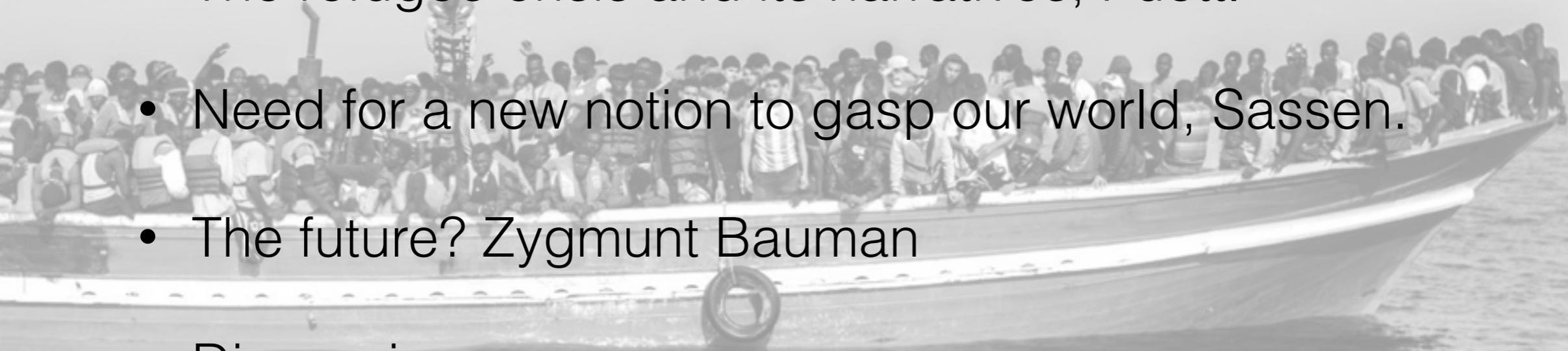




★ The Refugee Crisis ★
in Europe

CONTENT

- Statements. Ban Ki Moon. Bert Koenders.
- The Global Picture
- EUs migration and refugee policy - an overview
- The refugee crisis and its narratives, Puett.
- Need for a new notion to gasp our world, Sassen.
- The future? Zygmunt Bauman
- Discussion



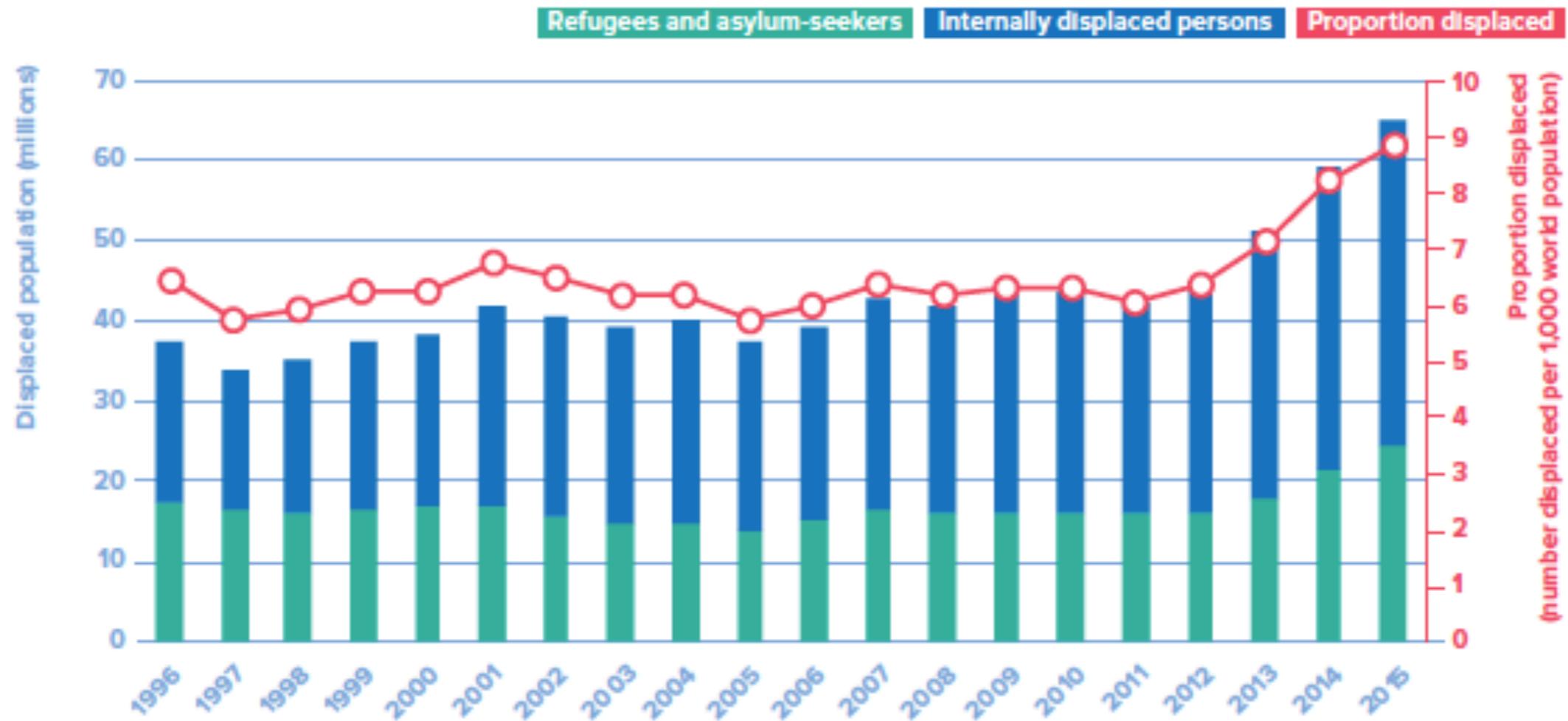
“We are facing the biggest refugee and displacement crisis of our time. Above all, this is not just a crisis of numbers; it is also a crisis of solidarity”

- Ban Ki Moon, former UN Secretary General
(source: UNHCR report 2015)

Video Bert Koenders,
Minister Foreign Affairs to the Netherlands, 2016:
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?
time_continue=2&v=4tsbVTQa5tl](https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=2&v=4tsbVTQa5tl)

The Global Picture

Fig.1 Trend of global displacement & proportion displaced | 1996 - 2015 (end-year)



The Global Picture

People on the move – a new global (dis)order?

Breakdown of international rules which formerly mediated between of individual migration and geopolitical rivalry

- *emerge of globalizing economies*
- *wealth creation and migration control*

Migrant's agency – i.e. their resourcefulness and sense of initiatives:

- *global 'strings of peoples'*

The Global Picture

Key Migration Trends at a Glance

37.3Mil in 1996 to 65.3Mil Forced Displaced Migrants in 2015 - increase of 75%

UNHCR report *World at War*, in 2015:

- global forced displacement 65.3Mil
- 21.3 Mil refugees
- 3.2 Mil asylum-seekers,
- 2Mil. applications in the EU

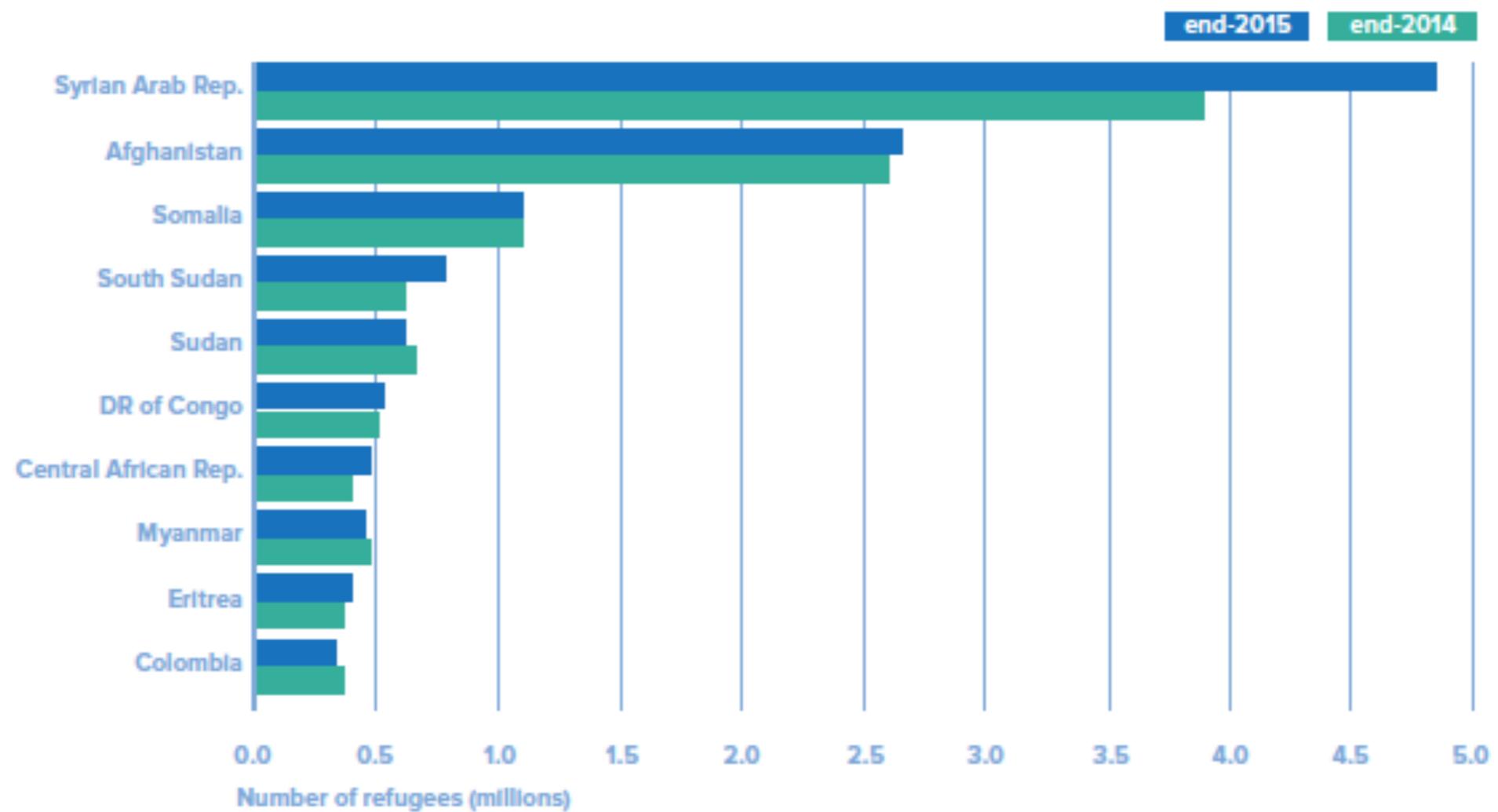
24 persons were displaced every minute in 2015

Top of the iceberg

- 60% of the 65.3Mil in 2015 are IDPs
- 8.6Mil remained within their own countries.
- 85% fled to neighbouring regions.
- Developing regions hosted 86% of the world's refugees.
- Top host countries are Turkey, Pakistan, Lebanon, Iran, Ethiopia, and Jordan

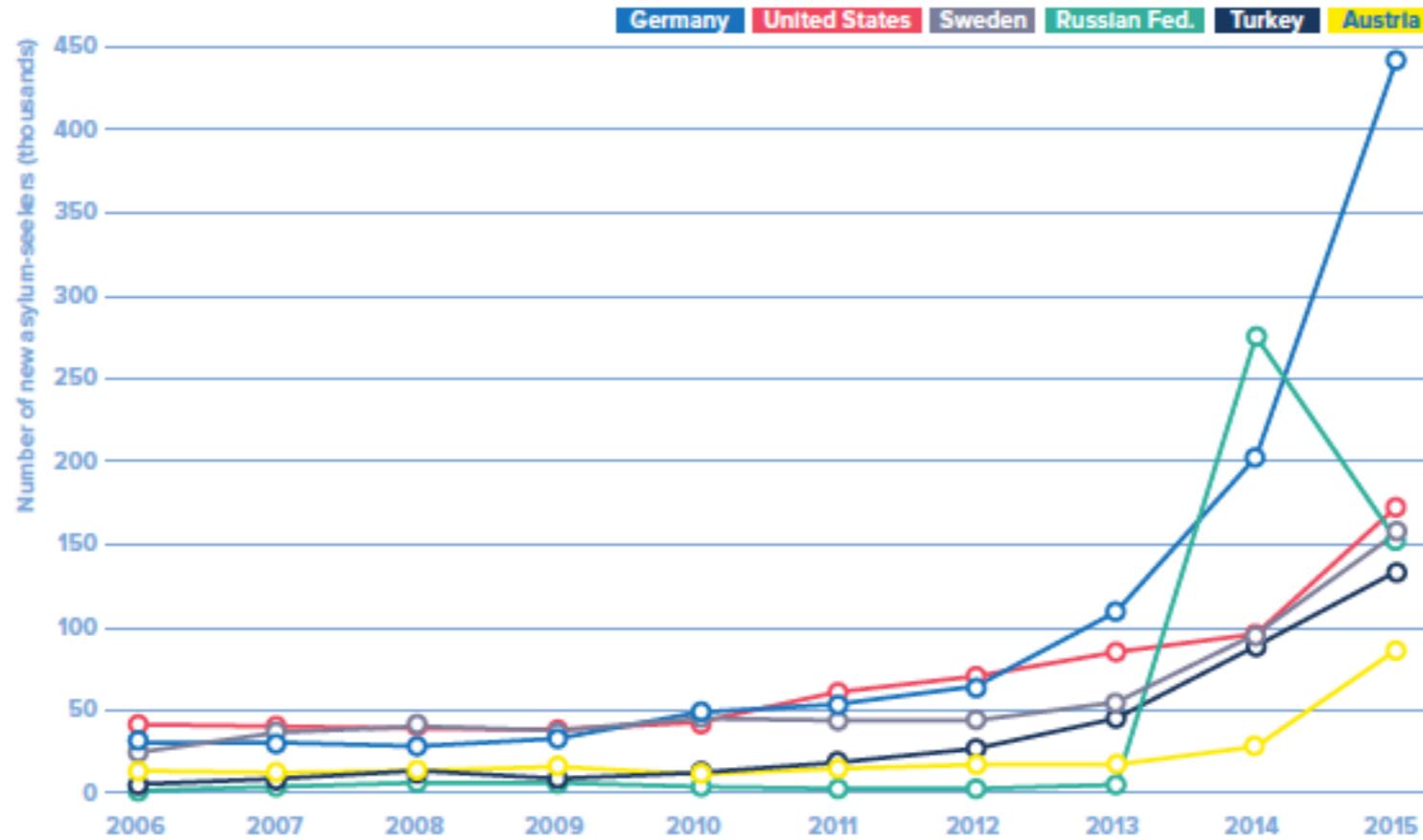
The Global Picture

Fig.4 Major source countries of refugees | 2014 - 2015 (end-year)



The Global Picture

Fig.16 Main destination countries for new asylum-seekers | 2006-2015



The Global Picture

Fig.5 Number of refugees per 1 USD GDP (PPP) per capita | end - 2015

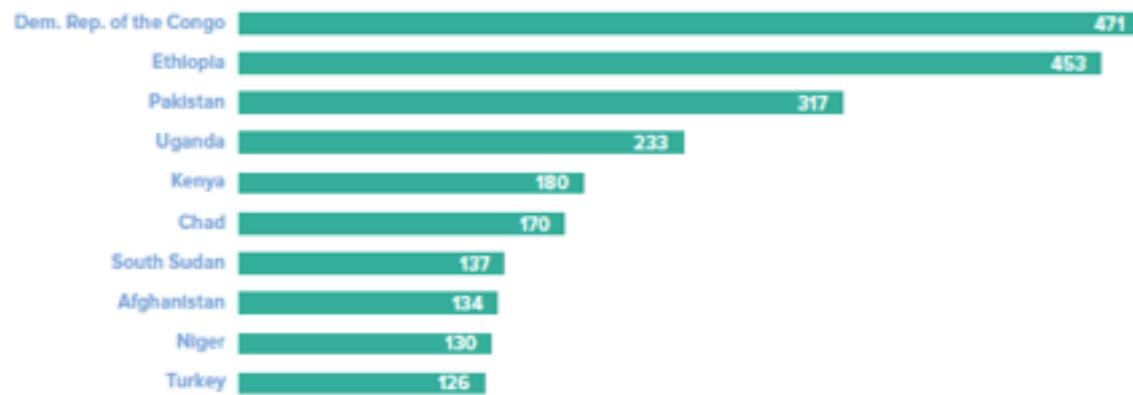
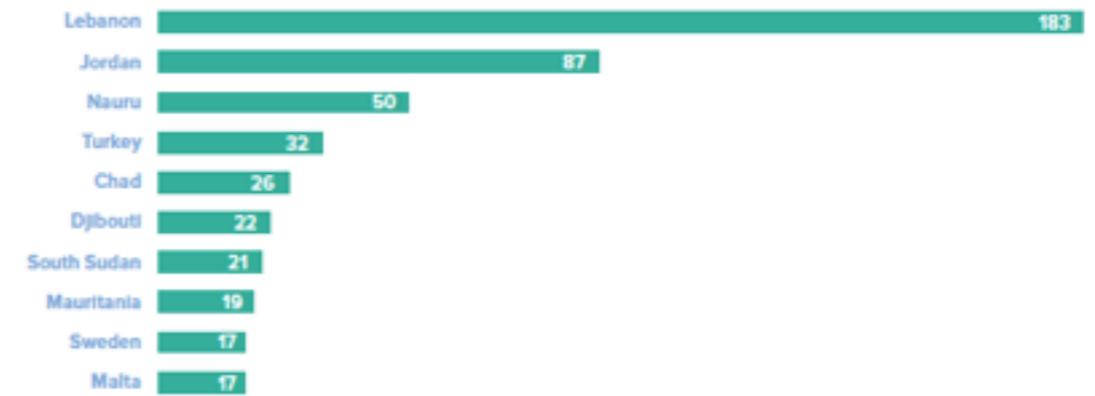


Fig.6 Number of refugees per 1,000 inhabitants | end - 2015



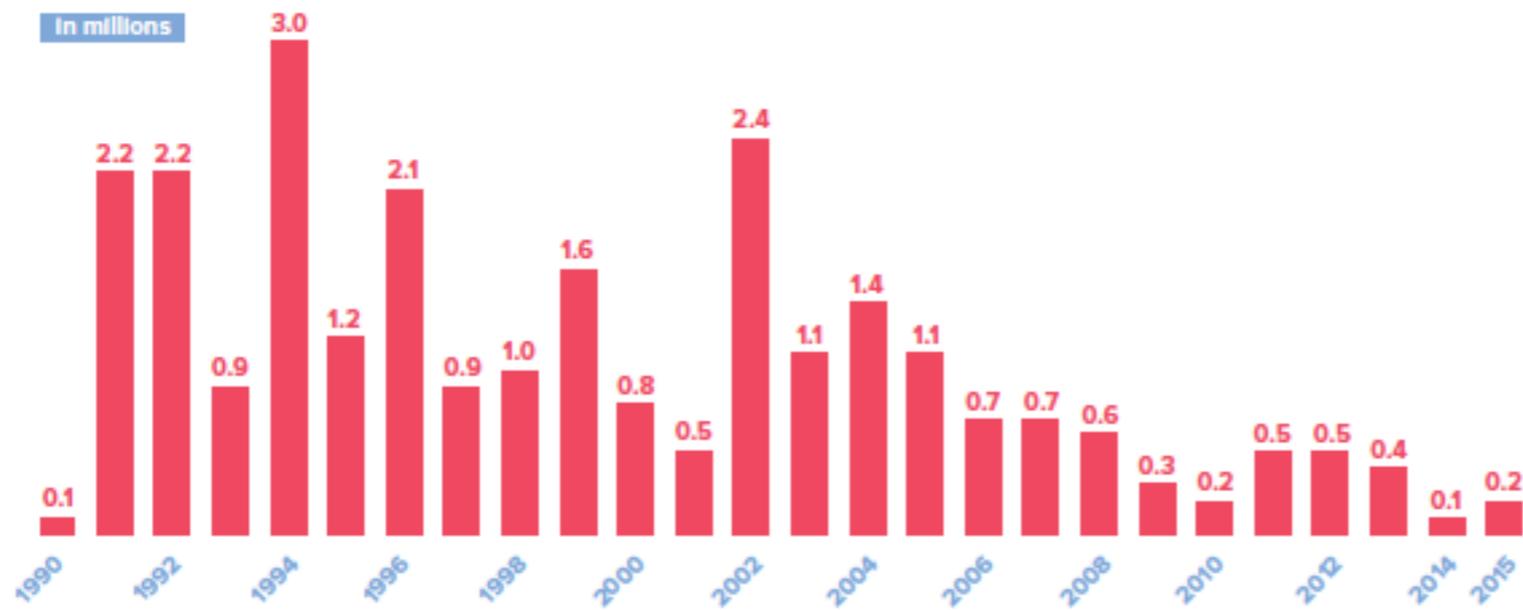
The Global Picture

3 Basic working assumptions on drivers of human mobility

- return after spikes [graphic]
- green shoots of stability/geopolitical hotspots (i.e. Libya, Azia)
- build cohesive national communities within fixed borders

The Global Picture

Fig.9 Refugee returns | 1990-2015 (end-year)



The Global Picture

Twelve migration trends

- *European life based on a sedimentary way of life*
- *From homo Sovieticus to homo economicus*
- *New push-and-pull dynamics of migration*
- *Demographic growth*
- *‘Circular migrants’*
- *Environmental changes*
- *The global middle class rises, but economies are increasingly illiberal.*
- *Strings of people*
- *The promise of the middle class, i.e. ‘Migration hump’*
- *Modernization thesis’*

Pascal Lamy (2013), ‘while the existence of a dominant middle class correlates with stability [...] the emergence of a large middle class is often accompanied by political and social unrest’. Thus, in his case even successful economies with strong measure of wealth redistribution may face revolt and societal tumult.

- *Decline of middle class*

The Global Picture

The Refugee Project

‘The Refugee Project looks beyond the crises that are currently making headlines and allows viewers to explore all refugee migrations around the world since 1975, completing UNHCR data with complementing narratives.

Conclusions that we can make?

<http://www.therefugeeproject.org/>

EUs migration and refugee policy - An overview



EUs migration policy - An overview

Key instances:

The EU Commission: Commissioner for Migration, Home Affairs and Citizenship: Dimitris Avramopoulos.

Operational cooperation between EU States is coordinated by **FRONTEX**, The European Border and Coast Guard Agency. Internal and external borders.

The European Border and Coast Guard Agency, established 2015.

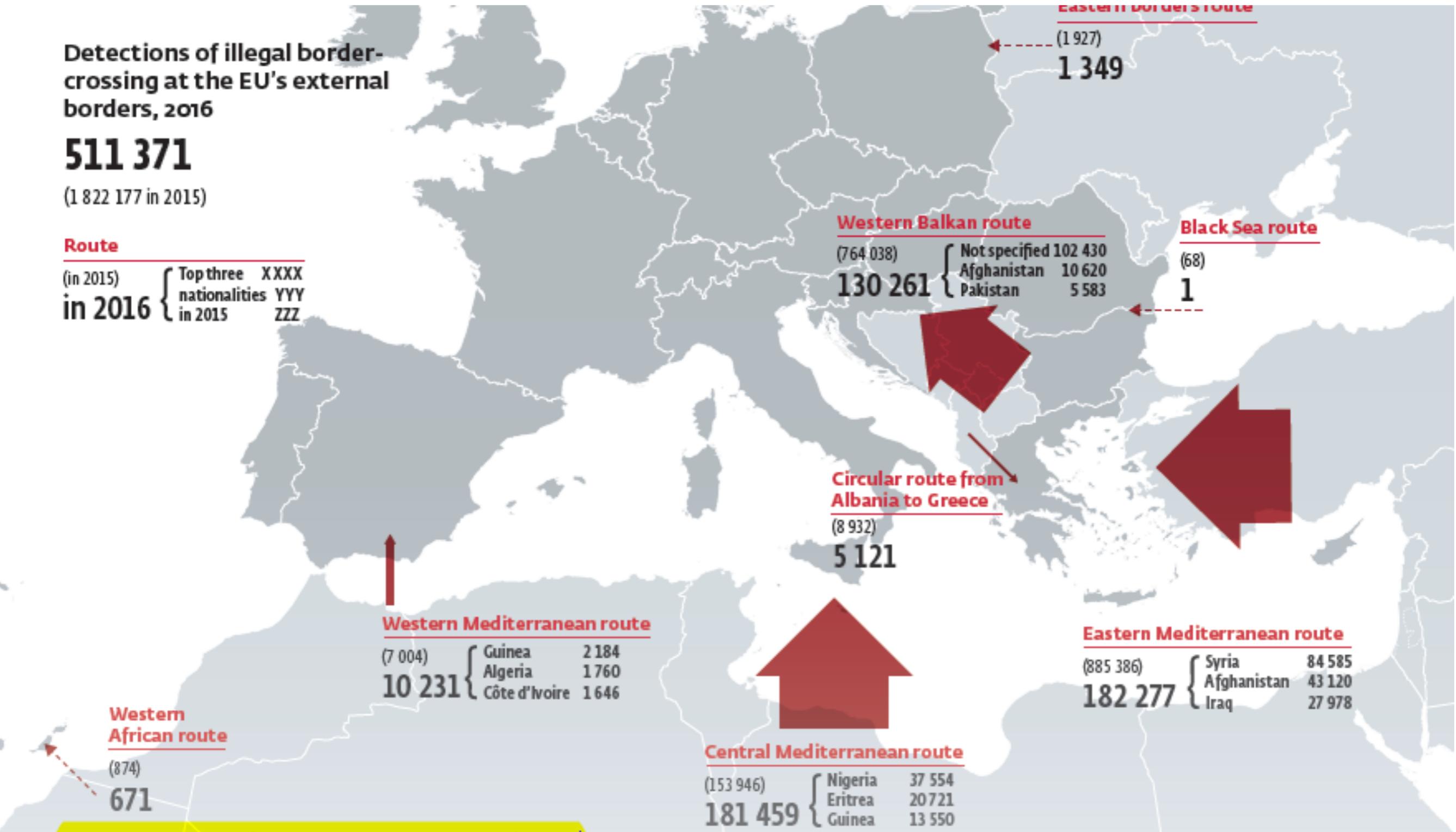
Detections of illegal border-crossing at the EU's external borders, 2016

511 371

(1 822 177 in 2015)

Route

(in 2015) { Top three nationalities XXXX in 2016 in 2015 YYY ZZZ



Frontex Risk Analysis Q2 2016

EU's migration policy

- An overview

1. Within the EU
 2. Deals with 'third countries'
 3. External borders of the EU.
- Documentary: Superfortress Europe.



EUs migration policy

1. Within the EU

*Some challenging aspects of EUs refugee policy concerns: **Boarder controls, deportation, hotspots, detention centers.***

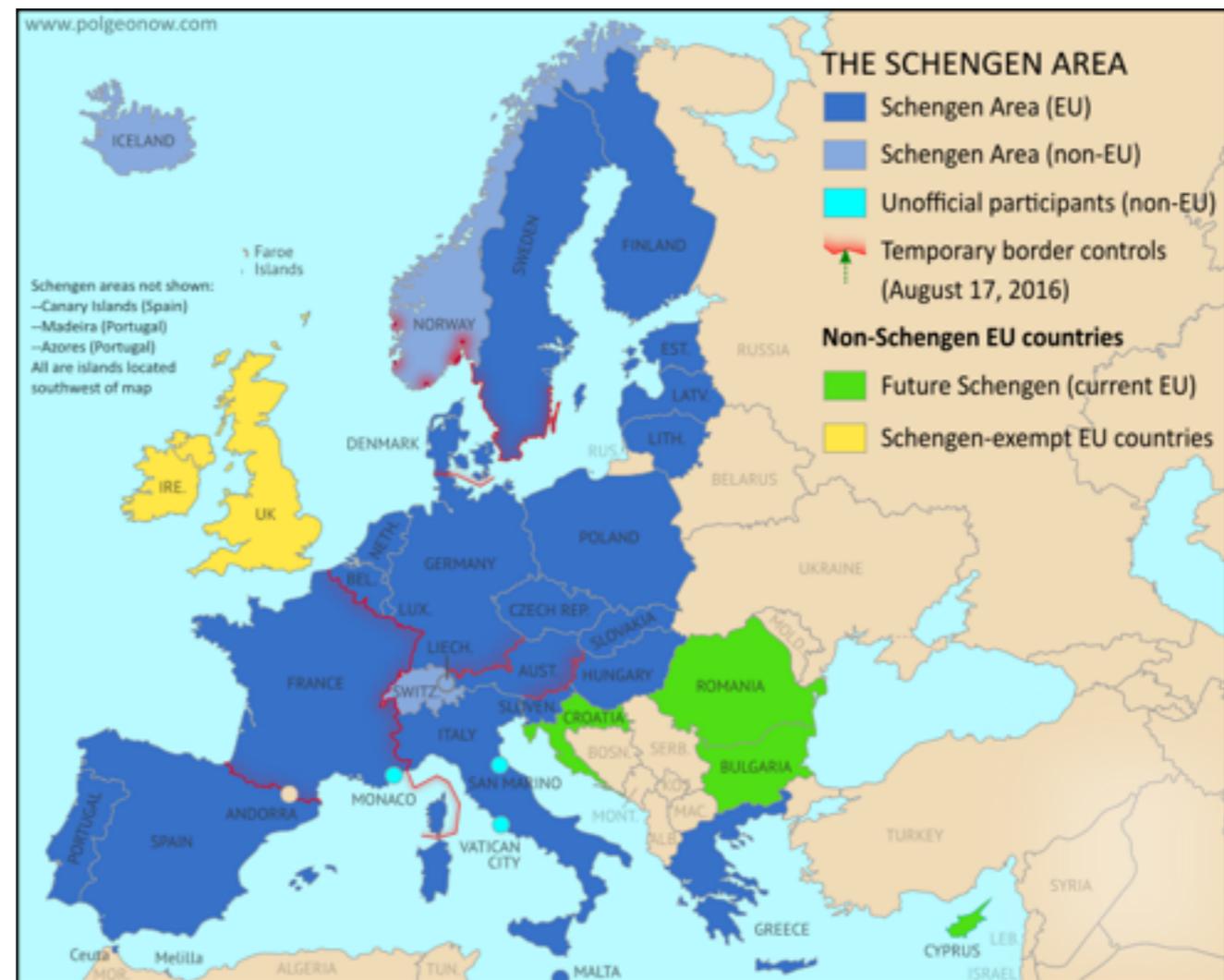


EUs migration policy

1. Within the EU

Boarder controls:

- The Schengen Borders Code provides EU States with common rules that govern external border checks on persons, entry requirements and duration of stays in the Schengen Area.



EUs migration policy

1. Within the EU

Boarder controls:

- Temporary border controls were hastily introduced in continental Europe's border-free travel zone (the Schengen zone + Switzerland and Norway) due to the large numbers of refugees and migrants arrive in Europe in 2015.
- Extended in November 2016.
- D. Avramopoulos: "exceptional measures for an exceptional situation"
- EU law: Temporary border controls can be reinstated for a maximum of two years.

EUs migration policy

1. Within the EU

Deportation:

- By 5 January 2017: **42% of migrants** whose asylum applications have been rejected are deported (FRONTEX). *(- the rest?)*
- 2 February 2017: Member states have relocated only a small fraction of the 160,000 asylum-seekers they committed to absorbing from Greece and Italy.
 - Only Malta and Finland are on track to meet their obligations whereas Hungary, Austria and Poland are still refusing to participate in the scheme at all and others are doing so on a very limited basis (Czech Republic, Bulgaria, Croatia and Slovakia).

EUs migration policy

1. Within the EU

Hotspots:

Challenging situations in 'hotspots' :

- Greece: several riots last year resulting in injuries and material damage.
- Similar security problems and overcrowding in Bulgaria.
- Hungary: Reports of violence etc.

Extract from letter to Commissioner D. Avramopoulos, Human Rights Watch and the Hungarian Helsinki Committee, February 2017:

Our research shows that in over a hundred cases asylum seekers and migrants have been subjected to brute violence during pushbacks by Hungarian border officials, including being pummeled with fists, pepper sprayed, struck with batons, kicked, bitten by dogs and robbed of belongings including clothes, mobile phones and money. Similar concerns were raised by the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) in July 2016.

EUs migration policy

1. Within the EU

Detention centers:

March 2016: UN accuses Europe of putting migrants in detention centres.

Ongoing discussions of max length of stay in detention centers (e.g. extending to 18 months).

Notions that the EU might outsource the detention of tens of thousands of asylum seekers to camps across North Africa for long periods (<http://www.esiweb.org/>)



Tripoli, Italy



Kos, Greece

EUs migration policy

2. Deals with 'third countries'

The EU-Turkey Deal

From 2015 - 2016:

- A decrease in arrivals from Africa, the Middle East and Asia, fewer migrants arriving Greece from Turkey.
- A result of the EU-Turkey statement of March 2016 and the introduction of strict border control measures in Western Balkan countries, which effectively closed the Balkan route.
- Price tag: €3 billion



Turkish Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu, left, with European Council President Donald Tusk, center, and European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker (March 2016)

EUs migration policy

2. Deals with 'third countries'

The EU and Turkey for instance agreed that:

- All new irregular migrants crossing from Turkey to the Greek islands as of 20 March 2016 will be returned to Turkey.
- For every Syrian being returned to Turkey from the Greek islands, another Syrian will be resettled to the EU.
- Turkey will take any necessary measures to prevent new sea or land routes for irregular migration opening from Turkey to the EU.
- It makes improving the work and quality of the Turkish asylum service a matter of direct interest to the EU: only if Turkey has a functioning asylum system can it be considered a safe third country.

However (19 January 2017:) UN refugee agency UNHCR has been kept from visiting asylum seekers after they were deported from Greece to Turkey, according to a leaked letter from the organisation's Athens office (EURACTIV.com).

EUs migration policy

2. Deals with 'third countries'

The EU-Turkey Deal

Illegal border crossings have significantly reduced in the Eastern Mediterranean route:

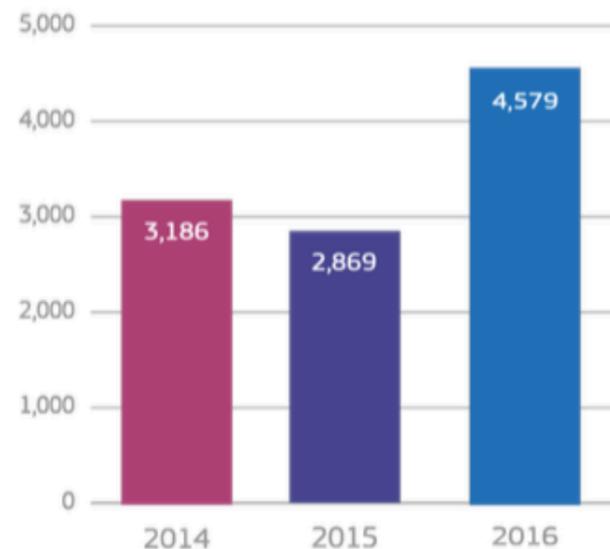
- 80 average daily arrivals to Greece since August 2016, down from 10,000 in a single day in October 2015 – a drop of 98%

However, the Central Mediterranean is now the main point of entry for irregular migrants to Europe:

- 15% increase in crossings in 2016 (181,000 people), compared to 2015 (154,000 people). And an increase in number of deaths.

EUs migration policy

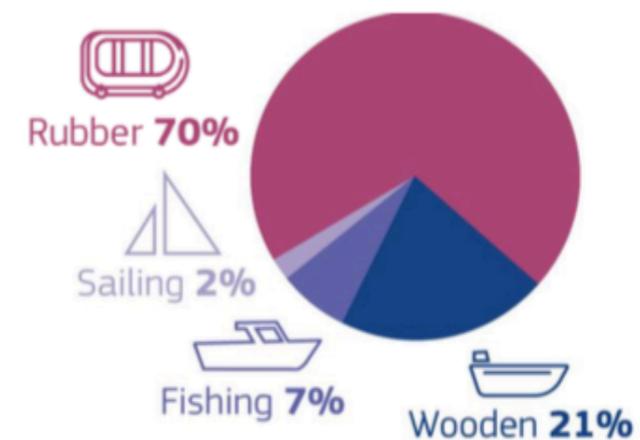
2. Deals with 'third countries'



Deaths of migrants in the Central Mediterranean



Countries of departure for migrants coming to Europe via the Central Mediterranean route



Types of vessels provided by smugglers

- Migrants travelling to Europe via Turkey tend to be Syrians, Afghans and Iraqis fleeing war, whereas those arriving from Libya are more often leaving repressive regimes, instability and poverty across north and sub-Saharan Africa.
- The increase in fatalities occurred despite enhanced operational efforts and the fact that most rescue operations took place close to, or sometimes within, Libyan territorial waters (IOM).

EUs migration policy

2. Deals with 'third countries'

The Malta Declaration (*proposal under development*)

Now: Increased focus on the Central Mediterranean Route

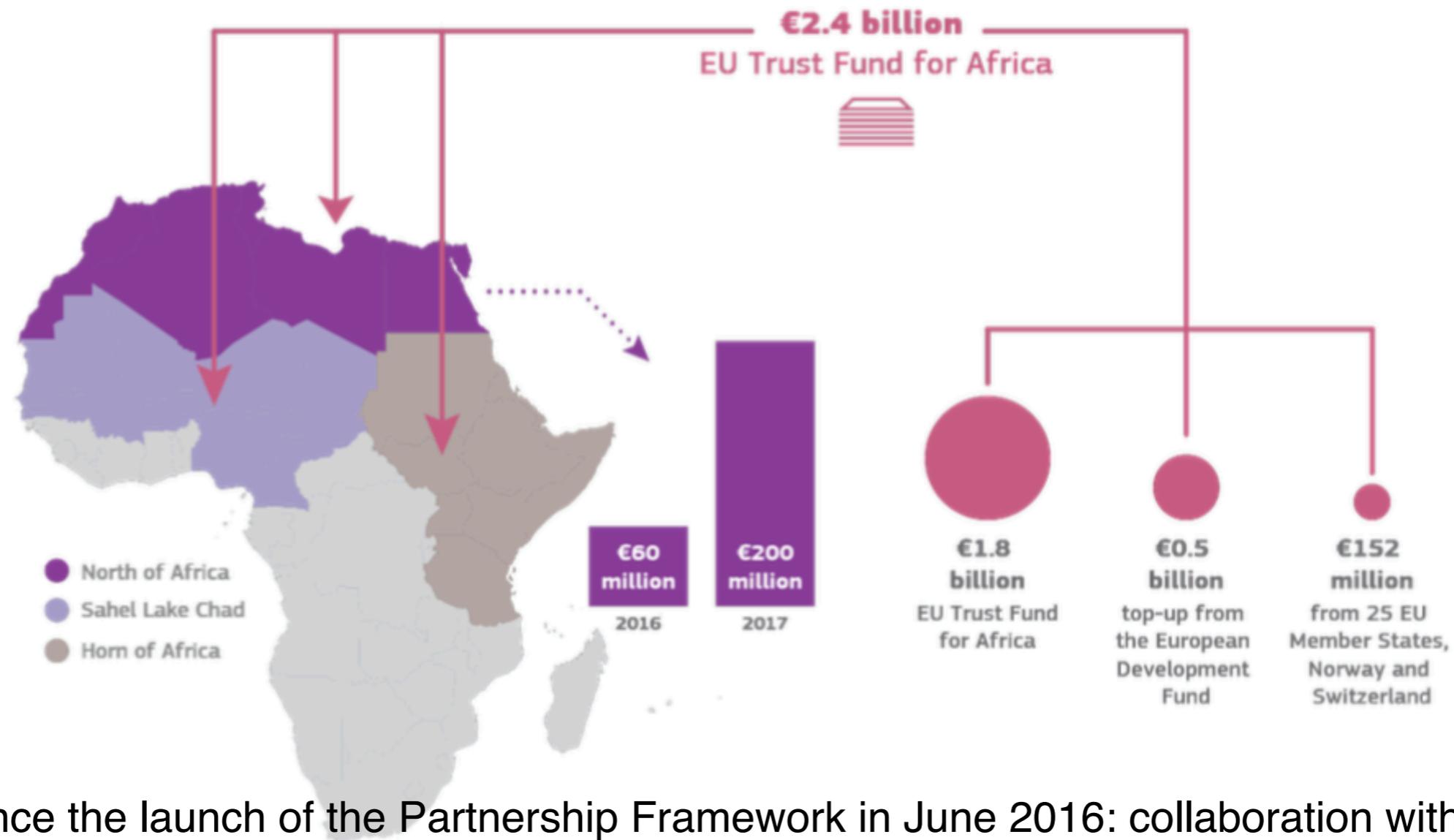
- (February 2017): €200 million being mobilized in 2017 for migration-related projects, in particular in **Libya**.
- To reduce the number of crossings and continue saving lives at sea, stepping up the fight against smugglers and traffickers, protecting migrants, increasing resettlement and promoting assisted voluntary returns and managing migrant flows through the southern Libyan border.
- *Operation Sophia*, should patrol Libyan territorial waters.

Commission officials are wary of making a Turkish-style economic bargain with Libya, highlighting the instability and conflict that has plagued since the fall of Gaddafi.

Plan: Continued and increased cooperation with Egypt, Tunisia and Algeria.

EUs migration policy

2. Deals with 'third countries'



- Since the launch of the Partnership Framework in June 2016: collaboration with Niger, negotiations with Nigeria, Senegal, Mali and Etiopia.
- A total of 42 new programmes worth €587 million were agreed in December 2016
- EU Trust Fund for Africa, €1.8 billion.

EUs migration policy

3. External Borders in the EU

- The budget for European border protection has increased by billions in the past few years.
- Money, knowledge and technology in exchange for shifting Europe's borders. For instance in Niger...

Superfortress Europe:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b5gaO20AEro>

EUs migration policy

3. External Borders in the EU

- External border control - EUCAP mission in Niger.
- Police training, arrests, criminalizing migration economy.

EUs migration policy

3. External Borders in the EU

Dr. Martin Lemberg-Pedersen:

- *Tendency in Europe today - self interest and nationalism. The «easy solutions» and the quick answers: Block borders, «dont let them in».*
- *European leaders are afraid to address the fundamental questions concerning **universal rights**.*



The refugee crisis ***And its narratives***

For instance: «‘they’ take our jobs»

Micheal Puett:

http://www.npo.nl/brainwash/05-02-2017/VPWON_1262405

The refugee crisis

And its narratives

- Nationstate - a new invention. Thereby also a new invention: «They take our jobs»
- Puett: *Patterns in our thinking which become natural to us, but there is nothing natural about this.*
- «They take our jobs» - *is not an economic argument, but a cultural issue. They are different, and that is why they 'take our jobs'.*

The refugee crisis

*And its narratives: **Terrorist/refugee narrative***



"Journalists often fail to tell the full story and routinely fall into propaganda traps laid by politicians"

Aidan White, Ethical Journalism Network

The refugee crisis

*And its narratives: **Terrorist/refugee narrative***

“It’s a big problem! We don’t know anything about them. We don’t know where they come from, who they are. There’s no documentation. We have our incompetent government people letting ’em in by the thousands, and who knows, who knows, maybe it’s ISIS.”

—*Donald J. Trump, 25 April 2016*

The refugee crisis

*And its narratives: **Terrorist/refugee narrative***

- Dr. James Fitzgerald: The “terrorist/refugee” narrative has become a mainstay of increasingly right-wing political and (social) media discourse.
- The categories of “refugee” and “migrant” collapse into one another.
- The contrasting use of the terms “migrant” and “refugee” is aggravating the debate. Politicians and the press tend to use the first term, implying that the new arrivals are being pulled toward Europe in search of economic opportunities.
- “waves”, “swarm” of refugees/migrants (e.g. Cameron)
- ‘us’ against ‘them’

The refugee crisis

And its narratives: The crisis

- The "crisis" = **our** crisis?
- The total refugee population has been above 40 million since 2007. *We didn't start calling it a "crisis" until some of them began arriving in Europe?*
- Most refugees do not make it to the EU, but live instead in inadequate conditions in developing African or Middle Eastern countries:
 - Kenya, Dadaab, the world's largest refugee camp: More than 400,000 people are housed at one overcrowded site alone.
 - Lebanon: Refugees make up 30 percent of the population
 - Jordan: half of the native population has Palestinian roots.
 - In contrast: refugees account for less than 1 percent of the overall population in Germany.

The refugee crisis

And its narratives: The crisis

LSE Department of Media and Communications, Researching narratives of the “migrant crisis” in European press:

- Competing narratives (East/West and left/right?)

“Europe/country has ethical responsibility towards refugees”

vs

“Europe/country has responsibility to protect its own people”

- UK: A distant problem (and keep it like that); focus on (British) volunteer/tourist stories
- Serbia: positive national response to refugees (unlike neighbours and many EU countries); praise of own citizens for sympathetic stance
- Greece: Greece carries the burden, Greeks compensate for lack of institutional support
- France: the need to uphold French values

- *Europe’s narrative of ‘the crisis’ is one of threat to its territory, values, identity, and security.*

Need for a new notion to gasp our world?

How can we change our way and patterns of thinking?

Tzvetan Todorov (1939-2017) – *Fear for the barbarians*

“One can demand from newcomers to the country that they respect its laws or the social contract that binds all citizens, but not that they love it: Public duties and private feelings, values and traditions do not belong to the same spheres. Only totalitarian societies make it obligatory to love one’s country.”

Fear of mobile people – is a very natural and old as the territorial order itself

A global social crisis or refugee crisis?

Decline of the Middle classes

Saskia Sassen on migration:

http://www.npo.nl/brainwash/14-02-2017/VPWON_1262412

Zygmunt Bauman:

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v= Qlv8pqtTss](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qlv8pqtTss)

Discussion

A more liberal global migration regime? Or, retaining or strengthening existing restrictions on migration and visa regimes?

Define new types of refugees?

Opening our way of thinking towards notions of migration and cultural entities?

References:

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