Contents

Table of Cases xvii
Table of Legislation xix
List of Abbreviations xxv

Introduction 1

1. Defining the Scope of EU Migration Governance 11
   1.1 External migration and the European Union 13
   1.2 'Europe', 'the EU', and 'Europeanization' 18
   1.3 Migration, foreign policy, and externalization 24
   1.4 Conclusion 28

2. The Language of Governance in Migration 30
   2.1 Exploring the different uses of 'governance' 32
   2.2 Explaining the lack of 'governance' in EU migration management 37
   2.3 Academic approaches to governance 41
   2.4 The maturing governance debate 46
   2.5 Governance in the context of migration 49
   2.6 Migration governance versus migration management 51
   2.7 The theoretical framework of the book 53
      2.7.1 Institutionalism 54
      2.7.2 Governance as a legal institution 55
   2.8 Conclusion 59

3. The Framework of EU Migration Law and Policy: From Law to Governance 61
   3.1 Towards the Treaty of Amsterdam and beyond: from the outside to the centre 63
   3.2 Post-Amsterdam legislative activity to 2005 67
      3.2.1 The Dublin Regulations 72
      3.2.2 Other CEAS (non-Dublin) legislation 74
      3.2.3 Provisions on regular migration 76
   3.3 Legislation on migration after 2005 79
      3.3.1 CEAS phase two 81
      3.3.2 Provisions on regular migration post-2005 83
   3.4 Legislation in the 'crisis' period since 2015 86
   3.5 Conclusion 90

4. Strategic Approaches to Migration Law and Governance: From Tampere to the New Pact on Migration and Asylum 93
4.1 The Tampere Conclusions 94
4.2 The Hague Programme 96
4.3 The Stockholm Programme 97
4.4 The Global Approach to Migration (GAM) 100
4.5 The European Pact on Immigration 103
4.6 The Global Approach to Migration and Mobility (GAMM) 104
4.7 The European Agenda on Migration 2015 and the EU–Türkiye Statement 2016 105
4.8 The EU Global Strategy 107
4.9 The New Pact on Migration and Asylum 2020 108
4.9.1 Pre-entry screening and the new border procedures 117
4.9.2 The Common Procedure for International Protection Regulation 118
4.9.3 The Crisis and Force Majeure Regulation 119
4.10 The Skills and Talent Mobility Package 120
4.11 Conclusion 121

5. The EU Institutions and Approaches in Formal and Informal Law-Making 125
5.1 The Commission 126
5.2 The Council of the European Union (Council of Ministers) 134
5.3 The European Council 140
5.4 The European Parliament 142
5.5 The Court of Justice of the European Union 147
5.6 The role of agencies in migration governance: Frontex and the EASO/EUAA 154
5.6.1 European Border and Coast Guard Agency—Frontex 156
5.6.2 European Asylum Support Office (EASO)/EU Agency for Asylum (EUAA) 168
5.7 Conclusion 170

6. Migration and EU External Relations: The 'Formal' 173
6.1 Migration in the internal and the external spheres of governance 174
6.2 The post-Amsterdam legislative trajectory 176
6.3 General agreements with third states 178
6.4 Readmission Agreements 180
6.5 Visa Facilitation Agreements 186
6.6 Exploring the limitations of 'formal' law in migration 188
6.6.1 The governance challenges of bilateral relationships 189
6.6.2 Do Readmission Agreements make a difference? 193
6.7 Conclusion 195

7. Migration and EU External Relations: The Shift to 'Informality' 198
7.1 Informality in multilateral relations with Africa 201
7.2 Mobility Partnerships 206
7.3 Common Agenda on Migration and Mobility (CAMM) 210
7.4 Migration Partnership Frameworks 212
7.5 Non-binding readmission 'arrangements' 215
7.6 EU–Türkiye Statement 2016 218
7.7 More 'formal informality': bilateral engagement with third states 225
7.8 Regular migration and 'Talent Partnerships' 229
7.9 Conclusion 231

Conclusion 235

Index 245