

MOBILITY, MIGRATION AND THE REFUGEE CRISIS

Challenges to EU politics

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One in ten
on dole is
an
immigrant
Huge rise in 'benefit
tourists'

THE Sun



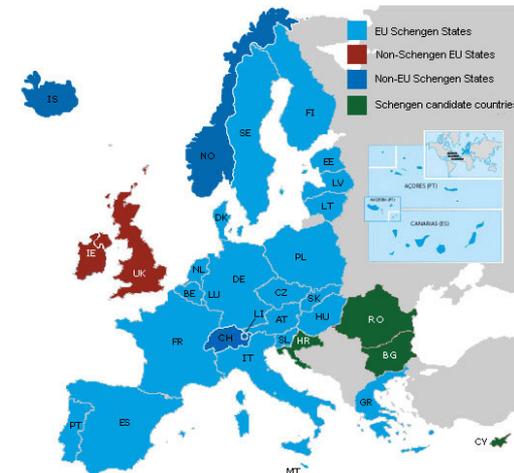
Public concern - BBC News Camera

Context

- Historical background (post-1950s)
 - External migration: colonial guest worker schemes, family reunification, asylum post-1980s
 - Intra-EU mobility flows: East → West / South → North
- European integration
 - From economic mobility to *EU citizenship* – a “spill-over” effect?
 - 9/11, 7/7, Charlie Hebdo → Islamophobia
- Today
 - EU = an “area of freedom, security and justice with respect for fundamental rights” (Lisbon Treaty, Art. 67)
 - Economic and migration crisis (?)
 - National stereotypes, (far-)right parties and a crisis of multiculturalism?

Key concepts

- Mobility= Freedom of movement (FoM) of member state (MS) nationals/ EU citizens
 - Part of fundamental/four freedoms in the EU (i.e. goods, services, capital and people)
 - European Economic Area (EEA); European Free Trade Association (EFTA)
 - Schengen Area = EFTA + EU
 - Except UK and Ireland
 - Candidate countries: Croatia, Romania and Bulgaria
- Migration: External entry
 - third country residents (TCNs)



Mobility I: The basics

- FoM: A fundamental principle of EU law (Art 45 of Lisbon Treaty)
- Grant rights to EU citizens *and* their family members to
 - Look for a job/educational opportunities in another MS
 - Enjoy equal treatment with nationals
 - Vote in European *and* local elections in the country of residence
- Developed by EU secondary legislation (Directive 2004/38/EC) and the case law of the Court of Justice (e.g. Rottman, 2013)
- BUT **limitations possible**
 - Transitional arrangements
 - Language requirements
 - Labour market conditions

Mobility II: Types of mobility (Boswell and Geddes, 2011)

- Labour mobility
 - Necessary to uphold free market principles (incl. employment and labour market) (Commission, 2014)
 - (Some) MS disagree e.g. UK: Challenges the state's capacity to allocate socio-economic and political resources
 - Similar debates prior to and following Eastern enlargement
 - UK, Sweden and Ireland with open borders in 2004
- Learning mobility (LM)
 - Expected to enhance future EU citizens' sense of EU citizenship and ensure their economic mobility in their later lives (Commission, 2011)
 - EU-led LM programmes: NOW: Erasmus + (2014-2020), incl. five areas of education and training
 - BUT empirical research: **inconclusive effects of educational mobility**
 - No real (positive) impact of LM (Sigalas, 2010; Kuhn, 2014)
 - AND important distinctions between EU movers/stayers (Recchi and Favell, 2009; Recchi, 2015; Siklodi, 2015)

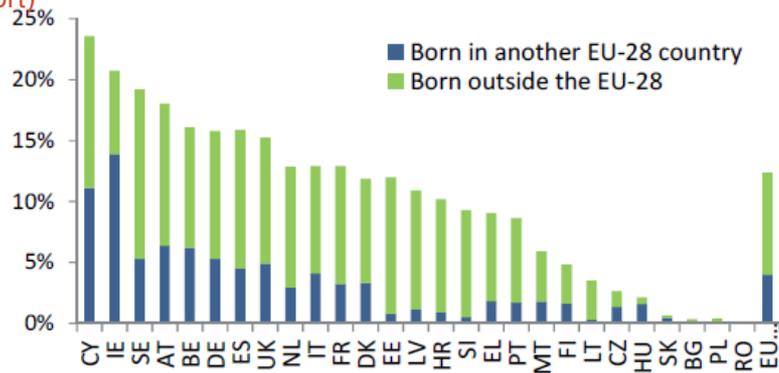
Mobility III: Actual levels of mobility

Limited

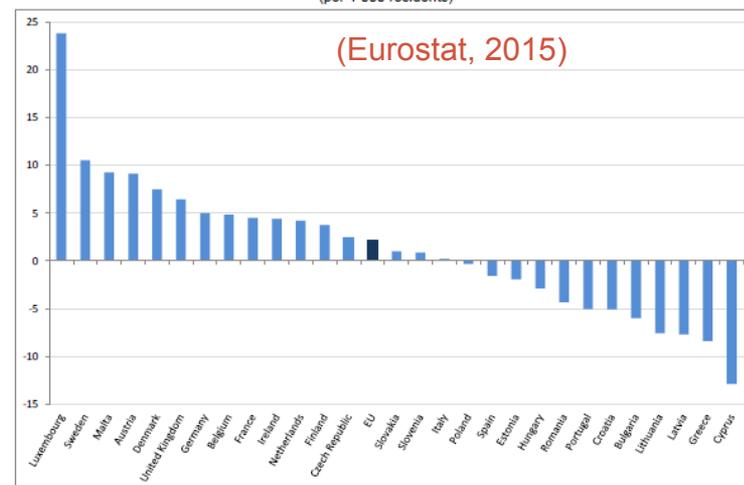
- Total EU residents 17.9 million on 1st Jan 2014
- Total new EU mobiles 1.2 million in 2013 (Eurostat, 2015)
- Approx. 2% of the EU's population resident (semi) permanently in another MS in 2013 (Eurostat, 2015)
- About 20% of EU population have been mobile so far (Special EB237, 2010)

Commission (Dec 2014)
Labour market report)

Share of working-age population born in other countries, 2013



Total population change in the EU Member States, 2014 (per 1 000 residents)



Mobility IV: The so what Q(s)

- Relevance of mobility to EU today
 - Social dumping?
 - EU citizenship?
 - 'Ryanair effect' – welfare tourism?
- EU political debate
 - **Free market principles (EU) v nation state sovereignty (MS)**
 - Opposition politics apparent at EU and national levels
 - MS governments can attempt to influence relevant EU legislation – *only* if more governments work together



Migration I: An EU-wide approach?

- Justice and Home Affairs (TEU, 1993)
 - A Global Approach to Migration?
- Immigration policy
 - Regular migration, irregular migration and asylum
- Security
 - External border management, Judicial cooperation in civil and criminal matters, and Police cooperation
- Fastest growing field of EU action (even before the crisis!)
- Traditionally these provisions belong to the core functions of MS
 - Sovereignty Qs and diversity in implementation of policies

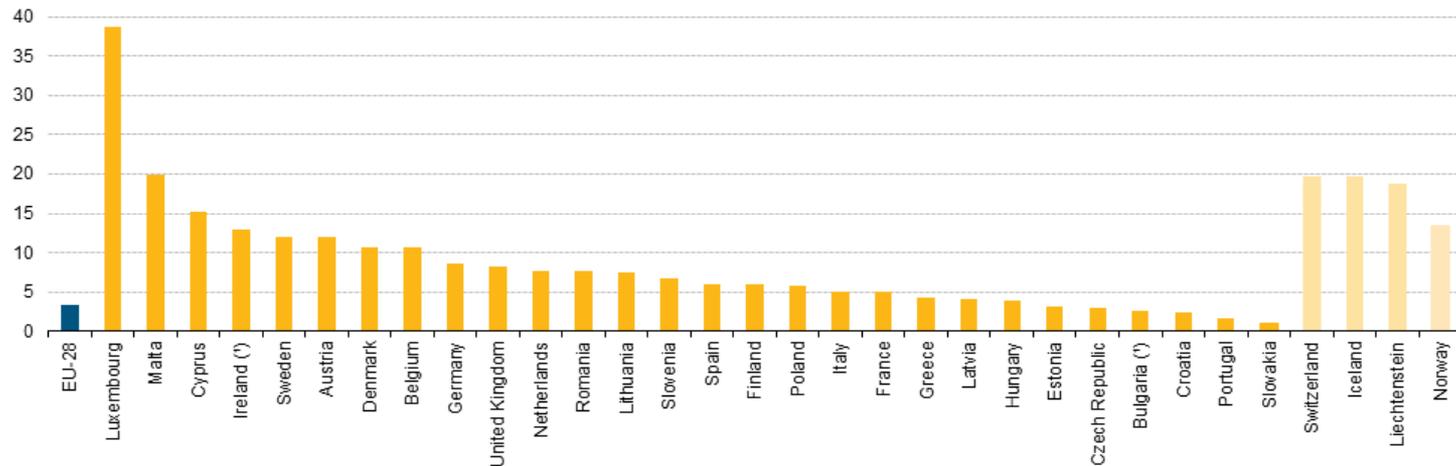
Migration II: Types of migration

- Regular migration
 - MS competence: general migration and integration procedures and numbers
 - v EU competence: Conditions for certain categories of migrants, incl. blue card/ single work permit
 - Schengen Area
- Irregular migration
 - Emphasis on facilitating cooperation between MS and developing EU-level policies
 - About half a million irregular migrants every year
 - Attempts to crack down on human trafficking networks and black labour market
- Asylum
 - 35% of the total asylum worldwide submitted to the
 - Common European Asylum System
 - Dublin Convention (1990) – *now Regulation*
- 2015: [European Agenda on migration](#)



Migration IV: Actual levels of migration

- Approx. 33.5 million TCNs in the EU (Eurostat, 2015)
- 3.4 million *total* migration in 2013, incl. 1.4 million new TCNs (Eurostat, 2015)



(*) Provisional.

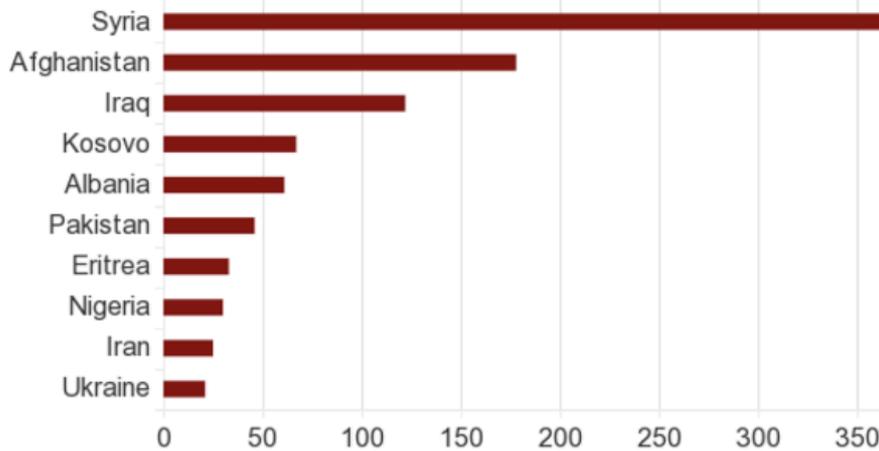
Source: Eurostat (online data codes: migr_imm1ctz and migr_pop1ctz)

Eurostat (2015) Immigrants,
2013 (*) (per 1 000 *inhabitants* in
MS)

The current state of the refugee crisis

Top 10 origins of people applying for asylum in the EU

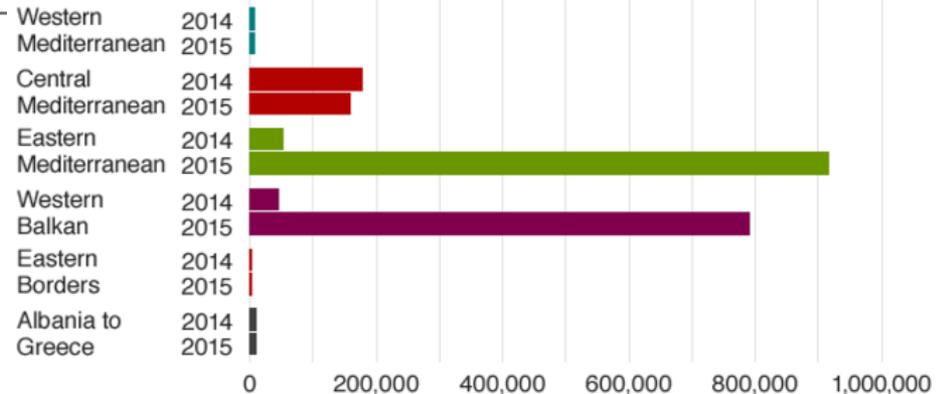
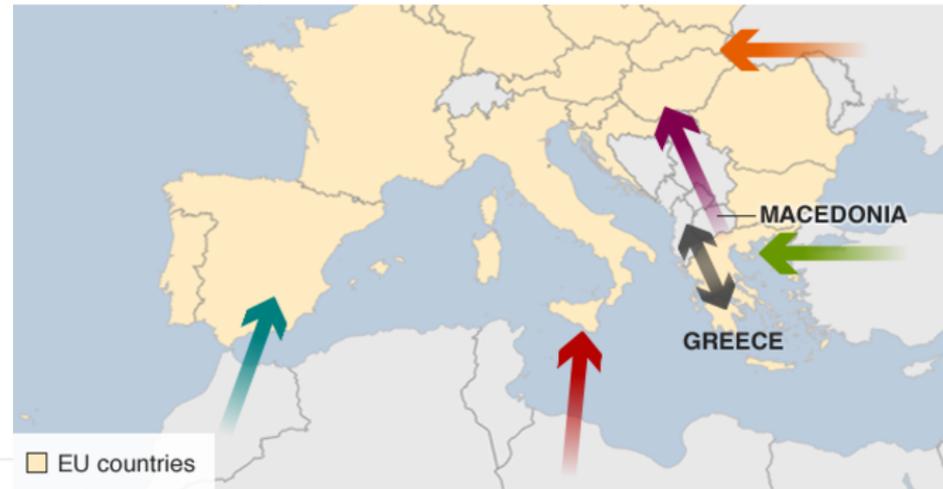
First-time applications in 2015, in thousands



Source: Eurostat

[Interactive map on current migration flows/ the 'Mediterranean crisis'](#)

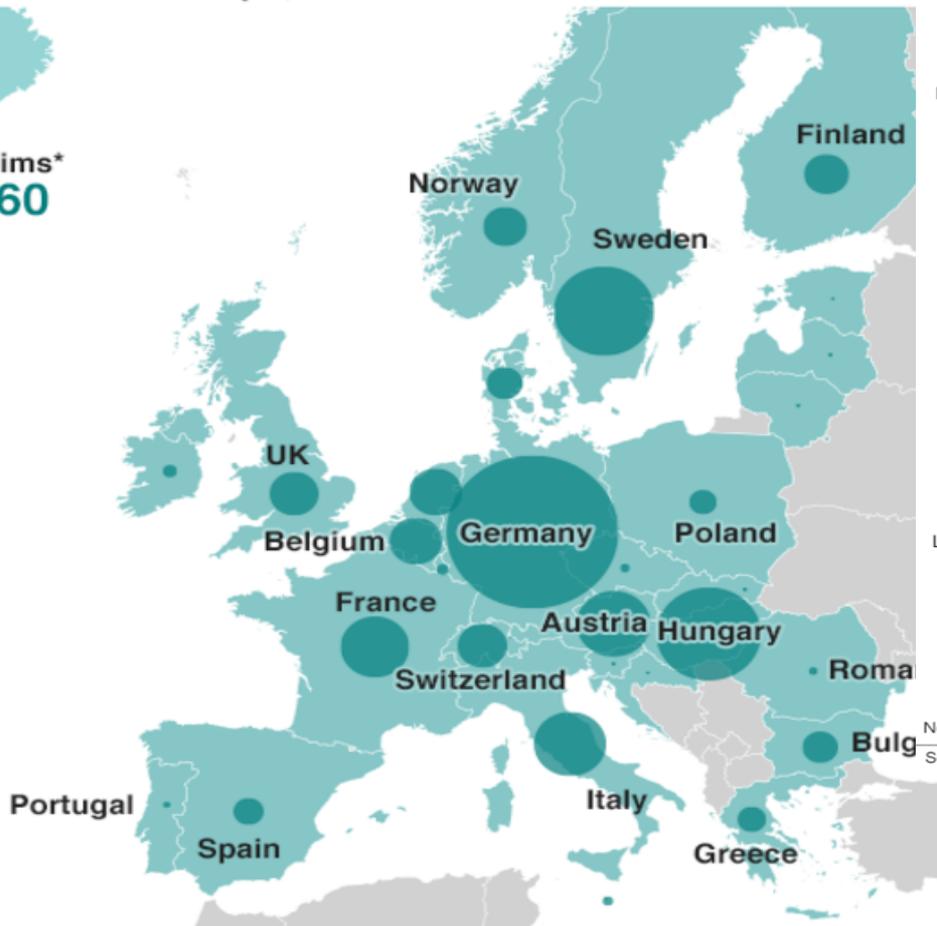
Migrants detected entering the EU illegally, 2014-2015



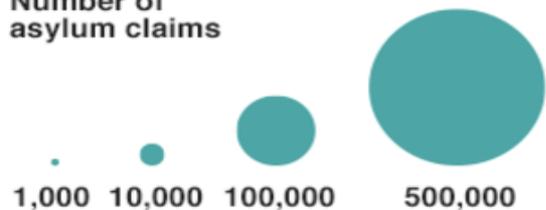
Source: Frontex

Asylum claims in Europe, 2015

Total EU claims*
1,321,560



Number of asylum claims



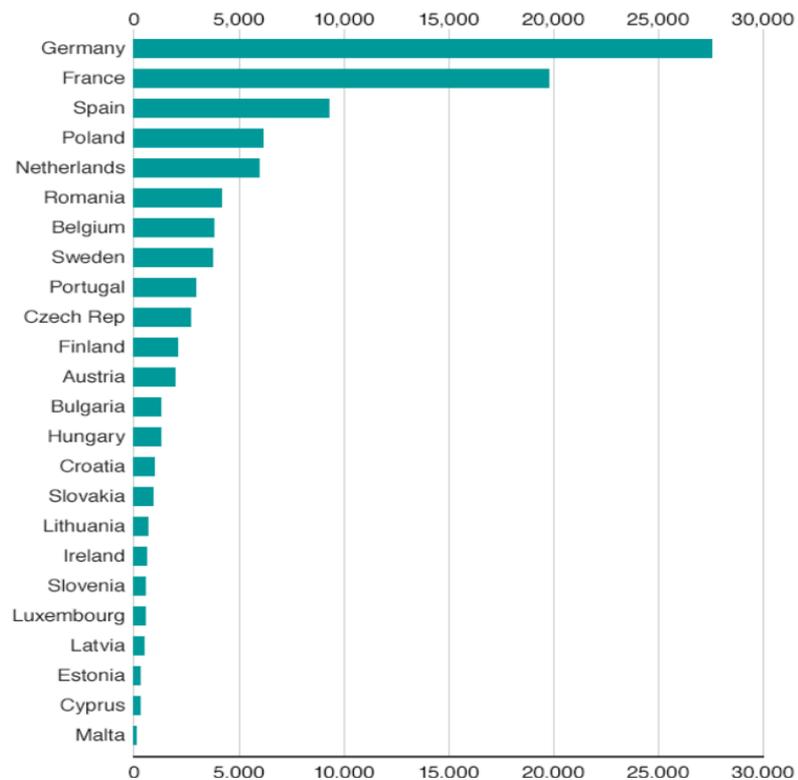
■ No data

* Map also shows claims for non-EU members Norway and Switzerland

Source: Eurostat

EU member state migrant quotas

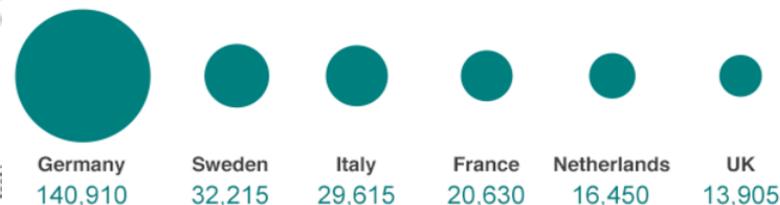
Number of people countries have agreed to relocate from Greece and Italy



Asylum applications approved 2015



Total claims granted by country

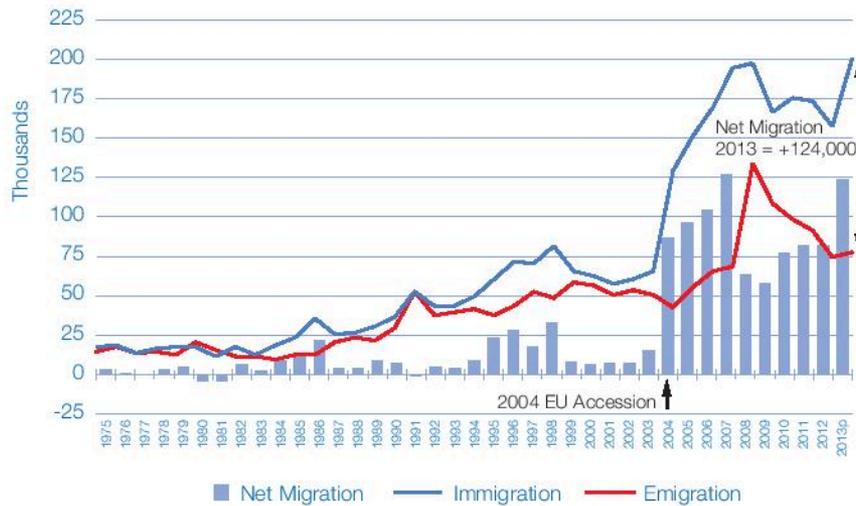


Source: Eurostat

BBC

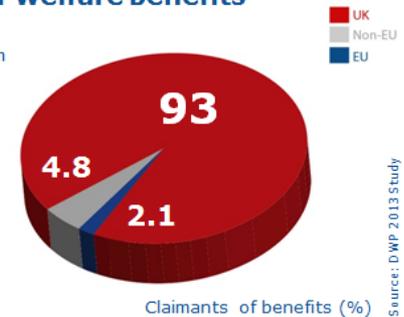
MS example UK: Brexit to stop free movement and benefit tourism?

Chart One: Migration Flows into and out of the UK by EU Citizens



EU mobile citizens are low users of welfare benefits

EU mobile citizens claim 2.1% of welfare benefits despite representing 4.6% of the working population



Source: DWP 2013 study

Immigration figures: PM's pledge 'in ruins' as net annual migration soars to more than quarter of million

- [HM Government \(2014\)](#)
- [Boris independence day](#)
- [Boris Post-Brexit](#)
- [There May to solve the migrant crisis \(Daily Mail, 2016\)](#)



Official figures this morning showed net migration rose to 260,000 in the 12

The so what Q(s) academics refer to

- Fortress Europe (Geddes, 2000)
- Securitisation of migration politics (Hyusmans, 2000)
- ‘Gated community syndrome’ (Houtum and Pipjers, 2007)
- Prominence of expertise → demise of ideological politics?
- Emergence of far right and populist parties (Lahav, 2004)



**LES IMMIGRÉS
VONT VOTER...**



How to make sense of this 'mess'?

- One option: consider policy narratives
 - Definition: attempts by policy actors to develop *plausible* interpretations of complex phenomena (Roe, 1994)
 - But maybe inaccurate representation of the 'truth'
- A neo-institutionalist turn? (Keohane, 1993)
 - Policy problems and solutions constructed by different actors
- 'Policy narratives' (Boswell, Geddes and Scholten, 2011)
 - Shaped by knowledge-claims by different actors
 - Recent focus on problems of risks and role of expertise
 - Can states control migration?
 - How to steer narratives to gain social and economic goals?
 - They are cross-cutting left-right cleavages
 - EU Policy / academic narratives: technocratic debates
 - Public/ media / populist and some national narratives: Negative stereotypes

... and what's next?

- Whilst there is a recognition different types of movement and people, recently turn to
 - Further securitisation
 - End of multicultural policies?
- Future of the EU project – a move away or towards a truly EU-level society?

→ *Effect on migration and mobility?*

- EU Political Union?
- EU Economic/banking union?
- Type of Brexit?
- Visa-free travel (Ukraine, Georgia, Turkey)?
- Further enlargement – Serbia, Turkey?

