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Risk governance approach to migration: a viable alternative to precautionary management

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ABSTRACT

Migration can offer both significant benefits and costs. This article reviews and synthesises approaches and related critiques on managing migration. Precautionary approaches to migration are guided by securitisation and governmentality paradigms that imply a potential impediment, whereby models are informed by security- and threat-nexus (cost), making the paradigm one-dimensional. The need for a holistic model for consistent migration management is frequently expressed in migration literature. Here, inclusive risk governance is proposed as a viable alternative model that can produce better policy outcomes by fulfilling four conditions: (a) enhancing inclusion and participation; (b) appraising costs and benefits; (c) considering the impact on all affected stakeholders; and (d) facilitating constructive deliberation. Incorporating these elements to support coherent goals makes the model a valid enabler, corresponding better to the diversity of the migration policy context. This model is demonstrated through a critical reading of the literature that has suggested that migration is managed through securitisation, governmentality, and risk.

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Introduction

Broadly speaking, migration has diverse impacts and consequences, both negative (cost) and positive (benefit), for different actors (e.g., Borjas 2014; Peters 2015). Yet the positive impacts on the host society, its inhabitants, and the migrants themselves are frequently implicit and no less important. It is clear that humane and orderly migration is in the best interests of migrants and society as a whole (Rodriguez-Pose and Von Berlepsch 2014; De Haas et al. 2018). The Global Risks Report (2019) indicated that migration is one of the ten most complex and interconnected challenges, requiring a redoubling of effort and new approaches at the national and international levels. With this in mind, securitisation- and governmentality-linked paradigms that guide those efforts often concentrate on the perception of migration as a negative risk, and thus the consequences of migration are understood to be negative. As such, any evaluation, appraisal, or management of migration rests on the threat nexus and the utilisation of exceptional measures through a precautionary paradigm, whereby the management fails to address interrelated (cost and benefit) risks and the relationship between them. Significantly, this has intensified and expanded since the 2000s (see Huysmans 2000; Bigo 2002; Van Munster 2009;

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Ibrahim and Howarth 2018). These precautionary paradigms resemble the fundamental basis of the concept of silo-based traditional risk management (TRM), where pure risk (hazard risk) is managed on an individual basis without considering the correlations between risks. Consequently, such paradigms do not consider the positive effects or risk as opportunity (see Hopkin 2017).

Notably, abstracting the threat (cost) perspective as a single variable from the context of migration, e.g., using a methodology such as Common Integrated Risk Assessment Methodology (CIRAM) that lead to support the perception of migration as threats (see for instance Aas and Gundhus 2015; Gundhus 2018), without recognising the benefit aspect on the host society, its individuals, and migrants themselves, as well as focusing exclusively on state security at the expense of human security (see Buzan et al. 1998; Balzacq 2005; Van Munster 2009), make these paradigms one-dimensional yet universal. Managing negative (cost) and positive (benefit) impacts of migration on different actors requires an inclusive risk governance (IRG). This reflects Löfstedt's (2004) argument that for better regulation, the pendulum should shift from traditional risk principles (precautionary approaches) to a rational risk management approach.

The premise of this article is that a more realistic and constructive approach should be anchored in a framework that includes a holistic perspective on the implications of migration costs and benefits for different actors, which broaden the policy range and strategies. The purpose of this article is to explore an alternative paradigm for including the participation of affected parties in governance to contribute to an approach that may lead to better results in social, economic, humanitarian, and human rights aspects.

The main question we address is how and to what extent migration governance might be developed in the sense of balancing conflicting concerns, as well as striking the right balance between costs and benefits.

The work presented in this article is of a conceptual nature. It seeks to provide new insight into a viable concept and model in migration governance. We review and synthesise the predominant paradigms that have proven particularly strong, to understand better how migration is managed (Van Munster 2009). Three paradigms in particular will be more fully examined here: securitisation and governmentality under the precautionary approach, and IRG under risk governance. We consider these major streams of research in migration studies in a detailed manner in regard to the theoretical and analytical tools that may help us to understand and give greater attention to paradigms as a key concept in which inclusive migration management can be situated. For each approach, we highlight and evaluate the predominant paradigm that subsumes a theory and a model, and uncover strong but usually unarticulated inclusive and holistic perspectives to develop a viable model.

Argumentation from the pitfalls of TRM to the advantages of IRG approach to managing migration made in the proposed viable concept is considered to represent a major contribution to understanding and analysing managing migration in a more comprehensive and integrative manner. A model focusing on IRG is considered essential for making a shift towards a more rational migration management, and developing consistent migration policies. To overcome the weaknesses of threat analysis-based TRM models, we need a model that allows us to achieve the following: (a) enhance inclusion through good governance principles based on the active participation of stakeholders; (b) appraise and strike a well-balanced distribution of costs and benefits of migration; (c) capture all aspects of the impacts of migration on diverse actors, involving the economic, social, and humanitarian impacts on all parties affected; and (d) facilitate constructive dialogue to stimulate collaboration in order to understand the needs and concerns of stakeholders (see Renn 2008; Van Asselt and Renn 2011). Hence, a model focusing on IRG could constitute an alternative. Through its emphasis on such characteristics, the traditional narrow perspectives on managing migration might be challenged.

The rest of this article is divided into two main sections. The first focuses on TRM-based approaches through a critical reading of the literature, by which the development of restrictionist strategies is explicated by the migration security nexus (securitisation) and governing through

precautionary risk (governmentality), to provide an overview of theoretical strengths and weaknesses of existing models and paradigms. The second section discusses the comparative merits of the IRG approach by uncovering the four conditions that the governance model needs to fulfil. It reveals how precautionary approach limitations might be addressed by developing an alternative model for managing migration. Based on the analysis presented previously, the final part concludes in favour of the growing relevance of IRG in the migration domain and proposes future research.

TRM-Based paradigms: Securitisation and governmentality

Securitisation- and governmentality-linked paradigms, which adeptly explore the greatest influence of negative connotations as resources to manage migration, have been the subject of intense debate in the literature on immigration management in recent decades (e.g., Bigo 2002; Aradau 2004; Balzacq 2005; Adamson 2006; Van Munster 2009; Neal 2009; Ibrahim and Howarth 2018). They can be depicted as TRM-based paradigms, with migrants frequently linked to insecurity (Van Munster 2009). The securitisation-linked approach emerged out of discussions aimed at understanding and analysing the emergence of the migration security nexus (see Huysmans 2000; Bigo 2002). The second paradigm of the TRM-based approach, the governmentality-linked approach, stemmed from the necessity to think outside the securitisation sphere and seek a more relevant theoretical tool to demonstrate how a population is governed through a dispositif, borrowing Foucault's term (e.g., Aradau 2004; Van Munster 2009; Neal 2009; Ibrahim and Howarth 2018).

Applied to migration governance, the characterisation and classification of precautionary risk and strategies offered by Klinké and Renn (2001) fit the securitisation- and governmentality-linked paradigms remarkably well. These scholars suggest that precautionary strategies aim to handle highly vulnerable situations, positing the diffusion of precautionary measures to address high levels of uncertainty. In the following sections, these paradigms will be scrutinised in relation to discourse, strategies and practices, and approach levels.

Discourses

Conceptualising migration as a security issue has, arguably, been made possible by the role of securitisation scholars, who have moved the central referent object of security from state to non-state actors, such as individuals and society (Buzan et al. 1998, 25). This concept used in the literature exhibits strong analogies with discursive deliberation in a wide range of ideas. Combining the conceptualisation and assessment of migration as a threat, securitisation actors communicate and articulate migration, with very limited inclusion of stakeholders, as a threat within the top-down approach, in which securitisation actors suggest the level of threat posed by migration warrants addressing (see Buzan et al. 1998). The purpose of this paradigm is primarily to terminate the threat posed by migration, and so the management process involves exceptional and urgent measures (see Buzan et al. 1998).

From the securitisation perspective, migration might be constructed as challenging the state's capacity and autonomy to secure itself (Adamson 2006). It is argued that the main impacts of global migration on states and citizens are violence, prolonged fragility, and conflict (Bali 2012). According to Sasse (2005), the context linked to migration can be classified into three broad groups: their impact on political stability, on societal and economic dimensions, and different levels of governance. These have become crucial and result in demands for more restrictions underpinned by the securitisation mode of politics that relies on conceptual ideas of threat avoidance.

The governmentality-linked approach, on the other hand, focuses on Foucault's (1980) formulation of the notion of governmentality to exemplify a certain style of governing a population.

A *dispositif* is a heterogeneous ensemble of 'discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions' (1980, 194). A *dispositif* functions strategically to bring the problematisation into being and serves to constitute a phenomenon as a social problem, in turn facilitating a response to the social problem by instigating the relevant apparatus.

As Dean (1999) observes, risk is linked to adopted devices of governmentality to govern society. Based on this foundation, governmentality permits us to demonstrate how a paradigm operates within a problematisation-based precautional orientation (Aradau and Van Munster 2007). Such logic, as Aradau and Van Munster (2007) argue, is centred on mitigating significantly negative risks and convincing the target population of the necessity to act in a way that deters harm by deploying all available apparatus. Paradoxically, the socially constructed negative connotation-based risk concept may advance security provisions to supersede the more general function of liberal-democratic states by placing migration as a site of governmentality to lead people to endorse security practices (Phythian 2012).

These critical reflections put an interesting slant on how precautionary models' discourse level is used as a means to generate new understandings about migration, options, and outcomes. In the case of precautionary models, there is a close association between the discourse of perceived negative impacts (cost) of migration on society and state security and the implemented policy approach on migration. Precautionary models' discourse is characterised by the transmission function of the adapted language use and one-sided means of communication from an actor to the target population (Buzan et al. 1998). Emphasis on threat nexus and societal security indicates a threat production that has an impact on organisation culture and policy processes (Huysmans 2000). Such a model, however, turns a blind eye to mutual understanding, collaboration, and more inclusive decisions. Thus, as Sasse (2005) and others have noted, such discourse not only misses the extent of focus on migration but also impedes the differentiation of debate styles, which may explain how migration is politicised, and debates are heavily influenced by the stitching together of negative attitudes and precautionary perspectives.

Strategies and practices

Embedding the urgency and exceptionalism perspectives into the devised strategies and practices, securitisation conveys the message that exceptional measures must be utilised to terminate the threat (Buzan et al. 1998, 25). While the Copenhagen School has emphasised the speech-act process (see Huysmans 2000), the Paris School has highlighted bureaucratic routines, in which deliberation of migration as a threat is particularly evident in the identification, assessment, and management carried out through the activities and functions of security professionals (Bigo 2002). Therefore, they argue that migration can be securitised without the speech-act process (see Bigo 2002; Balzacq 2005).

Clearly, the architecture, scope, and profoundness of the securitisation-linked paradigm are based on the migration security nexus with nodes and nuclei that serve as momentum for organising discourse, communication, strategies, and practices to move the approach toward the logic of TRM. The structure of the securitisation-linked paradigm is characterised by establishing institutional focal points of precautionary configuration that coordinate the variety of policies and regulations.

Governmentality entails a process of strategies and practices that help appreciate how migration is constructed as a major risk (Ibrahim and Howarth 2018). Thus, precautionary strategies are selected to reduce the adverse effect of migration by raising concerns that arise from downside potentialities. Logically, a governmentality-linked precautionary approach draws on prevention strategies that can be applied to ensure the approach conforms to the main characteristics of the problematisation context (Ibrahim and Howarth 2018). Prevention strategies are perceived as the most appropriate risk management option(s) when dealing with migration

as a source of fear and anxiety, and thus they are directed towards harm (Ibrahim and Howarth 2018). Van Munster (2009) posits that the coexistence of restrictionist and liberal policies in managing migration must be explained through governmentality-based preventive policies.

The literature indicates that the governmentality-linked precautionary risk logic offers an expanding frontier for analysing preventive migration policies (i.e., Neal 2009; Van Munster 2009; Ibrahim and Howarth 2018). Neal (2009) asserts that transformed from the initial 'securitised' proposals to an intelligence-led risk management agency FRONTEX is likely to advocate for precautionary implementation. More specifically, Van Munster (2009) posits that through improved information coordination and dissemination, Frontex analyses risks related to migration and border control whereby certain migrants become subjected to categorical suspicion and are vulnerable to targeted practices of precautionary risk management. Evoking Foucault's notion of governmentality, Ibrahim and Howarth (2018) define Frontex not only as a 'Risk Analysis' unite that grasps and interprets data affecting border security (e.g., human trafficking and irregular migration), but also as a precautionary risk management apparatus that frames migration as a societal and economic problem, and as a site of fear and anxiety.

In the context of precautionary models, strategies and practices involve combining precautionary ideas and methods of prevention in a way that they are accepted as the only way to create the basis for designing appropriate mitigating strategies (Buzan et al. 1998; Balzacq 2005). Migration groups are also often excluded in various ways from collaboration with other migration management stakeholders. Precautionary models have in common that benefit offered by migration is made invisible and forgotten, and migration management is treated as a cost-based problem solved by precautionary methods alone. However, narrowly applying management strategies may have unintended and undesirable consequences; thus, we suggest that the perspective must be broadened to include participation of all affected parties and their concerns.

Approaches

TRM paradigms are differentiated but act on a common foundation, taking account of negative implications of migration on society. While the governmentality-linked approach is offered to overcome negative implications of the securitisation-linked approach (see Van Munster 2009), it has its own restriction that still manifests as a precautionary approach. In essence, and like securitisation, governmentality goes some way to explaining why and how migration reality is defined as a source of anxiety and a problem (see Ibrahim and Howarth 2018), but it still suffers from a lack of identification of opportunity potentialities, co-ordinated strategic risk response strategies, and development of a holistic approach on striking the right balance between costs and benefits.

Research shows that one objection to applying the precautionary risk perception to the area of migration and border control could be that negative risks and risk avoidance lead to a dominance of state security at the expense of human security (Aas and Gundhus 2015; Gundhus 2018). As Aas and Gundhus (2015) and Gundhus (2018) put it, for instance, utilizing CIRAM to analyse risks related to migration and border control, the Frontex framework use vulnerabilities and threats as indicators that lead to the perception of migration as a threat. Hence, CIRAM based Frontex operations neglect a systematic evaluation of the consequences of practices, failing to account for migrant security.

Concerning forced migration, states also have obligations and moral duties to assist and protect people who flee danger. Framing a migration policy that serves to fulfil these humanitarian duties helps to avoid mobilising support for resentments that lead to their reversal (Van Munster 2009; Ibrahim and Howarth 2018). However, precautionary-based paradigms construct migration as a threat and a problem to society and state, failing to acknowledge benefits migrants offer the host society and its individuals. This means that precautionary immigration policies do not meet ethical norms and moral duties to shelter forced migration.

With this in mind, precautionary approaches have three weaknesses: 1) they construct migration as a threat/problem without acknowledging benefits (see Huysmans 2000); 2) they focus exclusively on state security and the societal level of the host country without recognising the cost and benefit for migrants themselves (see Buzan et al. 1998; Balzacq 2005); and 3) mood of prevention is induced and prolonged, and tensions arise between settled migrants and locals (see Aradau 2004; Ibrahim and Howarth 2018).

Here, we do not suggest that securitisation- and governmentality-oriented studies on migration fail to account for how migration is perceived as a threat and/or social problem. Nor do we suggest that they fail to consider certain aspects that might be perceived as a threat to the host society (e.g., societal security). On the contrary, we highlight their prospects and limitations, suggesting that migration management is not only comprised of precautionary approaches. An overview of three migration governance paradigms based on ideal types with intended outcomes is presented in Table 1, which provides a comparison of precautionary paradigms (securitisation and governmentality) with the holistic paradigm (IRG), highlighting the nature of TRM and IRG paradigms in migration policy contexts.

Many important features of global migration, however, are linked to uncertainties with both cost and benefit. As Castles (2010) indicates, while the political discourse to some extent led to the articulation of migration as a problem, changing demographics, social and economic factors, and trends have reinforced the need for and dependency on migration.

Most countries require and facilitate some form of migration, depending on the specific context. Therefore, migration policies might not be well captured and analysed exclusively by precautionary orientation. For example, Wright (2015) suggests that regardless of political risk, governments actively articulate more liberal migration policies. Such arguments also seem to fit the suggestion of De Haas et al. (2018), who maintain that unlike commonly held assumptions, pursuing a liberal migration policy is still more common than a restrictionist one, although the trend appears to have decelerated.

This explains why we need to focus on specific strategies that recognise both negative (cost) and positive (benefit) risk for different actors. In doing so, we follow the common twofold classification of risk: hazard (or pure) and opportunity (or speculative) (see Hopkin 2017, 17). This distinction is selected because the adaptation seems more suitable for evaluating migration governance. Migration is increasingly positioned within a risk framework and is organised and governed by a management process that is, in principle, a risk-linked one (Ibrahim and Howarth 2018).

The narratives suggesting liberal or less restrictive migration policies reveal a conceptual problem: can precautionary approaches account for a liberal migration policy in the first place? And can they help establish effective appraisal and management for better outcomes and a more favourable cost-benefit balance? In this context, analytical and practical aspects of precautionary approaches might hinder an understanding of the complexity of managing migration and dependencies, and uncover required flexibilities that may help the development of an appropriate process, by which the impacts of migration are adequately captured.

Drawing on the suggestion of the potential impediment posed by precautionary approaches to policymaking put forward by Löfstedt et al. (2002), such approaches are not better suited to covering all response strategies. Mirroring Löfstedt's (2004) argument that the policymaking pendulum should shift from the precautionary to a rational risk management approach, the impediment posed by the former provides an important basis for shifting towards a more holistic migration management framework anchored in the IRG approach.

In the discussion that follows, the article proposes the IRG approach to overcome the inflexibilities and downsides of precautionary approaches, providing vital insight into strategic approaches to migration policies in the context of uncertainty.

Table 1. Comparison of three ideal types of migration governance paradigms with intended outcomes.

Paradigms	Securitisation	Governmentality	Risk governance
Dimensions	(Buzan et al. 1998; Huysmans 2000; Bigo 2002; Sasse 2005)	(Foucault 1980; Aradau and van Munster 2007; Van Munster 2009; Ibrahim and Howarth 2018)	(Renn 2008; van Asselt and Renn 2011; Paul 2017; Trebilcock 2019)
Setting	<p>All-hazard paradigm;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> external context; scope is present threats as identified by securitisation actors; the precautionary principle legitimises actions characterised by constructed threats; threat-based security setting widens securitisation and promotes long-term precautionary governance. <p>Migration-security nexus, threat (cost);</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> migration-security nexus brings a new outlook on migrants who valued negatively or considered unacceptable; often has a distorted perception about migration; often justifies migration as a significant threat. 	<p>All-hazard paradigm;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> external context; focus is on possible harm; establishes how migration is increasingly internalised as a significant economic, political, and societal problem; conveys that the current regulatory frameworks were confronted at national levels with significant problems. <p>Migration-problem nexus problem (cost);</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> migration is conceptualised as a significant problem by the government; the dimension of problematisation, which inevitably sets aside the benefits to reinforce governing logic. precautionary governance more likely to be permanent to deal with potential problems (cost). 	<p>Holistic, integrated paradigm;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> external and internal contexts; appreciates the impacts more coherently, comprehensively, and equitably; interacts dynamically to build a common understanding among the participants, eliciting the importance of settings; settings represent and recognise different concerns of the various categories of stakeholders involved. <p>Migration-rational risk (cost-benefit) nexus;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> encompasses two primary dimensions (cost and benefit) and concerns the distribution of costs and benefits of migration; migration entails various impacts for individuals and society, between groups of people, between regions, and between current and future generations.
Conceptualisation			
Appraisal	<p>Segmental, actual threats;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> securitisation appraisal depends on migration, security, and threats; threat-based security has a strong expectation to prevent migration as its viewed as a threat; a failure to address the threat properly would have significant political and economic consequences; implies that rational risk assessment procedures are probably inadequate in a precautionary context. 	<p>Segmental, potential problems;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> migration constructed to legitimise state power; governing apparatus is about the prevention of future problems rather than present threats; problematisation is itself a governance technique concerning the necessity of controlling migration; the appraisal is strongly downside-oriented (cost), detailing the problematisation ideas on which problems (migration) are not acceptable or tolerable. 	<p>Unifying, holistic view on opportunities and threats;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> comprehensiveness: to capture the heterogeneity of migration configuration; appraisal aims to provide insight into which capabilities are needed and should be strengthened to mitigate costs and enhance benefits; reinterpret concerns expressed by participants collectively to build common goals deemed acceptable for the participants as a whole; adopt a holistic approach to reach several objectives in a comprehensive way.



Management/response strategies

- Silo-Based: prevention (terminate)
- decisions justified only by urgency and exceptionalism;
 - the desire is to eliminate all threats manifested in precaution-based management processes;
 - migration is overcontrolled through urgency- and exceptionalism-based security practices using the 'security nexus' concept as a major strategy of endorsement.

- Silo-Based: prevention: (terminate/mitigate)
- the management approach is problem-oriented;
 - management governs a population through a dispositif;
 - it conveys the need to move beyond the standard conventional instruments to govern social problems and prevent amplification of problems;
 - cost aspects are bound to become manifest in the logic of governmentality, encompassing extremely diverse and widespread governmentality apparatus.

- Integrated, Unifying: mitigate/enhance
- the management approach is harmonised and balanced;
 - adopts an integrated and comprehensive approach to manage the likely impact of migration
 - mitigate negative effects while simultaneously enhancing positive impacts and opportunities
 - promotes a common collective appraisal of migration impact, which takes account of the impact on and/or meets the needs of all people affected by the policy;
 - management implies choices determined not only by cost-based options but also by benefit-based strategies, taking into account the interests of the various stakeholders.

Inclusion/governance

- Securitisation actor;
- has very limited inclusion and a mechanism that rests upon processes that reflect securitisation actors' viewpoint;
 - securitisation actor influences the public perception of migration and thus contributes to the understanding of security nexus.

- Power (government);
- dominant role of public authorities in the migration management process as well as in the justification of governmentality apparatus;
 - public authorities turn public attention to the constructed problematic migration issues;
 - the decision-making process is largely shaped and internalised by the public authorities, which are often loosely connected to or meet the needs of all parties affected by the policy.

- Multi-stakeholder engagement;
- inclusion and active participation of a heterogeneous set of participants that takes account of the impact based on broad values and interests of stakeholders;
 - increased stakeholder involvement to grasp the different understanding and concerns of the different actors involved in a more inclusive and democratic approach;
 - increased number of partners and level of engagement of all parties affected by the policy.

Communication

- Top-down, one-way;
- one-way communication involves a strong element of asymmetry;
 - focuses on the performative element of security nexus to position migration as a present threat to society;
 - follows a specific logic in which speech legitimises exceptional measures and security practices.

- Top-down, one-way;
- authoritative utterances and passive understandings
 - communicating an understanding of migration and its governance flows one way, from the government to society;
 - migration communication is engendered by the power that provides a problematised migration characterisation.

- Dialogue, two-way;
- two-way communication;
 - constructive dialogue to understand the needs and concerns of the stakeholders;
 - deliberative engagement through respective deliberations;
 - symmetrical communication is intended to stimulate collaboration and to facilitate a balanced deliberation.

Outcomes

<p>Counterproductive;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • counterproductive and potentially problematic; • is robust for selected purposes and functions i.e., when migration provides a clear picture of threat and the considered options (mass illegal migration) are clearly harmful to society as a whole; • however, state security dominance appears to prevail, at the expense of human security (decisively overlooks concerns of migrants); • precautionary principle might be abused; • considerable resources are spent to prevent cost, while benefits receive no attention; • the precautionary principle itself involves the results of amplification of threat concerns. 	<p>Suboptimal;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • resulting poor outcomes, potentially problematic; • the overall governance approach does not satisfy all stakeholders; • it appeals to the functions and purposes that simply cannot be performed outside the governmentality logic; • governmentality increases the inability to lead rational risk management, which leads to a more complex challenge than initially intended, which in turn would eventually threaten normality. 	<p>Better outcomes;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • outcomes appropriate to migration context, establishing a balance between competing factors, different stakeholder interests, and short- and long-term benefits for current and future generations; • increase the level of a pluralistic involvement of stakeholders and collaboration; • increase the level of broad acceptance and attainableness of policies; • increase the level of mutual trust and public confidence; • strengthen the base of constructive grounds on which balanced policies can be adopted; • widen the range of strategies and improve capacity of adapting flexibly robust strategies; • increase awareness of the impact on individuals, society, and migrants and meet the needs of all people affected by policy, including humanitarian and human rights aspects.
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The contributions of risk governance as a viable migration governance model

Strategic elements of IRG allow consideration of a more complex institutional set-up for managing migration, one that leaves room for contemplation of the opportunities arising from changes in the context within which the approach operates. Before proceeding with the argument, the definition of risk and some key concepts of IRG will be provided. The insight that migration can be considered a risk (Ibrahim and Howarth 2018) leads to the need to define how risk is conceptualised. Some writers, such as Boholm and Corvellec (2011), have suggested that risk emerges within a cultural context determined by political, economic, and social aspects bound to thought and action. Thus, as a socially constructed concept, risk can be structured and selected by different actors in various ways. As Luhmann (1993, 51) explains, the concept of risk indicates uncertainty, resulting from a decision not to oppose possible gains since the possible loss might not be realised. Therefore, in contrast to danger, risk includes all possible options for interpretations.

Among the many conceptual definitions of risk, we adopt the view that risk may have negative as well as positive effects, to varying degrees. Considering the variety of definitions of 'risk', this definition is useful in the context of migration and policy process because it sheds light on developing and implementing various response strategies to strike a balance between negative (cost) and positive (benefit) risks for different actors. This definition permits us to appreciate the productive role of IRG in managing migration processes.

Our conceptual framework in Figure 1 depicts the different analytical phases of migration governance. It builds on Table 1 and graphically shows the relationship between the dimensions and the phases of the IRG process. On the left-hand side, we identify the dimensions of setting, communication, and inclusion as the background level phase that plays a decisive role. The foreground level phase that includes conceptualisation, management, and appraisal is underpinned by the foreground level, leading to better outcomes for the right-hand side (e.g., increased level of collaboration, involvement, awareness of impacts on all affected factors, and changes in attitudes). This results in increased level of public confidence, mutual trust, and strengthened social and economic benefits, as well as humanitarian grounds. The interactions between background and foreground levels take place during all stages of the process.

IRG, as Renn (2008) posits, recognises the interaction of multiple actors concerned with how risk is analysed, communicated, and managed. IRG is used to indicate the application of good governance principles to risk-related management processes. This reflects a multi-stakeholder risk management approach, in which various actors and institutions are involved in a more

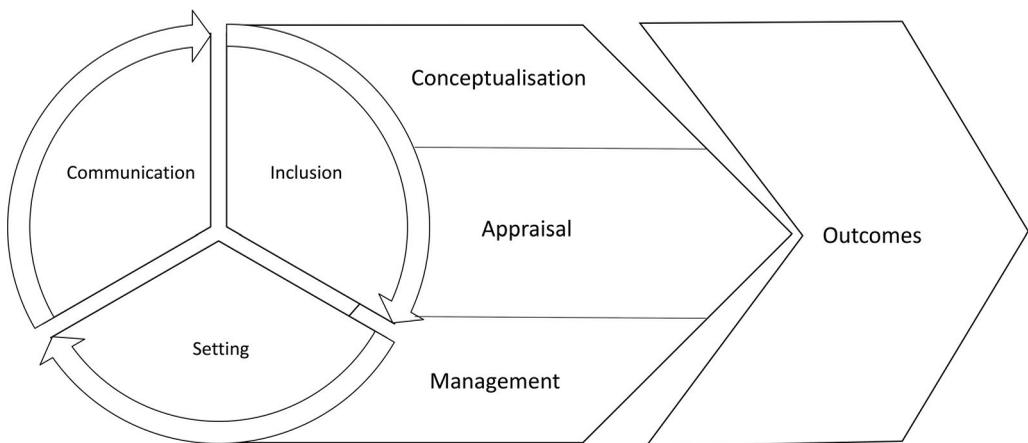


Figure 1. The Connection between Settings, Inclusion, and Communication, Informing Conceptualisation, Appraisal, Management, and Outcomes.

inclusive, democratic approach that necessitates decision-making based on broad values and interests, communication, and engagement with stakeholders, and considering the context (Van Asselt and Renn 2011). While Renn's (2008) typology focuses on systematic risks, as an alternative paradigm risk governance 'is introduced in opposition to the classical notions of risk assessment and risk management' (Van Asselt and Renn 2011, 433). Embodying an integrated approach is true also for IRG. We will focus more on the '*alternative paradigm as an integrated approach*', aspect, and conceptualisation of IRG. The IRG approach draws on a 'transparent (inclusive) governance' model, which emphasises the inclusion of stakeholders (e.g., public sector, academic institutions, politicians, economic actors, NGOs, civil society organisations, and the private sector), whose social, economic, scientific, and technical considerations inform the assessment, management, and communication of risk (Renn 2008; Van Asselt and Renn (2011)). These key risk management activities are informed by the social context in which the actors engage in risk management (Löfstedt et al. 2000). As Paul (2017) suggests, IRG can promote efficiency, effectiveness, transparency, and de-politicisation. The former two increase the capacity of risk handling, whilst transparency relates to the use of a consistent, predictable, and fair control mechanism. Lastly, the de-politicisation aspect is where the control mechanisms become a managerial and technical matter.

Dimensions of inclusive risk governance

Precautionary strategies have brought significant impediments to the table, which increase the relevance of an effective approach to managing migration. This article suggests that risk management requires a holistic and multi-stakeholder approach, where the context and expectation of the stakeholders are taken into consideration through proactive inclusion. In particular, the type of approach needed is one that enables policymakers to act on an inclusive framework to conceptualise, appraise, manage migration, informed by open, transparent, and inclusive communication based on effective stakeholder engagement, and a reflection of the societal context (see Van Asselt and Renn 2011), in which threat risks are mitigated and opportunity risks (benefits) are enhanced to strike a balance between competing factors, different stakeholder interests, and short- and long-term benefits for current and future generations.

The institutional design of IRG in migration governance may vary by migration traditions of the respective country and the range of actors involved in public policymaking.

In the following discussion, we will establish the reflection of paradigms based on seven interrelated dimensions identified for managing migration, indicated in Table 1. The dimensions that we commend form a tentative typology of institutional designs of migration governance, inspired by Van Asselt and Renn's (2011) works and the existing literature, and are based on ideal types with intended outcomes. The discussion will speak for and against paradigms.

Settings: Orbiting around external and internal contexts

The first dimension involves understanding the *settings* that orbit around external and internal contexts. Managing migration is subject to uncertainty, arising from a multiplicity of sources both internal and external that can affect outcomes and objectives both positively and negatively. The process of IRG functions upon many internal and external circumstances and their interactions (Renn 2008; Van Asselt and Renn 2011). While their relative importance varies across contexts and cultures, they are understood as an integral part of the frame that characterises migration. Thereby, IRG provides a structure that facilitates understanding the internal and external contexts that also shape migration, as well as changes and trends, to develop relevant mitigation strategies.

The settings dimension is crucially important, as how migration brings both costs and benefits depend on the economy, political climate, and demographic trends. It is important to be

clear about the scope of migration, which is often determined by internal and external contexts. Large-scale migration, global economic downturn, often generate multiple perceptions that are contingent rather than absolute (see De Haas et al. 2018). The interaction of these settings can have a range of impacts on the various categories of stakeholders affected. The IRG model for enhancing migration governance is more suitable when considering external and internal settings.

Conceptualisation: a Well-Balanced perspective on costs and benefits

The second dimension serves to clarify the *conceptualisation* that characterises the scope, objectives, strategy, and overall direction of policy (Van Asselt and Renn 2011). The *conceptualisation* of migration that can bring different sorts of costs and benefits to individuals and societies could enhance and facilitate a comprehensive and broader migration management perspective. Costs and benefits conceptualisation draws attention to the need for considering the diverse outcomes of migration, as they potentially affect diverse stakeholders in positive or negative ways. Some impacts may be perceived as a benefit by some and a cost by others, comprehensively beyond purely economic aspects comprising social, cultural, and humanitarian ones. Such conceptualisation is significant for the IRG model. It makes it clear, for instance, that there must be institutional arrangements to ensure a well-balanced perspective on the costs and benefits of migration. This calls for a paradigm that can provide potential avenues to correspond better to the diversity of impacts.

Precautionary approaches draw on cost-based aspects that can serve a narrow restrictionist function. Negative connotations, underpinned by the concept of security nexus, appeal to those who hold restrictive views on immigration, allowing defensive strategies to be developed to address threat-based prospects. In such circumstances, the interpretation and relevance of knowledge have frequently been more centred on threat management, with both approaches only following a certain managing framework that includes a variety of avoidance strategies. Huysmans (2000) suggests that securitisation actors mainly frame migration as a threat to the security of either the society or the economy, particularly the state's welfare system, positing that migration is framed as an economic burden that leads to job losses, reduced wages, and overstretched public services. On the other hand, reflecting De Haas et al.'s (2018) argument, these may not apply universally and may vary across countries. Threat-linked conceptualisations, however, have arguably given momentum to the regulatory pendulum, allowing it to shift too far towards the precautionary direction.

Governments constantly seek to achieve their desired aims, and uncertainty management is intimately associated with objectives, hence precautionary approaches appear to lack comprehensiveness and flexibility, potentially limiting their usefulness (Van Asselt and Renn 2011). We suggest that the precautionary approach is not proportionate to strike well-balanced perspectives on costs and benefits of migration. We propose that a more comprehensive IRG might be desirable to reduce asymmetries determined by the precautionary paradigm. One crucial aspect is the ability of a paradigm to guide well-balanced conceptualisation that should be applied via a holistic perspective on costs and benefits to different stakeholders. Further, knowledge specific to actors should go beyond gathering and structuring negative concerns and cost-related considerations.

Appraisal: Strengthened appreciation of perceptions and concerns of all affected stakeholders

The third dimension addresses the *appraisal (assessment)* of risks posed by migration. *The appraisal* is about identifying, predicting, and evaluating the effects of risk. In this regard, appraisal of the migration effect is performed based on comprehensive and holistic analysis, and using both qualitative and quantitative tools, such as modelling of impacts on stakeholders

(Van Asselt and Renn 2011). Appraisal based on balanced risk information enables actors to operationalise careful and sensible techniques to strike a balance. In such circumstances, IRG implementation is premised on a balanced appraisal capability to integrate and interpret the relevance of knowledge between each side of the boundary that envisions the likelihood of successful implementation (Renn 2008). This leads to a well-balanced approach that is more focused on a comprehensive appraisal and analysis of significant potentialities, recognising the interaction between contexts, objectives, and strategies. IRG can contribute to enhancing managing migration by influencing the assessment culture (Van Asselt and Renn 2011). Furthermore, IRG tends to promote a rational, scientific, and technical appraisal, in which scientific expertise plays an important role in providing insights into the construction of the approach (Renn 2008), which leaves little room for the problematics of politicisation (Paul 2017). As expected, the intense levels of attention in the migration agenda characterised by high levels of opposed opinions are likely to provoke the politicisation of migration favourable to TRM development and implementation. Migration policy is more prone to events and stories that are articulated with a negative tone than with a positive or neutral character.

From the appraisal perspective, different accentuations about the effects of migration—such as one-sided versus balanced information—have a critical impact, while the influence of strong negative consequences frames a precautionary approach. Inherently, securitisation and governmentality are influenced by unbalanced information (see Huysmans 2000; Bigo 2002; Ibrahim and Howarth 2018).

Indeed, the basic tenets of securitisation and governmentality seem particularly susceptible to the influences of negative concerns. In this regard, the TRM-based approaches are characterised by the more deeply held threat-centred assumptions by assessing migration as a threat to the host country's identity, culture, and way of living and as an economic burden (e.g., Rudolph 2003). Accordingly, it is evident in practice that the appraisal of the precautionary approaches has been tightly connected to restrictions and border control practices. As such, given the nature of the deep capabilities to embed preventative operations, the precautionary paradigms do possess significant benefits, such as appraising illegal migration.

However, despite their potential contributions, such paradigms may have drawbacks that usually do not consider the twofold characteristics of migration and its surrounding context. The value conveyed by migration policy is dependent on both the range and the quality of the balanced appraisal. We argue that IRG principals likely counteract the narrowness by providing a more evaluative understanding and balance-relevant problem solving that breaks down silo-based risk management and addresses the inconsistencies that might be produced by silos (Renn 2008). More specifically, IRG can promote a positive appraisal culture to increase the level of awareness of impacts on all affected stakeholders as well as changes in attitudes and beliefs towards migration. Thus, in turn they enable more appropriate strategies to be designed to implement a well-balanced migration policy successfully.

Management: Strengthened capacity of incorporating appropriate strategies

The fourth dimension points to the *management (response strategies)* processes. Management is concerned with the strategies, devices, processes, and capabilities to embed IRG into the policy domain with its own ways of thinking, methods, and tools that are needed to deliver the intended outputs (Van Asselt and Renn 2011). A well-balanced migration policy should have an integrated vision of risk management rather than focusing on prevention and restriction measures. The management processes of IRG can enhance selecting the most appropriate response option(s). Following both bottom-up and top-down processing, IRG draws on a range of strategies to balance competing objectives, interests, and viewpoints associated with cost- and benefit-oriented perceptions of the stakeholders (Renn 2008).

Unlike IRG, precautionary paradigms traditionally follow a top-down approach in which the securitisation actor constructs the threat and proposes urgency and exceptionalism as a management tool for prevention and reduction of risk, wherein the primary responsibility is to provide security (Buzan et al. 1998).

Many scholars on migration have linked such management as a potential driver of how current migration is framed through the development, implementation, and diffusion of precautionary strategies that have led to the salience of the security nexus, which represents a central challenge for migration governance (Huysmans 2000; Bigo 2002; Ibrahim and Howarth 2018).

IRG, on the other hand, can enhance developing response strategies in a broader range than solely cost-focused management, which proactively addresses new trends and changing patterns. Thus, a key reason to propose IRG as a viable approach to migration governance is the potential to enhance management strategies by the construction of instruments that support rather than undermine one other in the pursuit of consistent goals. Viability emerges from its strength in recognition of the relevance of the impacts of management processes and their potential economic, social, and humanitarian implications. Moreover, its effectiveness is strengthened by strategic coordination that allows management instruments to be linked to the stakeholders' perceptions, incorporating a plurality of forms of knowledge and values that extend beyond security and economic consideration to include demographic needs as well as moral and ethical elements on human rights grounds. -e.g., to improve the CIRAM based Frontex operations' weaknesses of supporting the perception of migration as threats-

Inclusion: Strengthened active participation of diverse stakeholders

The fifth dimension offers insight into *the inclusion (governance) dimension* that facilitates and enhances migration governance. Drawing on Van Asselt and Renn's (2011) suggestion, inclusion interconnectedly affects and can assist conceptualisation, appraisal, management, and communication of migration governance by drawing on and considering the knowledge, views, perceptions, values, needs, and expectations of stakeholders collaboratively. Inclusion is a key and significant characteristic of the IRG model. This significance is also in line with recognising that stakeholders' views on the costs and benefits of migration matter. Inclusion and active participation can increasingly be obtained through interactions with stakeholders that take place within social and cultural settings (Löfstedt et al. 2001; Van Asselt and Renn 2011). Inclusion can empower collaboration and bring together actors to clarify the conceptualisation, set the stage for appraisal, and promote the adjustment of needs and expectations.

In the context of IRG, inviting stakeholders into the governance process, those who are often marginalised within a precautionary paradigm, enables acquiring and applying knowledge and competences through participation that facilitates constructing a model in which migration can be assessed within its character and nature. Migration governance can be improved by the active inclusion and participation of a broad range of actors with different needs, expectations, and sustained interactions. Engagement with NGOs, civil society organisations, migration organisations, diaspora organisations, academic institutions, and the private sector also supports the establishment of a sense of inclusiveness and ownership of the migration issues among stakeholders, and provides moral obligations to assess humanitarian aspects that otherwise are often under considered.

Precautionary paradigms immensely centre on the role of securitisation actors (Huysmans 2000) and government (Ibrahim and Howarth 2018). Thus, elites are central to these paradigms that rely profoundly on governmental practices. The paradigm shifts from precautionary to governance are influenced by inclusion and participation of stakeholders. IRG is supposed to achieve and fulfil this shift by promoting such inclusion and participation and considering the context, in which the aforementioned balanced views persistently become the key to migration

management rather than cost-based issues within a politicised forum. The effectiveness, transparency, and de-politicisation aspects of IRG (Paul 2017) on managing migration are mainly driven by effective communication and the inclusion and participation of stakeholders (Van Asselt and Renn 2011).

The IRG framework provides a platform for a more informed debate on migration issues that facilitates a balanced view of the role and contribution of migration. Such a platform may also facilitate effective communication to counter the negative rhetoric against migrants, while enhancing the dialogue with multi-stakeholders for accountability. While very significant, the inclusion dimension cannot alone guarantee the success or failure of migration governance, as the making of such inclusion relies on effective and correct communication (Löfstedt 2015).

Communication: Appropriate, correct, and constructive dialogue

The sixth dimension refers to *communication*, whereby appropriate and correct communication are deliberated between stakeholders. The advancement of collaborative migration governance can be promoted by *appropriate and correct communication* (Löfstedt 2015). Communication can be seen as a catalyst that encourages a balanced conceptualisation of migration, brings the relevant stakeholders' knowledge and view into play, and promotes awareness and understanding of existing and emerging threats and opportunities. Drawing on Löfstedt's (2015) suggestion, a comprehensive conceptualisation and strategic assessment of migration are strengthened when diverse actors communicate adeptly. Mirroring what Renn (2008) noted and Löfstedt (2015) similarly suggested, communication accompanied by the participation of diverse actors with different views can lead to a more comprehensive and effective appraisal of migration, as well as what the relevant assessments mean and imply.

The appropriate and correct communication dimension is significant for the IRG model. It calls for a constructive dialogue between recipients that help make better-informed assessments (Renn 2008) and assist the public to understand migration and its outcomes better. This also leads to an improved understanding of the constraints and conditions that might affect the outcomes. The main idea behind the correct communication dimension is that appropriate and correct communication embrace engagement and deliberation that go far beyond one-way directional communication (Löfstedt 2015).

As Huysmans (2000) noted, precautionary approaches can also capture the political effect of threat-based communication, thus justifying strategies that normally take place during times of war (see also Ceyhan and Tsoukala 2002). In the same way, Aradau (2004) purports that securitisation-based communication might undermine democratic norms and reproduce circumstances that amplify and extend the need for extraordinary measures.

As Löfstedt (2015) shows, communication should take place in the correct manner, with the intended actions proposed and adhered to carefully. Theoretically, appropriate communication across stakeholders is very important and can provide policy formulation with transparent information about context, as well as context-specific benefits and downsides related to overall strategies.

Intended outcomes: Causing better outcomes to happen

Finally, the seventh dimension, *outcomes*, combines the first six in a governance approach for more effectively governing migration through IRG. IRG can affect management and *outcomes* that enhance all migration policies. Settings, active inclusion, and correct communication affect the formation of a comprehensive definition and appraisal and management of migration, which in turn impact broader outcomes (Renn 2008). In the IRG model, the attempt to develop a holistic design often represents conscious efforts to pull these elements together in a more coherent way, avoiding silos with an integrated strategy where the focus is on increasing the

level of involvement of stakeholders and collaboration, awareness of the impact on all affected parties, mutual trust and public confidence, acceptance, and attainableness of policies to yield better outcomes. Precautionary approaches start to develop by defining migration in a sufficiently narrow way that makes it easier to identify it as a threat, with a causal link running through from assessment to management to outcomes. Ironically, the precautionary philosophy has the potential to endorse the rise of problematisations as a side effect. The politicisation and securitisation of migration have shifted individual-level immigration attitudes towards a negative viewpoint (Ceyhan and Tsoukala 2002). Thus, the precautionary paradigm may produce lesser outcomes in terms of preferred output, but greater outcomes in terms of side effects, and such precautionary orientation can become more widespread despite inefficiency.

One can reasonably argue that such practices can also be developed within a IRG framework. Without denying pitfalls in risk politics (even typical policymaking created by the need to deal with increasingly complex policy problems can have its vulnerabilities), the proposed model re-conceptualises migration management in a way that renders a promising alternative to precautionary approaches while addresses some of their weaknesses, e.g., to improve the CIRAM based Frontex operations' weaknesses of supporting the perception of migration as threats.

The IRG model based on an inclusive good governance process must fulfil four conditions to reach a well-balanced outcome as well as overcome the weaknesses of precautionary paradigms to impede exploring migration as negative: (1) all affected stakeholders should be involved in the inclusion and active participation; (2) the participant stakeholders have to recognise that migration entails both costs and benefits to individuals, including migrants and societies as a whole; (3) it should *take account of the* impact on those and meet the needs of all parts affected by the policy, including humanitarian and human rights aspects; and (4) appropriate and correct communication should facilitate constructive dialogue and deliberation that help recipients make better choices. Incorporating these elements to support coherent goals renders the model a valid enabler for overcoming the weaknesses of precautionary paradigms, as it acts consistently to produce better policy outcomes.

The point is that in all accounts of the IRG paradigm, *the shift from the TRM approach* based on sole threats (cost) to a holistic risk management approach, taking the construction of instruments that support rather than undermine one other in the pursuit of consistent goals as a starting point, is considered of paramount importance, underpinning the key stipulation of the new paradigm.

More recently, research attention has focused on the way that migration policies can strike a well-balanced perspective on the costs and benefits of migration. The Canadian immigration policy may be most exemplary, as it gave rise to a well-balanced approach as a viable model. Trebilcock (2019, 846) finds that Canadian exceptionalism in contemporary immigration policy draws on an expansionist and non-discriminatory immigration policy that "the truth probably lies at neither end of this spectrum, but rather as is typically the Canadian way somewhere in the middle." Driven by adjusting both the volume and composition of the immigrant intake to the meet needs of Canada and ethical obligations, such a well-balanced approach has not generated a dysfunctional social, economic, and political environment in Canada. Conversely, the public consider such policies as economically, socially, and culturally beneficial, on balance, to citizens of Canada (Trebilcock 2019).

As a further example of an inclusive and well-balanced approach and its possible consequences, Wright (2015, 311) indicates that the preferences of government institutions combined with organised interests of stakeholders reflect established approaches of expansive regulation in 'traditional destination states' such as Australia and Canada. Examining the extent to which Australia's liberal migration regime implemented a well-balanced approach, Wright (2015) finds that the preferences of stakeholders, key actors, and institutions involved in policymaking influence the policy preferences of relevant stakeholders, which in turn influence immigration policy outcomes. This demonstrates the importance of 'non-market' and 'market' factors in shaping Australia's immigration policy.

Similarly, analysing immigration policy in Sweden – formerly one of the most restrictive labour immigration countries but which suddenly became one of the most liberal ones – Boräng and Cerna (2019) find that the weakening dominance of unions provided an opportunity for other actors to participate and shape policies in this domain. Accordingly, constructive dialogue in particular between employers and political parties influenced the preferences that facilitated engagement and participation of other actors to formulate well-balanced policy alternatives and to reform Swedish migration policy.

By analysing balanced migration policies, these authors demonstrate that a paradigm of inclusive governance that incorporates the engagement of various stakeholders through inclusive and participatory engagement that integrates various stakeholder perspectives, as well as considerations of the broader contexts in which migration is governed, can provide an important framework to strike a balance between the various interests and concerns. In this regard, studies have analysed various aspects of a holistic approach and find that a well-balanced perspective positively affects the success of migration policy. However, no study has systematically developed a IRG approach in migration policies critical to achieving a well-balanced implementation.

IRG as a viable approach merges aspects of risk management and inclusive governance that put the paradigm of inclusive governance demonstrated by those authors into practice for migration policymaking processes. It goes beyond TRM to include the involvement and participation of all affected stakeholders as well as concerns of all affected parties and considerations of the political, economic, social, and humanitarian contexts in which migration is appraised, communicated, and managed. With an adaptive and integrative capacity (Klinke and Renn 2012), IRG focuses on mitigating negative impacts (cost) while simultaneously enhancing positive impacts (benefit) of migration on host country individuals, the society, and the migrants themselves through inclusive and participatory engagement, effective communication, and constructive dialogue that integrates various stakeholder perspectives.

Conclusion

Migration encompasses costs and benefits for different actors. Hence, aspects other than security- and threat-nexus ones need to be heeded in a holistic and integrated model for consistent migration management. This article offers both a review and a critique of contemporary approaches to managing migration. It emphasises the growing relevance of a viable model, one that handles migration best due to a focus on balancing the costs and benefits of migration on the host society and inhabitants, as well as the migrants. In this article, it is argued that the benefit and opportunity aspects are indispensable realities of migration, and so migration governance is not just about devising tools to prevent cost and downside impacts, but is also about policy design and implementation revolving around the construction of migration policy expected to produce better policy outcomes. As a result, this corresponds better to the diversity of the migration policy context.

Three different approaches have been discussed. First, drawing on Buzan et al.'s (1998) securitisation theory, we concentrated on the migration security nexus. Next, we centred our analysis on the governmentality logic suggested by Foucault (1980), and finally focusing on governance, IRG, taking Renn's (2008) work as its starting point. In the former two models, migration management is guided by the TRM principle based on security- and threat-nexus. In the latter, integrated and holistic risk management is applied to manage migration where emphasis is placed on four conditions that governance procedure needs to fulfil: (1) inclusion and active participation of all affected parts; (2) holistic perspective of costs and benefits of migration; (3) considering the impact on and meeting the needs of all people affected; and (4) correct communication that facilitates constructive dialogue.

The literature has posited that migration is managed through TRM-based approaches informed by utilisation of exceptional measures and governing through precautionary risk (Ceyhan and Tsoukala 2002). However, these approaches tend to keep the assessment, management, and communication along a threat-based track, one that might not allow for management of all impacts (costs and benefits), and which may become increasingly inappropriate to consider this impact on different stakeholders and meet the needs of all parties affected.

TRM-based approaches encompass a broad array of extraordinary and urgent procedural means and mechanisms by which the perceived downside potentialities (cost) of migration can be handled. There is over-reliance on the perspective of negative outcomes at the expense of potential opportunities, and on the dominance of state security at the expense of human security. The exceptional politics informed by extraordinary and urgent procedurals might also undermine democratic normality and reproduce circumstances that could amplify and extend the need for extraordinary measures (Aradau 2004).

In this context, analytical and practical aspects of TRM-based approaches might hinder understanding the complexity of dependencies of managing migration. This narrowness constitutes a significant weakness. Scholars have made significant progress towards understanding the shortcomings of threat-oriented approaches, but there exists a growing pressure for a viable alternative model.

To address this myopia and the potential impediment posed by TRM-based approaches, the IRG model is suggested. Applying a holistic and integrated approach to migration governance, IRG has the benefit of constructing a migration policy with coherent goals and consistent instruments that support each other in producing better results in terms of both the process and its outcomes. Furthermore, this model will allow for an account that is more sensitive to context, considering meeting the needs of all parts affected than the state security dominance generated from the securitisation approach. It will, therefore, correspond better to an inclusive and comprehensive multi-stakeholder framework to evaluate, appraise, manage, and communicate migration. The IRG approach will be informed by constructive and correct communication, and inclusive and effective stakeholder engagement of all affected parties. With more awareness of the conditions outlined above, IRG could more strategically smooth asymmetries in migration governance between state and human security.

Specific issues where further investigations are needed include the question of participation and inclusion, the role of public authorities, the role of dialogue in the constructive communication process, and the effects of holistic governance on migrants and humanitarian aspects. Further stimuli for developing future research might be as follows: the extent to which stakeholder engagement can enhance a well-balanced distribution of costs and benefits of migration; the extent to which the context can facilitate pursuing the right strategy and executing migration governance appropriately; and what performance metrics can be used to evaluate the effectiveness and efficiency of migration governance. The imperfection of IRG and whether such an approach is likely to be observed within the subcategories of migration typology, such as forced migration, are questions for future research.

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