

Solidarity as a missing value in times of the migrant and refugee crises in the EU Marta Pachocka

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"The role of European values in times of the political and socio-economic challenges in Europe"

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Migration and asylum landscape in Europe/the EU – the general picture of the so-called 'crisis' of 2014+

- Migration to Europe is not a new phenomenon.
- The scale and pace of migration to Europe intensified and increased significantly in recent years.
- The term **'crisis'** is often used in media coverage, political discourse and academic debate to describe the current situation.
- Early signs of the crisis in Europe/the EU have been observed since 2011 (the outbreak of the Arab Spring).
- The data provided by the UNHCR, IOM, Frontex and EASO reveal that the number of people moving to Europe started to grow rapidly **in 2014** on a year-to-year basis.
- So far, **2015** is considered to be **the peak year** of the crisis in terms of numbers.
- 2016 decrease in the number of migrants coming to the EU, but the overall situation at the EU's external borders remains challenging (mainly caused by fewer migrants arriving in Greece from Turkey as a result of the EU-Turkey statement of March 2016 and the introduction of strict border-control measures in Western Balkan countries, which closed the Balkan route)
- 2017 the end of the crisis?

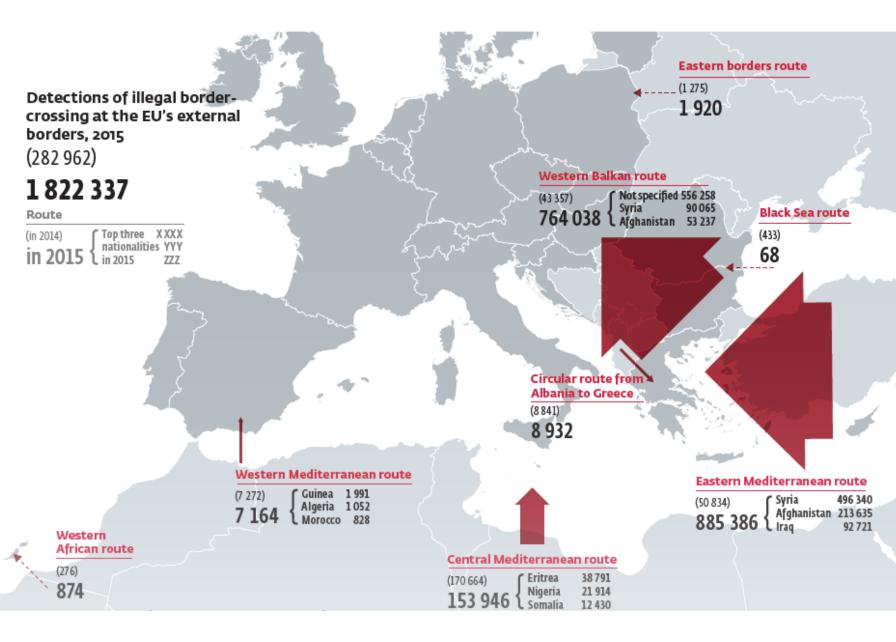
More than 1.8 million **detections of illegal border-crossing** between BCPs along the EU external borders in 2015 (a 6-fold increase when compared with 2014).

Three migratory routes to the EU of key importance due to the highest number of arrivals:

- 1. Eastern Mediterranean route (885.4 thousand), mostly the arrivals on the Greek islands of the Aegean Sea
- 2. Western Balkan route (764 thousand) with most cases detected mainly on Hungary's and Croatia's borders with Serbia
- **3.** Central Mediterranean route (154 thousand)

Many cases of illegal entry to the EU were not detected and not recorded.

Moreover, many migrants lost their lives or went missing while attempting to reach Europe.



Source: Frontex, Annual Risk Analysis 2016.

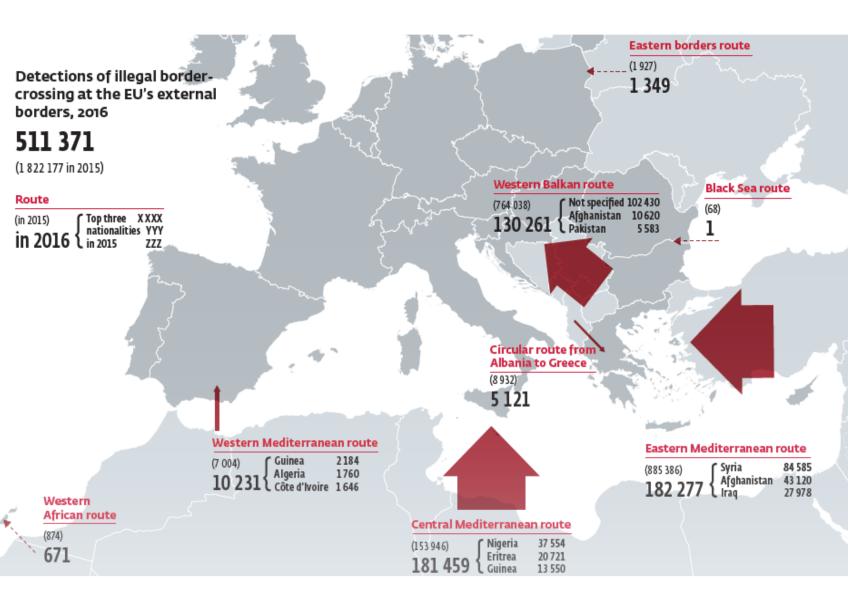
More than 0.5 million **detections of illegal border-crossing** between BCPs along the EU external borders in 2016 (1.8 million in 2015).

Three migratory routes to the EU of key importance due to the highest number of arrivals:

- **1. Eastern Mediterranean** route (182.3 thousand)
- 2. Central Mediterranean route (181.5 thousand)
- **3. Western Balkan route** (130.1 thousand)

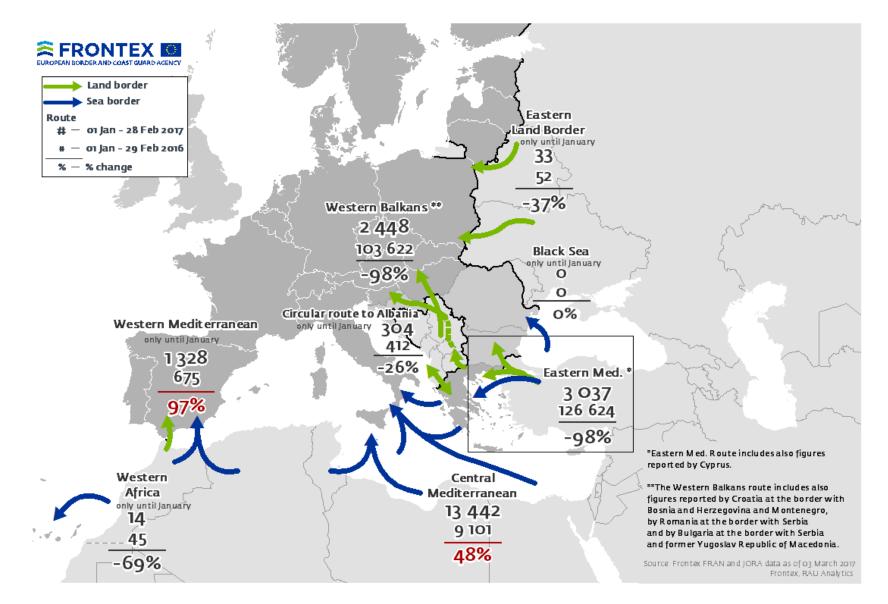
As in 2015:

- Many cases of illegal entry to the EU were not detected and not recorded.
- 2. Moreover, many migrants lost their lives or went missing while attempting to reach Europe.



Source: Frontex, Annual Risk Analysis 2017.

EU external borders, February 2016 to February 2017



Source: Frontex, Press Pack, April 2017.

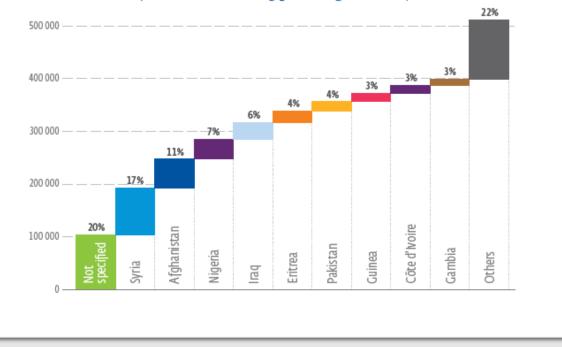


Figure 1. Detections of illegal border-crossing, by main nationalities (scale in absolute numbers, with labels showing percentages of total) in 2016

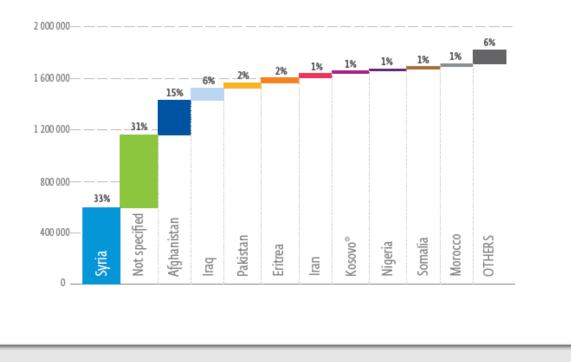
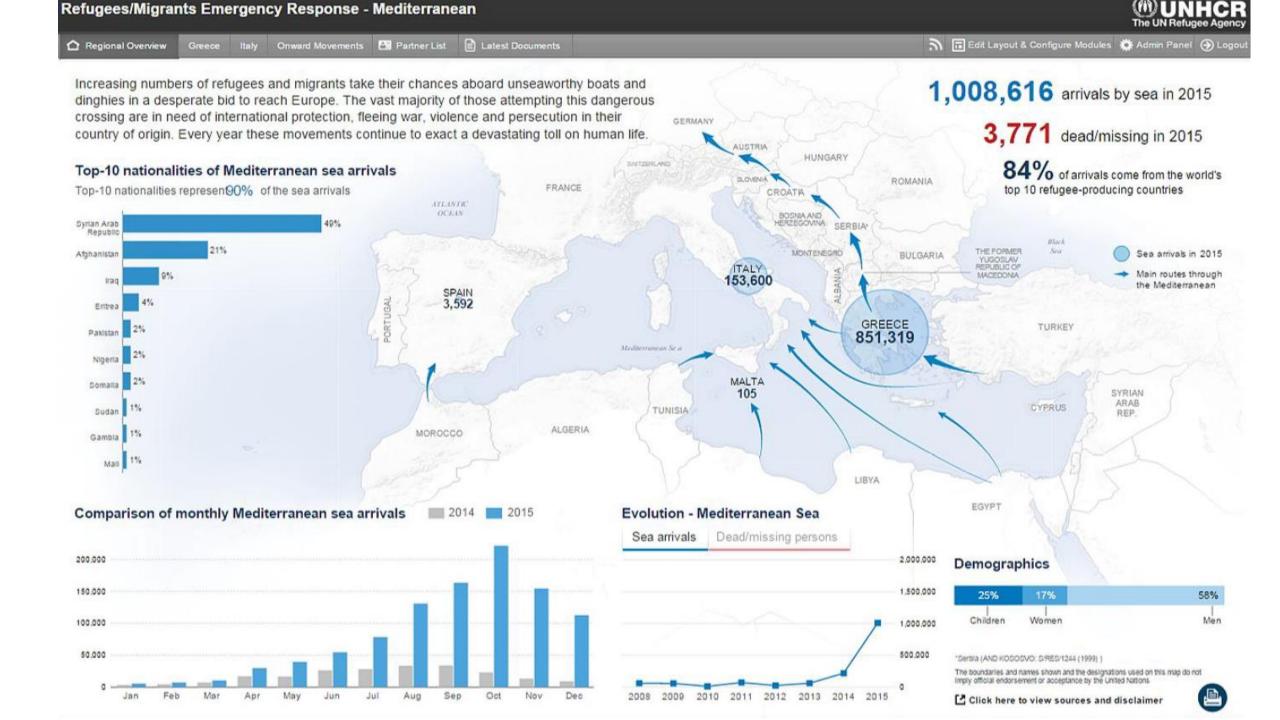


Figure 1. Detections of illegal border-crossing, by main nationalities in 2015

Source: Frontex, Annual Risk Analysis 2015 & 2016.





Mar

Jan

Feb

Apr

May

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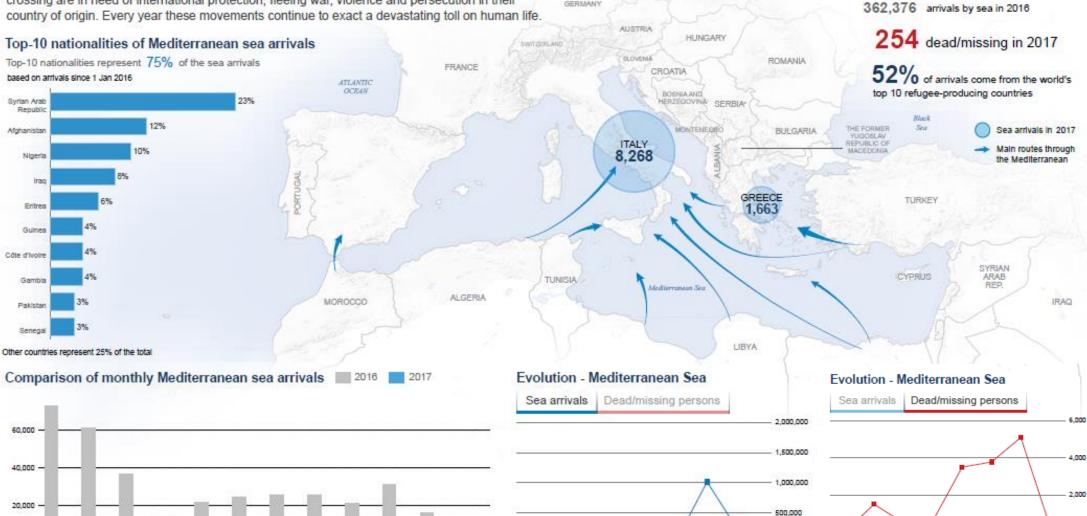
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Refugees/Migrants Emergency Response - Mediterranean 7 February 2017

9,931 arrivals by sea in 2017

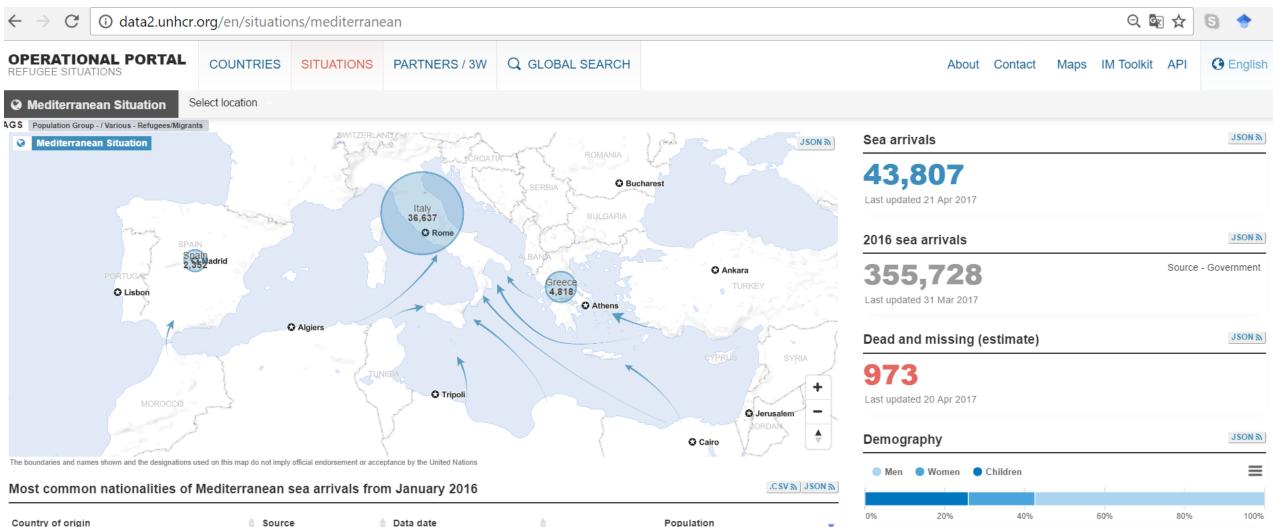
2010 2011 2012 2013 2014 2015 2016 2017

Increasing numbers of refugees and migrants take their chances aboard unseaworthy boats and dinghies in a desperate bid to reach Europe. The vast majority of those attempting this dangerous crossing are in need of international protection, fleeing war, violence and persecution in their country of origin. Every year these movements continue to exact a devastating toll on human life.



2008 2009 2010 2011 2012 2013 2014 2015 2016 2017

GERMANY

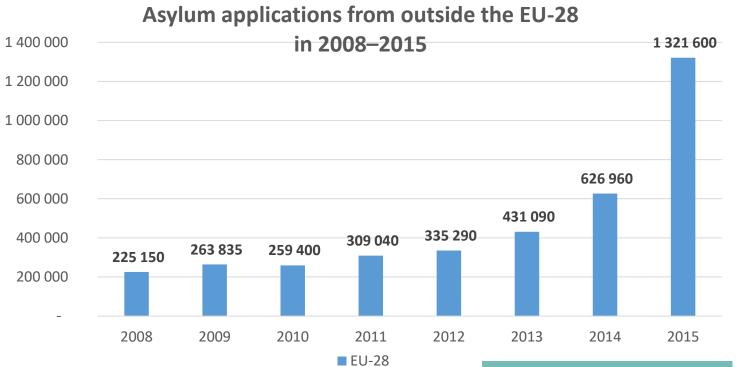


Country of origin	Source	🍦 Data date	Population	•	
Syrian Arab Rep.	UNHCR	31 Mar 2017	21.7%	83,570	
Afghanistan	UNHCR	31 Mar 2017	10.9%	42,009	
Nigeria	UNHCR	28 Feb 2017	10.2%	39,275	0/
Iraq	UNHCR	31 Mar 2017	7.3%	28,244	
Eritrea	UNHCR	28 Feb 2017	5.4%	20,765	And Dist Dist
Guinea	UNHCR	28 Feb 2017	4.2%	16,280	
Others	UNHCR	31 Mar 2017	4.1%	15,981	

Interagency Factsheet on refugee and migrant children and UASC in Europe

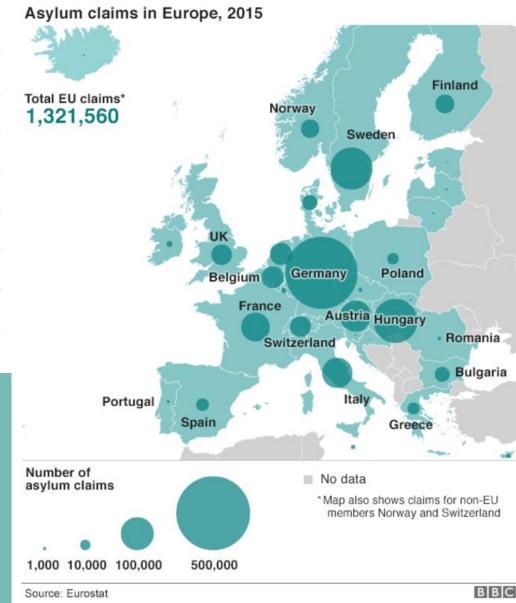


Interagency Factsheet on refugee and migrant children and UASC in Europe 2016 L Download C View details | 1.59 MB | Download Count: 2 594

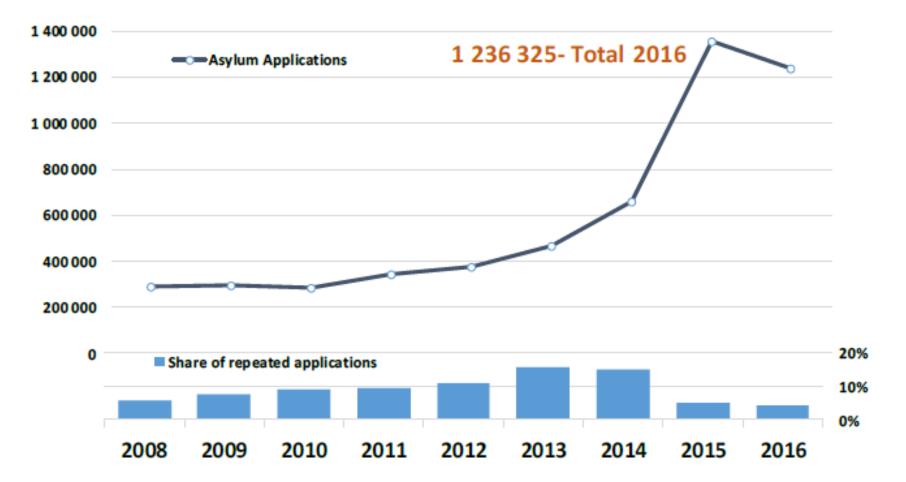


Between 2008 and 2015 the number of asylum claims in the EU-28 increased almost 5-fold, while just between 2014 and 2015 the growth was 2-fold. The top five main destination countries of applicants of international protection (asylum): 1. Germany 2. Hungary

- 3. Sweden
- 4. Austria
- 5. Italy

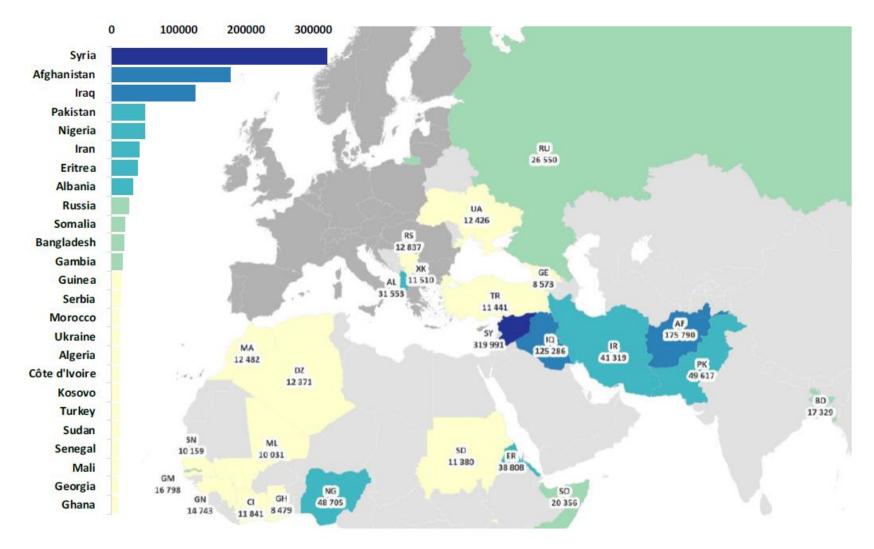


Asylum applications from outside the EU+ in 2008–2016



Source: EASO, Latest asylum trends – 2016 overview.

Main countries of origin of applicants in the EU+ in 2016



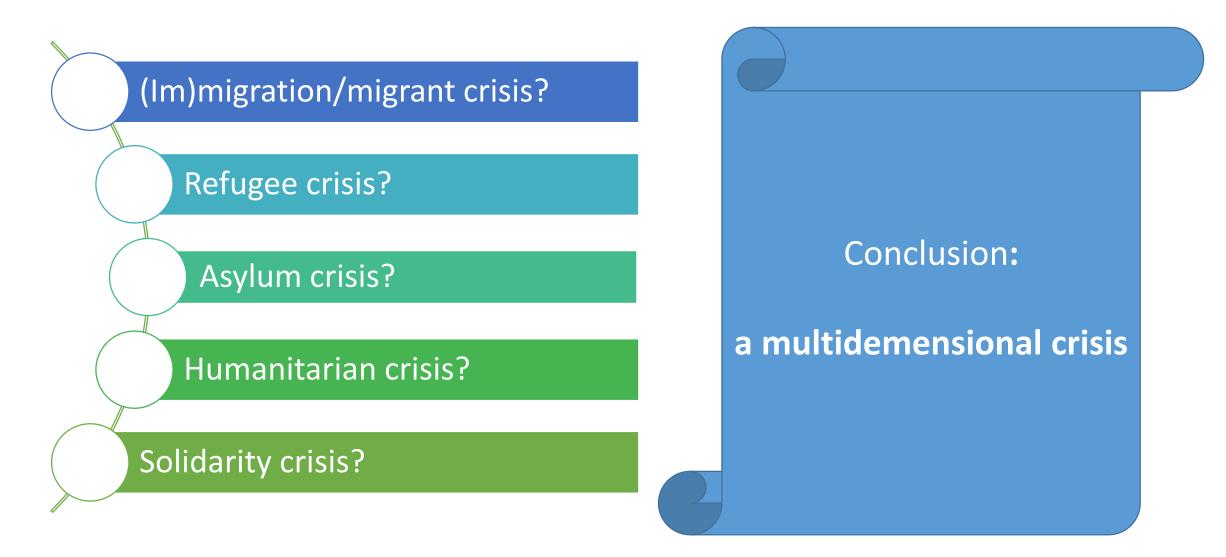
Source: EASO, Latest asylum trends – 2016 overview.

Number and type of decisions issued in first instance in the EU+ countries

	2015	2016	% change	0	250 000	500 000 0%	50%	100%
Syria	167 101	412 308	147%					
Afghanistan	18 504	106 636	令 476%					
Iraq	26 277	103 611	294%					
Eritrea	37 966	43 703	A 15%					
Albania	42 737	43 378	⇒ 1%					
Pakistan	18 599	32 523	☆ 75%					
Nigeria	17 448	25 553	A 46%					
Kosovo	36 757	23 310	Ng -37%					
Serbia	22 390	23 098	⇒ <u>3%</u>					
Iran	8 474	21 046	☆ 148%					
					All Decisions	Refugee s Negative	tatus Subsidi	ary protection

Source: EASO, Latest asylum trends – 2016 overview.

What kind of crisis are we talking about?



What is the geographical scope of the crisis?

- European crisis?
- EU crisis?
- Mediterranean crisis?





Crisis means: different stakeholders at various levels matter

International organizations

- UNHCR
- IOM
- OECD
- EU (incl. institutions & agencies)
 - EC
 - DG HOME
 - EMN
 - EASO
 - Frontex

Countries

- EU members (esp. transit and target countries)
- Third countries (esp. countries of origin)
- NGOs & Civil society

Crisis means: differences between EU Member States matter

- Migration and refugee crisis affected EU countries unevenly in terms of numbers and consequences:
 - frontline and first reception countries (e.g. Greece, Italy)
 - transitory countries (e.g. Hungary, Croatia, France)
 - target countries (e.g. Germany, the UK, Sweden)
 - countries not affected (e.g. Poland, Slovakia)
- Socio-economic, geographical, political and cultural circumstances of the EU Member States are different.
- EU Member States are diverse in terms of their migration and asylum past experience as well as the existing (if at all) policy tools.
- These factors have had a large impact on both:
 - the official positions taken by the governments of EU MS towards the crisis
 - the attempts to solve them at the EU level

The EU response to the migrant and refugee crises

- The EU was not prepared for the crises and there was no crisis management plan to be promptly implemented.
- **Two crucial issues** from the EU perspective:
 - 1. how to solve the crisis situation already found in the EU
 - priority level(s) to face it global, EU, national
 - the tools to be designed and implemented
 - stakeholders to be involved in the problem-solving process
 - 2. steps to be taken in order to prevent the deepening of the crisis and to halt the influx of new migrants to the EU
 - the interests of the Member States
 - the integrity of the EU
 - the overall political climate in the EU
 - the respect for international law in the area of human rights and refugees
- 2014: new migration policy as one of the ten priorities of the new Political Guidelines (EC)
- 2015: work started on the *European Agenda on Migration* (EAM) in March; announced by the European Commission on 13 May 2015

The EU response to the migrant and refugee crises

- Key actions of the *European Agenda on Migration* (2015):
 - I. Immediate action (emergency relocation and resettlement schemes, etc.)
 - II. Four pillars to manage migration better in medium and long term
 - **1. Reducing the incentives for irregular migration:** the focus is on addressing the root causes behind irregular migration in non-EU countries, dismantling smuggling and trafficking networks and defining actions for the better application of return policies.
 - 2. Saving lives and securing the external borders: this involves better management of the external border, in particular through solidarity towards those Member States that are located at the external borders, and improving the efficiency of border crossings.
 - **3. Strengthening the common asylum policy:** with the increases in the flows of asylum seekers, the EU's asylum policies need to be based on solidarity towards those needing international protection as well as among the EU Member States, whose full application of the common rules must be ensured through systematic monitoring.
 - 4. Developing a new policy on legal migration: in view of the future demographic challenges the EU is facing, the new policy needs to focus on attracting workers that the EU economy needs, particularly by facilitating entry and the recognition of qualifications.

The relocation and resettlement schemes

- The relocation and resettlement schemes were proposed under the Commission's Agenda as part of **immediate steps** to be taken by the EU and its members.
- The aim of the **relocation mechanism**: to transfer asylum seekers arriving in large numbers to the EU from the most affected EU countries such as Italy and Greece to other MS in accordance with the distribution key.
- The aim of the **resettlement mechanism**: to provide safe and legal transfer of an increasing number of people in need of international protection from third countries to the EU.
- The common distribution key for both EU relocation and resettlement schemes was based on measurable and weighted criteria to estimate the capacity of each Member State to take in refugees:
 - (1) the size of the population (40%) to reflect the capacity of a state to absorb a certain number of refugees,
 - (2) total GDP (40%) to show the absolute wealth of a state and the capacity of a national economy to absorb and integrate refugees,
 - (3) the average number of asylum applications and the number of resettled refugees per 1 million inhabitants in 2010–2014 (10%) to indicate the efforts made by a state in the recent past,
 - (4) the unemployment rate (10%) to reflect the capacity of a state to integrate refugees.
- Details of these mechanisms were subject to further works and adjustments, among other things, in terms of participating states, the total number of asylum seekers to be relocated or resettled in the EU and the key of their distribution among countries involved.

The relocation and resettlement schemes

- In September 2015 two Decisions concerning the temporary emergency relocation scheme, based on the EC proposals, were adopted by the Council.
- According to these decisions the total of 160 thousand asylum seekers from Italy and Greece (and from other MS if relevant) should be relocated by September 2017 to other EU MS to undergo the asylum procedure.
- In the meantime, the European Resettlement Scheme proposed by the Commission in May-June 2015 was adopted by the Council of the European Union on 20 July 2015 establishing a two-year resettlement system of over 22 thousand people in clear need of international protection from outside of the EU to the EU MS.
- Moreover, as a result of negotiations held since late November 2015, the EU and Turkey agreed in their statement of 18 March 2016 that for every Syrian returned from the Greek islands to Turkey another Syrian national will be resettled directly from Turkey to the EU. In this way, so called '1:1 mechanism' was set up as a part of resettlement scheme.

- The term 'EU/common migration and asylum policy' is widely used by the EU, Member States, researchers and experts to denote the EU policy in the field of migration, international protection, border management and other related issues.
- Chapter 2 Policies on border checks, asylum and immigration of the Title V Area of freedom, security and justice of the TFEU identifies there (sub-)policies, respectively focused on:
 - 1. immigration
 - 2. asylum
 - 3. border management and control
- This policy is subject to shared competence between the EU and the Member States.
- The personal scope of this policy refers to: citizens of EU Member States, third-country nationals and stateless persons.
- The territorial scope of this policy is defined by the borders of the area of freedom, security and justice which is marked by external borders of the territory of the EU Member States.

"The policies of the Union set out in this Chapter and their implementation shall be governed by the principle of <u>solidarity</u> and fair sharing of responsibility, including its financial implications, between the Member States. Whenever necessary, the Union acts adopted pursuant to this Chapter shall contain appropriate measures to give effect to this principle".

(article 80 TFEU)

- In 2016 slow progress in implementation of the EAM
 - some successes (European Border and Coast Guard Agency), some failures (relocation scheme), some questionable solutions (EU-Turkey statement)
 - limited effectiveness in general
- Why such a slow progress?
 - lack of solidarity (e.g. Visegrad Group countries)
 - shared competence in the field of migration and asylum (the area of freedom, security and justice is subject to shared competence between the EU and the Member States (art. 4 par. 2 (j) TFEU))
- Conclusions:
 - need to revise the foundations of the common policy?
 - need to rethink the foundations of the EU membership ?

- The EU has already worked out a complex acquis, important achievements, know-how and (good) practices in the field of migration and asylum with the cooperation and support of various stakeholders (Member States and third countries, international organizations, NGOs, scientific associations, research centers and networks dealing with migration, etc.).
- The common policy in its current form is **a kind of a political hybrid**, conditioned in practice by international law, EU *acquis* and national regulations. Both crises suddenly and brutally verified this policy and its foundations, conditions, tools and mechanisms, proving the need for a new, revisited one which will play to EU's strengths.
- In 2016 the full development and implementation of solutions to both crises at the EU level seemed impossible. The EU members continued to search for solutions at the national level or even avoid them at all, which weakened the common policy further.
- Migrant and refugee crises in the EU and its neighbourhood is evolving and the EU continues to draft its answer in specific areas, which causes and will be causing varied reactions from different Member States.

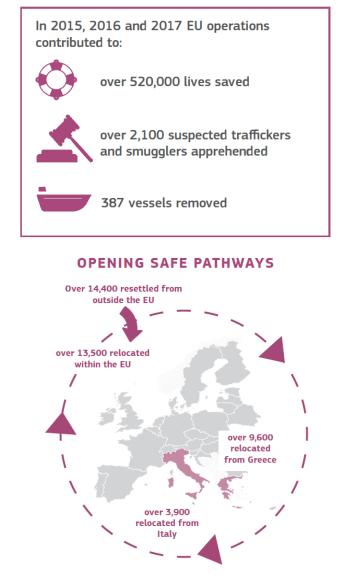
- The observed crisis situation requires a new, more European approach, what entails the use of all internal and external policies and tools at the EU disposal. Moreover, all actors concerned defined as "Member States, EU institutions, international organizations, civil society, local authorities and third countries" need to work together to make it a reality (EAM 2015).
- The elaboration of a truly comprehensive and common migration and asylum policy at the EU level requires:
 - much more time
 - a revision of the legal framework (but more legal acts does not mean better)
 - developing and sharing best (good) practices
 - adequate funding

<u>but also</u>

- solidarity and will to cooperate of all EU Member States!
- Additionally, a greater understanding and awareness of European societies in the field of migration processes, issues of human rights and mechanisms of integration of foreigners and migrants are necessary to design and effectively implement any policy.

Crisis – where are we today?

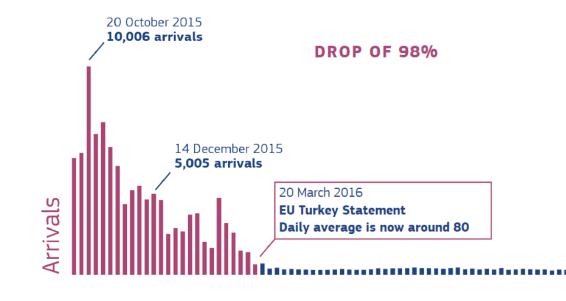
SAVING LIVES



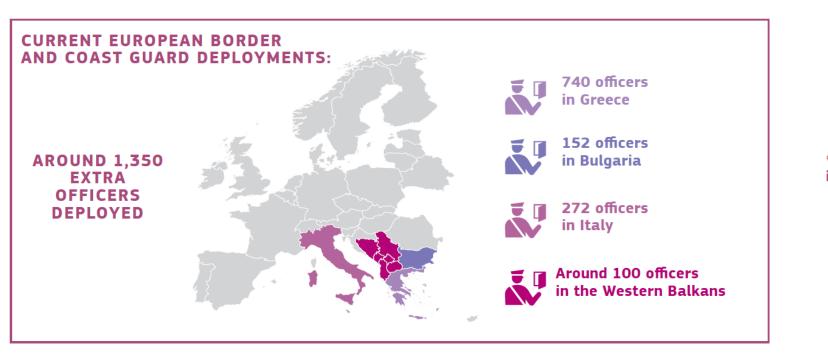
"Progressively, a more united approach to dealing with migration is emerging. But there is still work to be done to build up a coherent and comprehensive way of both reaping the benefits and addressing the challenges deriving from migration in the long term". (EC, March 2017)

Since the EU-Turkey Statement was agreed in March 2016, the daily crossing from Turkey to Greece went down from 10,000 in a single day in October 2015 to an average of around 80 a day. Overall, arrivals to the Greek islands from Turkey have dropped by 98%.

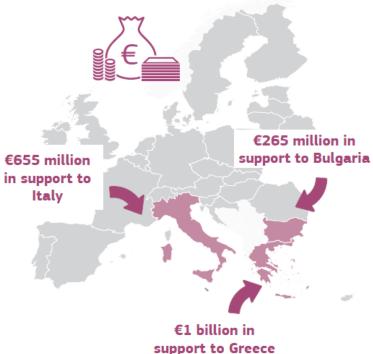
Almost one year later, that's **one million people who did not arrive in the European Union, and nearly 1,000 who did not lose their lives** trying.



Crisis – where are we today?



Since 2015:

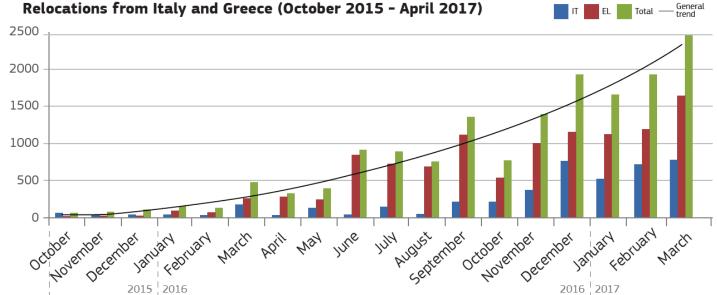


RELOCATION (state of play as of 10 April 2017)

Member States	Relocated from Italy	Relocated from Greece	Member States	Relocated from Italy	Relocated from Greece	
Austria	X	X	Lithuania	8	229	
Belgium	121	371	Luxembourg	61	216	
Bulgaria	X	29	Malta	47	65	
Croatia	9	10	Netherlands	521	1115	
Cyprus	10	55	Poland	X	X	
Czech Republic	X	12	Portugal	299	929	
Denmark	X	X	Romania	45	523	
Estonia	X	100	Slovenia	34	131	
Finland	602	738	Slovakia	X	16	
France	327	2830	Spain	144	742	
Germany	1481	2030	Sweden	39	X	
Hungary	X	X	Liechtenstein	X	10	
Ireland	X	382	Norway	679	343	
Latvia	27	243	Switzerland	471	78	

16 340 people have been relocated since the launch of the scheme

Relocated from Italy Relocated from Greece TOTAL 5001 11 339



Relocations from Italy and Greece (October 2015 - April 2017) IT EL

15 492 people have been resettled under both schemes so far*					
Member State/ Associated State	Total resettled under the 20 July scheme, including under the 1:1 mechanism with Turkey	Total resettled under the 1:1 mechanism with Turkey (since 4 April 2016)			
Austria	1643	x			
Belgium	752	242			
Czech Republic	52	x			
Denmark	481	x			
Estonia	20	20			
Finland	293	356 (outside of 20 July scheme)			
France	1425	686 (228 within 20 July scheme + 458 outside of 20 July scheme)			
Germany	1584	1584			
Ireland	520	x			
Italy	938	208			
Latvia	10	10			
Lithuania	25	25			
Luxembourg	x	98 (outside of 20 July scheme)			
Netherlands	1000	980 (556 within 20 July scheme + 424 outside of 20 July scheme)			
Portugal	12	12			
Spain	350	118			
Sweden	491	279 (269 within 20 July scheme)			
United Kingdom	2200	×			
Iceland	50	x			
Liechtenstein	20	x			
Norway	3107	x			
Switzerland	519	x			
TOTAL	15 492	A total of 4 618 people were re- settled from Turkey under the 1:1 mechanism; 3272 of whom through the scheme of 20 July			

* Based on information made available by Member States and Associated Countries as of 10 April 2017.



Thank you very much for your attention!