and the context in which these expressions are used is important.

In the light of recent events, the unprovoked Russian aggression in Ukraine, the impact of the conflict on African migration patterns could be also examined. The effect may not be immediate, but Ukraine, as a food item provider is a significant loss to African economy. Thus, the conflict can affect intra-African and inter-continental migration flows as well.

Practical applicability of research results

The results of the research can be utilised in further research which examines international migration. As it lists the core documents of migration theory, it can also be used as a collection of relevant literature.

The thesis can be used as a baseline to research EU policies related to Africa, as it contains a collection of all pertaining documents.

EU policies on migration were also studied via a collected list of documents, which can be utilised as a starting point for further research in the topic.

Another novelty about the research is the collection of African documents related to migration. The thesis thus provides baseline knowledge for further research in this area as well.

EU CSDP missions constantly change over time. Some of them are transformed, new missions are established, or old ones expire. This thesis provides a comprehensive analysis on CSDP missions and operations in the Mediterranean through Africa, which can be the part of a more holistic research on CSDP.

List of publications

- Molnár, Anna, Vecsey, Mariann: EU's Missions and Operations from the Central Mediterranean to West Africa in the context of the migration crisis. in: International Journal of Euro-Mediterranean Studies. 2022. Vol. 15. Issue 1. pp. 55-82.
- Vecsey, Mariann: The Mediterranean Challenge. in: Molnár, Anna, Fiott, Daniel, Asderaki, Foteini, Paile-Calvo, Sylvain (eds.): Challenges of the Common Security and Defence Policy, ESDC 2nd Summer University Book, Luxembourg, Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European (2022) 309 p. pp. 138-149. p. 12.
- Vecsey, Mariann: The African Union's Perception of Great Powers. In: PACEK, BOGUSŁAW; RAK, KAROLINA (ed.) The Impact of Rivalry Between China, Russia and the United States on Security Dynamics in the Eastern Hemisphere. Warsaw, Poland: Ideapress (2021) 83 p. pp. 135-140., 6 p.
- Vecsey, Mariann: Afrika migrációs politikájának alakulása. Fókuszban Nyugat-Afrika [Migration policies in Africa. West Africa in the focus.] HONVÉDSÉGI SZEMLE: A MAGYAR HONVÉDSÉG KÖZPONTI FOLYÓIRATA 148: 4 pp. 92-107., 16 p. (2020)
- Vecsey, Mariann: What has the EU Global Strategy contributed to the Migration-Africa-CSDP? What has been implemented and what is left to be done. In: Bellou, Fotini; Fiott, Daniel (eds.) Views on the progress of CSDP. Luxembourg, Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union (2020) 163 p. pp. 91-114., 23 p.
- Molnár, Anna; Molnár, Éva; Takács, Lili; Vecsey, Mariann: A nemzetközi jelenlét Líbiában 2011-től napjainkig [International presence in Libya from 2011 to the present.] STRATÉGIAI VÉDELMI KUTATÓ KÖZPONT (ELEMZÉSEK) / CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND DEFENSE STUDIES ANALYSES 2019: 11 pp. 1-23., 23 p. (2019)
- Molnár, Anna; Molnár, Éva; Takács, Lili; Vecsey, Mariann: A nemzetközi jelenlét Líbiában 2011-től napjainkig [International presence in Libya from 2011 to the present.] NEMZET ÉS BIZTONSÁG: BIZTONSÁGPOLITIKAI SZEMLE 2019: 2 pp. 94-124., 31 p. (2019)
- Vecsey, Mariann: A migrációs politika evolúciója az Európai Unióban [Evolution of migration policy in the European Union] In: Molnár, Anna; Komlósi, Orsolya (eds.): Az Európai Unió mediterrán térséggel összefüggő kapcsolata : Párbeszéd és konfliktusok [The European Union's Relations with the Mediterranean, Dialogue and Conflicts.] Budapest, Magyarország: Dialóg Campus Kiadó, (2019) pp. 145-162., 18 p.
- Vecsey, Mariann: Changes in the Migration Trends from West Africa to Europe. DEFENCE REVIEW: THE CENTRAL JOURNAL OF THE HUNGARIAN DEFENCE FORCES 147: 1-2 pp. 99-116., 18 p. (2019)

- Vecsey, Mariann: Fegyveres konfliktusok trendjei a kontinensen [Trends of armed conflicts on the continent] In: Marsai, Viktor (ed.): Afrika a globalizált világban: Lehetőségek és kihívások [Africa in the globalised World: Opportunities and Challenges] Budapest, Magyarország: Dialóg Campus Kiadó (2019) 302 p. pp. 223-244., 22 p.
- Vecsey, Mariann: The EU and Africa. In: Zoltán, Gálik; Anna, Molnár (eds.): Regional and Bilateral Relations of the European Union. Budapest, Magyarország: Nordex Nonprofit Kft. – Dialóg Campus Kiadó (2019) 295 p. pp. 65-94., 26 p.
- Vecsey, Mariann: Migration Trends in Africa. DEFENCE REVIEW: THE CENTRAL JOURNAL OF THE HUNGARIAN DEFENCE FORCES 2018: 1 pp. 82-93., 12 p. (2018)
- Vecsey, Mariann: Fordított Kerberosz – avagy az Európai Unió és a migráció [Reversed Cerberus – or the European Union and migration] NEMZET ÉS BIZTONSÁG: BIZTONSÁGPOLITIKAI SZEMLE 2018: 3 pp. 141-144., 4 p. (2018)
- Vecsey, Mariann: Refugee Camps in Africa. NATIONAL SECURITY REVIEW: PERIODICAL OF THE MILITARY NATIONAL SECURITY SERVICE 2018: 2 pp. 69-84., 16 p. (2018)
- Vecsey, Mariann: Az 5. Afrikai Unió–Európai Unió csúcstalálkozó eredményei. The results of the 5th AU – EU Summit.] HONVÉDSÉGI SZEMLE: A MAGYAR HONVÉDSÉG KÖZPONTI FOLYÓIRATA 2 pp. 55-61., 7 p. (2018)
- Vecsey, Mariann: A Sárkány Afrikában. [The Dragon in Africa.] In: Hamar, Imre; Besenyő, János (eds.) Kína a globális kihívások tükrében = China in the Light of Global Challenges: China-In the Light of Global Challenges Budapest, Magyarország: ELTE Konfuciusz Intézet, (2017) pp. 207-219., 13 p.
- Vecsey, Mariann: Vándorló Afrika. [Africa on the move.] pp. 35-43., 9 p. In: Marsai, Viktor; Vogel, Dávid (eds.) Közel Afrikához: A válságkezelés és a stabilizáció lehetőségei és kihívásai a fekete kontinensen [Close to Africa: Opportunities and challenges of crisis management and stabilisation on the black continent.] Budapest, Magyarország: Dialóg Campus Kiadó, (2017)
- Vecsey, Mariann: Migráció és integráció: Afrika és Európa viszonya. pp. 221-241., 21 p. In: Besenyő, János; Miletics, Péter (eds.) Szemelvények a XXI. századi migráció témaköréből. [Selections for the history of XXI. century migration.] Budapest, Magyarország: Honvéd Vezérkar Tudományos Kutatóhely (HVK TKH), (2017) p. 266
- Vecsey, Mariann: The EU's Hat-trick in Africa. DEFENCE REVIEW: THE CENTRAL JOURNAL OF THE HUNGARIAN DEFENCE FORCES 2: 2 pp. 133-143., 11 p. (2016)
- Vecsey, Mariann: Maliból jelentik. [Reported from Mali] pp. 129-143., 15 p. In: Csuzda, Norbert; Farkas, László; Fekete, Csanád; Németh, József Lajos; Szabó, Albert; Vecsey,

- Mariann - Kaló, József (ed.) Napjaink biztonsági kihívásai, veszélyei és fenyegetései [Security threats and challenges of the present.] Budapest, Magyarország: NKE Szolgáltató Nonprofit Kft, (2016) p. 145 ISBN: 9789634390008
- Vecsey, Mariann: A Magyar Honvédség szerepvállalása Maliban. [The role of the Hungarian Defence Forces in Mali.] HONVÉDSÉGI SZEMLE: A MAGYAR HONVÉDSÉG KÖZPONTI FOLYÓIRATA 1: 1 pp. 51-58., 8 p. (2016)
- Vecsey, Mariann: A Séléka és az Anti-balaka csoportok. [Seleka and anti-balaka groups] In: Kiss, Álmos Péter (ed.) Afrikai terrorista- és szakadárszervezetek [African terrorist and splinter groups] Budapest, Magyarország: Honvéd Vezérkar Tudományos Kutatóhely (HVK TKH), (2015) pp. 370-387., 18 p.
- Vecsey, Mariann: The African Affair: The EU and its connections with Mali and the Central African Republic. NATIONAL SECURITY REVIEW: PERIODICAL OF THE MILITARY NATIONAL SECURITY SERVICE 2: 2 pp. 116-126., 11 p. (2015)
- Vecsey, Mariann: Az Európai Unió mali kiképző művelete és a magyar részvétel tapasztalatai. [The EUTM Mali and the Lessons Learned of the Hungarian participation.] SZAKMAI SZEMLE: A KATONAI NEMZETBIZTONSÁGI SZOLGÁLAT TUDOMÁNYOS-SZAKMAI FOLYÓIRATA 3 pp. 97-106., 10 p. (2015)
- Vecsey, Mariann: De mi lett Malival? [Whatever Happened to Mali?] SZAKMAI SZEMLE: A KATONAI NEMZETBIZTONSÁGI SZOLGÁLAT TUDOMÁNYOS-SZAKMAI FOLYÓIRATA 3: 3 pp. 206-213., 8 p. (2014)
- Vecsey, Mariann: A Közép-afrikai Köztársaság küzdelmei és Magyarország. [The struggles of the Central African Republic and Hungary's role in solving the problems.] SEREG SZEMLE: A MAGYAR HONVÉDSÉG ÖSSZHADERŐNEMI PARANCSNOKSÁG FOLYÓIRATA 2: 2 pp. 129-141., 13 p. (2014)
- Vecsey, Mariann: A francia beavatkozás első éve Maliban. [The first year of French intervention in Mali] SZAKMAI SZEMLE: A KATONAI NEMZETBIZTONSÁGI SZOLGÁLAT TUDOMÁNYOS-SZAKMAI FOLYÓIRATA 2: 2 pp. 88-110., 23 p. (2014)
- Vecsey, Mariann: The EUTM Mali and the role of Hungary in the mission. NATIONAL SECURITY REVIEW: PERIODICAL OF THE MILITARY NATIONAL SECURITY SERVICE 2: 2 pp. 112-122., 11 p. (2014)
- Vecsey, Mariann: The struggles of the Central African Republic and Hungary's role in solving the problems. ACADEMIC AND APPLIED RESEARCH IN MILITARY AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT SCIENCE 13: 4 pp. 507-518., 12 p. (2014)

Professional-scientific biography of the doctoral candidate

Captain Mariann Vecsey graduated as an infantry officer in 2011. She received her master's degree from the National University of Public Service in 2014 in the field of Security and Defence Policy. She started her PhD studies at the Doctoral School of Military Science in 2016, and got accepted to the European Doctoral School on CSDP in 2018. She has 31 publications, of which there are 21 journal articles, and 10 book chapters.

Throughout her career Captain Vecsey was a platoon commander at the 25 th György Klapka Infantry Brigade, later on she served as an Intelligence analyst at the Joint Force Command and later at the NATO Force Integration Unit. She worked as a diplomat in the Embassy of Hungary in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia and filled a position at the Scientific Research Centre of the Hungarian Defence Forces. She was deployed twice to Kosovo in different positions. Captain Vecsey currently works at the Ludovika – University of Public Service, Faculty of Military Science and Officer Training, Department of International Security Studies as an assistant lecturer.

She has an advanced level language exam in English, an intermediate level knowledge of German and basic level exams in both French and Arabic.