## Becoming an external border of the EU: Serbia, as a part of the Western Balkans

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## Peripheral gaze:

What does it mean to be on a periphery?

- Geographical position
- Political relations
- Economic hierarchization/dependence
- Cultural stereotyping
- Productivity of peripheral position: the agency of peripheral states

## Balkans/Yugoslavia/Western Balkans?





## Political alignments

Soviet Union

Soviet-aligned countries (Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania) and area (East Berlin)

Former Soviet-aligned country (Albania, aligned until 1968)

Non-aligned country (Yugoslavia)

Neutral countries (Andorra, Austria, Ireland, Finland, Liechtenstein, Monaco, San Marino, Sweden, Switzeland, Vatican)

Western-aligned countries (Belgium, Britain, Cyprus, Denmark, Iceland, Italy, France, Germany, Greece, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey) and area (Berlin)



#### **ORIGINAL 1961 NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT CONFERENCE ATTENDEES**



# 1990's















### **Current EU accession status of the Western Balkan countries**



Failed states of the Balkans, captured states, hybrid regimes and stick and carrot motivation

- Paternalism
- "EU-splaining"
- monitoring
- pressures

Since 2003 and Thessaloniki summit, the integration of the Western Balkan states into EU border regime officially began.

They were promised "European future"

They had to fulfill certain obligations, including control of their own people as well as "third country nationals" going to the EU The European Union (EU) is the largest donor in the Republic of Serbia in migration management. Since 2015, with the increased mixed migration flows to the territory of Serbia, the EU has assisted Serbia with more than EUR130 million in providing humanitarian aid and protection to migrants, in particular protection of children, providing conditions for reception and care in the reception and asylum centers, including food, health care and education, providing assistance to the local communities/municipalities hosting migrants to strengthen social cohesion, assisting Serbia in the protection of the state border and combating smuggling of migrants, as well as capacity building of the institutions dealing with migration management. In addition, the EU has supported Serbia with more than EUR28 million to efficiently control its borders, thus contributing to the safety of Serbian citizens making the border crossings safer and preventing criminal activities, while ensuring swift crossing of travellers and goods (Integrated Border Management-IBM).



Balkan Route: EU Interior Ministers Agreed on Deportation Scheme from the Balkans in Secret, Enhanced EU-Serbia Cooperation Amid Increased Violence Towards Migrants, EU Commission Making 600 Million Euro Available to Support Member States with Border Control & Equipment

24th March 2023 | News

Prime Minister of North Macedonia Dimitar Kovačevski said that cooperation with Frontex will help that small Balkan country in the fight against international criminal organizations.

"For us, Frontex means the protection of our borders, the protection of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of our country," he said. Serbia reliable partner of EU in fight against irregular migration

#### Belgrade, 18 June 2021

M inister of the Interior Aleksandar Vulin spoke today with European Commissioner for Home Affairs and Migration Ylva Johansson about further cooperation in the fight against irregular migration, organised crime and corruption.

Vulin said that in order for the problem of irregular migration to be solved, the European Union must take a common stance on the matter and underlined that Serbia will not be a parking for migrants.

The Minister pointed out that since the start of the migrant crisis Serbia has had a humane and responsible approach, which has been recognised and on numerous occasions praised by the international community.

Vulin and Johansson noted that migration is not a new phenomenon and that it will always exist, which is why the common goal is not to prevent it, but to make sure it is done in a legal way.



A document accessed by Statewatch and the Heinrich Böll Stiftung reveals that European interior ministers signed a secret joint statement in February 2022 outlining EU and Schengen states commitment to increase financial and material support for deportations from the Balkans, enhancing the region's role as a migration "buffer zone". Ministers expressed commitment to "intensify cooperation" for "demand-oriented and targeted support in the field of return, in particular from the Western Balkans towards third countries" by ensuring the "rapid matching of needs and possible return assistance". The statement also calls for "flexible Return Partnerships between Western Balkan partners, EU partners and/or Switzerland and/or on thematic areas of importance for returns," such as "the exchange of best practices" and "better communication with specific countries of origin



Eu support to Serbia and North Macedonia in managing migration refugee crisis Balkan route

TITLE OF GRANT/PROCUREMENT CONTRACT	AMOUNT OF GRANT/PROCUREMENT CONTRACT	NAME OF GRANT BENEFICIARY OR CONTRACTOR	CONTRACT NUMBER	CURRENCY	DATE OF GRANT/PROI CONTRACT
Refurbishment of sanitary premises in Adasevci	39,593.65	GLOBAL KOD DOO BELGRADE	SRB/CONS/EC0108/2019	EUR	18 Oct 2018
Procurement and installation of ceramics in Asylum center Banja Koviljaca	16,174.26	SGR STANKOVIC DRAGAN MALI ZVORNIK	SRB/CONS/SRB/LM/NOVEMBER2019	EUR	13 Nov 2019
Reconstruction of water supply network, sewage network and installation of system for wastewater treatment and fire protection network at Reception center Pirot	195,185.81	HS ISKOP- GRADNJA NOVI PAZAR	CHECKLIST- SRB/CONS/SRB/MP/SEPTEMBER2019	EUR	17 Sep 2019
Purchase of furniture and equipment for AC Tutin	28,935.00	EUROSALON FABRIKA DOO BELGRADE	4600397065	EUR	30 Nov 2017
Reconstruction of flat roof at Reception center Adasevci	67,678.75	GLOBAL KOD DOO BELGRADE	CHECKLIST-SRB/CONS/SRB/ LM/DECEMBER 2019	EUR	21 Dec 2018
Video surveillance in RC Obrenovac	49,502.91	ALARM SYSTEMS DOO	4600541747	EUR	29 Oct 2019
Construction of anex "B" of existing building for the Asylum center Tutin	295,284.43	SAŠA STAMENKOVIĆ PREDUZETNIK GRAĐEVINSKA RADNJA ŠIŠAVE, VLASOTINCE	CHECKLIST- SRB/CONS/SRB/LM/December 2017(Amendment 1)	EUR	10 Jul 2017
Construction of hydrotechnical, sewage and fire extinguishing installations in mobile center for irregular migrants in BPS Dimitrovgrad	40,714.99	BELLA VITA SYSTEM GZTUR SURDULICA	SRB/CONS/SRB/ LM/NOVEMBER2018	EUR	13 Dec 2018
Purchase of bed linen and textile galantery	23,770.33	AYADORP	4600431187	EUR	29 May 2018
Purchase and installation of kitchen equipment for RC Kikinda	28,530.20	ŽAK DOO BELGRADE	4600406811	EUR	09 Jan 2018
Procurement, delivery and installations of barbeques in 16 Asylum and Reception centers	15,840.00	FORING GROUP DOO BELGRADE	4600512207	EUR	14 Jun 2019
Purchase and installment of prefabricated building intended for Serbian Border Police (Mobile reception centers for irregular migrants at Dimitrovgrad and Plandiste	518,496.00	ENIGMA BOLT SYSTEM DOO BELGRADE	CHECKLIST-SRB/CONS/SRB/ LM/APRIL2018	EUR	09 May 2018

TITLE OF GRANT/PROCUREMENT CONTRACT	AMOUNT OF GRANT/PROCUREMENT CONTRACT	NAME OF GRANT BENEFICIARY OR CONTRACTOR	CONTRACT NUMBER	CURRENCY	DATE OF GRANT/PRO CONTRACT
Preliminary design, main design and the design for issuing the building permit for connecting Reception center Principovac to public drinking water supplying network	15,670.00	HIDROGEOCENTAR DOO	CHECKLIST- SRB/SERV/SRB/LM/MARCH2019	EUR	08 Apr 2019
Procurement and installation of a pellet solve in the Asylum center Banja Koviljaca	49,681.74	FESTINA DOO BELGRADE	CHECKLIST-SRB/CONS/SRB/ LM/AUGUST2019	EUR	22 Aug 2019
Reconstruction of one part of Bosilegrad Reception center (old stationary building)	357,903.16	FORING GROUP DOO BELGRADE	SRB/CONS/GS0119/2018(Amendment 1)	EUR	16 Apr 2018
Conference and discussion system with simultaneous interpreting equipment	37,491.00	PROSOUND CONFERENCE SYSTEMS DOO BELGRADE	4600496205	EUR	29 Mar 2019
Reconstruction works in Asylum center Banja Koviljaca	21,678.98	SGR STANKOVIC DRAGAN MALI ZVORNIK	CHECKLIST- SRB/CONS/SRB/MB/JUNE2019	EUR	26 Jun 2019
Construction reconstruction of Center for foreigners in Padinska Skela-Phase 1	253,907.38	FORING GROUP DOO	CHECKLIST- SRB/CNOS/SRB/LM/March2020	EUR	12 Mar 2020
Preparation of the technical documentation for construction and reconstruction of water, sewage and hydrant network	18,300.00	KOSTIĆ PROING DOO NIŠKA BANJA	CHECKLIST- SRB/SERV/SRB/MB/APRIL2019	EUR	09 May 201
Purchase of furniture for RC/AC centers in Serbia	68,499.59	EUROSALON FABRIKA DOO BELGRADE	4600536991	EUR	08 Oct 2019
Procurement and installation of a pellet solve in the Reception center Principovac	56,262.40	FESTINA DOO BELGRADE	CHECKLIST-SRB/CONS/SRB/ LM/AUGUST2019	EUR	26 Aug 201
Construction/reconstruction of Center for foreigners in Padinska Skela-Phase 1	203,473.05	Foring Group doo	CHECKLIST- SRB/CNOS/SRB/LM/March2020	EUR	12 Mar 202
Replacement of roof cover and façade joinery at KN-7 facility in RC Obrenovac	21,982.41	FORING GROUP DOO BELGRADE	SRB/CONS/SRB/LM/Novemebr 2019	EUR	13 Nov 201
Renovation of prefabricated house for dining room in Reception center Kikinda	70,494.70	FINISH DEAL DOO BELGRADE	CHECKLIST-SRB/CONS/SRB/ LC0077/2017(Amendment 2)	EUR	13 Oct 2017
Replacement of facade windows at accomodation building No.1 "Sidekspres" at reception center Sid	22,115.30	AGREKS DOO SID	CHECKLIST-SRB/CONS/SRB/ LM/JUNE2019	EUR	11 Jun 2019
Construction works of a water supply system	249,998.71	BULEVAR COOP DOO NOVI SAD	CHECKLIST- SRB/CONS/SRB/LM/SEPTEMBER2019	EUR	11 Sep 2019
Provision of two mobile clinics	91,700.00	WEST BEOCAR	4600381054	EUR	04 Sep 2017
Purchase of reproduced/recycled cartridges for various printing devices	32,791.25	PROINTER IT SOLUTIONS AND SERVICES DOO	4600476073	EUR	20 Dec 2018

# Instrumentalizing migration control externalization obsession of the EU

- Opening the very first chapter in the negotiation process with the EU
- Changing the image of Serbia
- Employing people in securitarian and humanitarian sector
- Equipping police

"Each agreement we sign with an EU member state leads us closer to the EU"

## Conclusions:

- Instrumentalization of migration for reaching unrelated political goals
- Getting economic benefits
- Migration is convenient because it is basically irrelevant: doing favors for the EU and sacrificing already marginalized populations

## Thank you!

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