

MOBILITY, MIGRATION AND THE REFUGEE CRISIS

Challenges to EU politics

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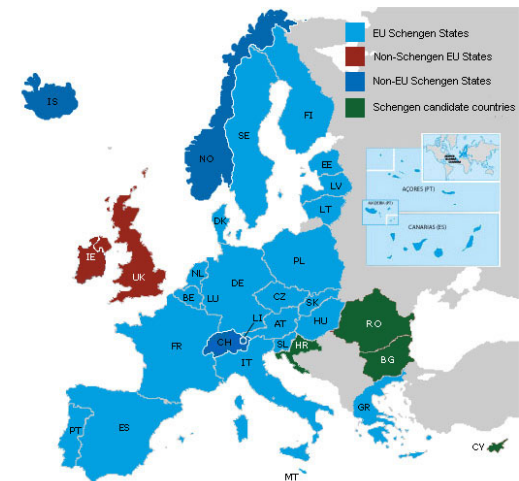


Context

- 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)

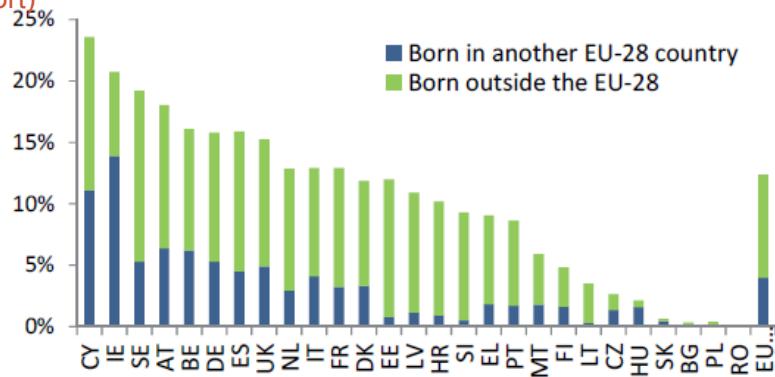
Mobility III: Actual levels of mobility

Limited

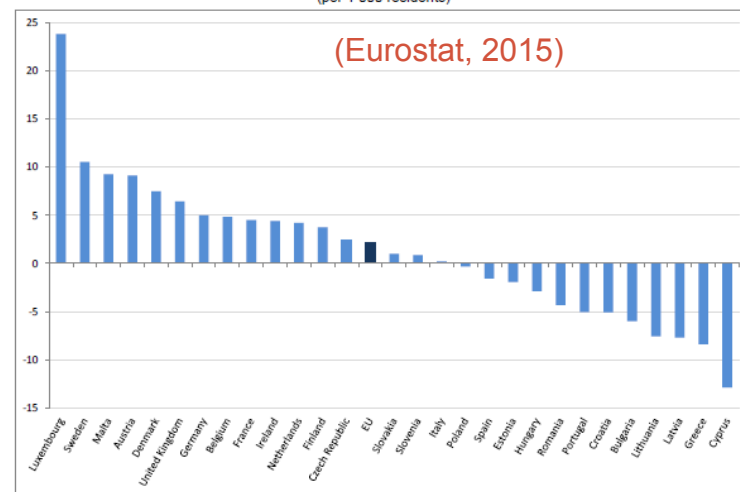
- Total EU residents 17.9 million on 1st Jan 2014
- Total new EU mobiles 1.2 million in 2013 (Eurostat, 2015)
- Approx. 2% of the EU's population resident (semi) permanently in another MS in 2013 (Eurostat, 2015)
- About 20% of EU population have been mobile so far (Special EB237, 2010)

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

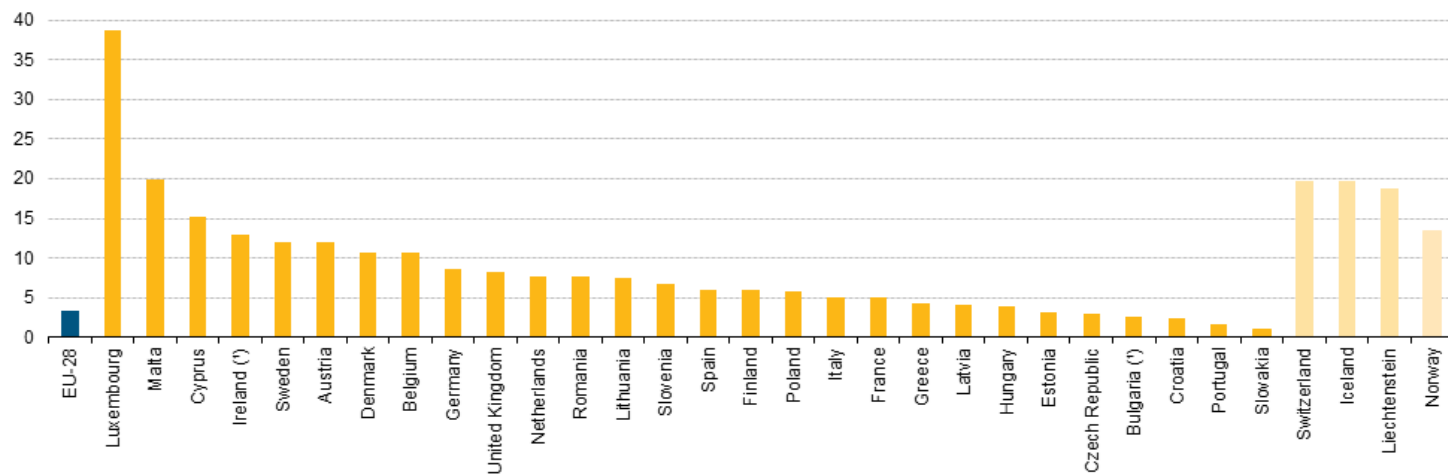
Migration II: Types of migration

- 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)



(¹) Provisional.

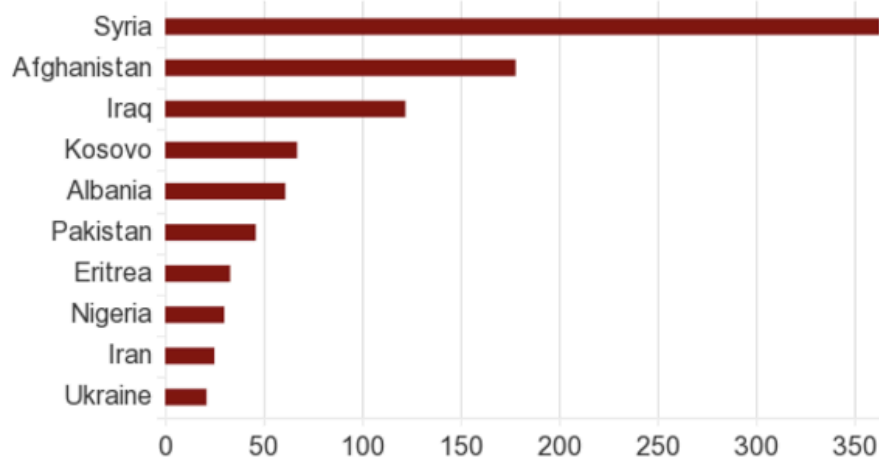
Source: Eurostat (online data codes: migr_imm1ctz and migr_pop1ctz)

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

The current state of the refugee crisis

Top 10 origins of people applying for asylum in the EU

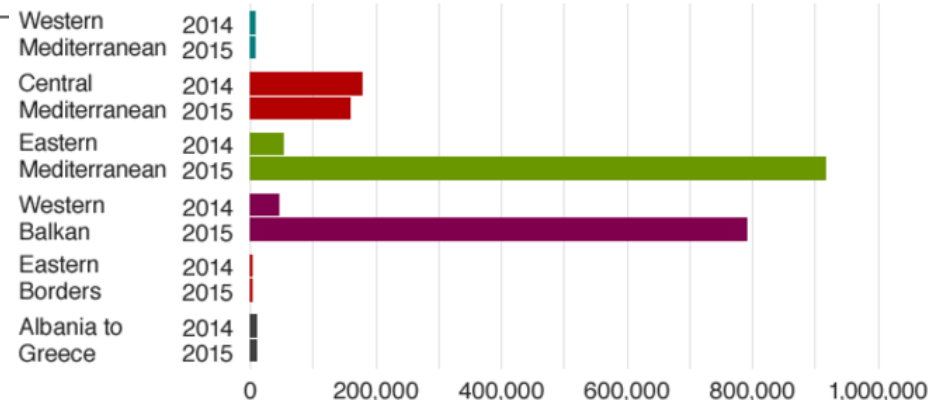
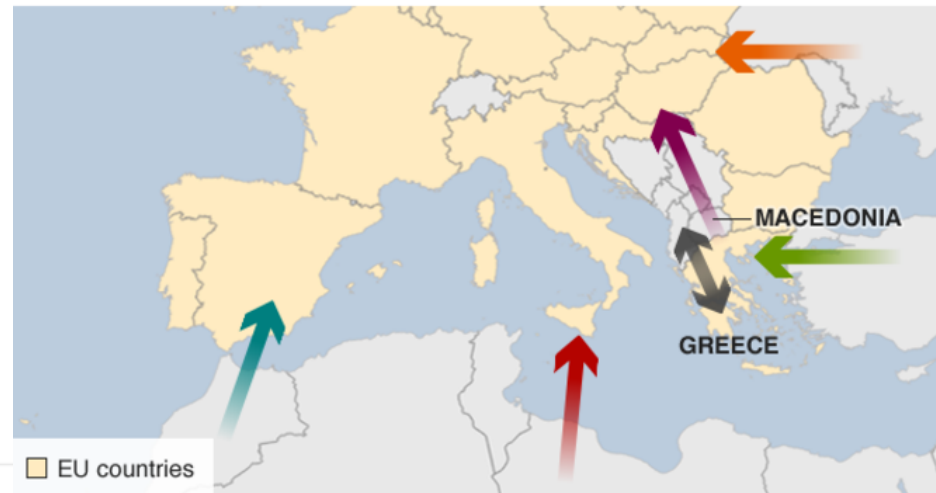
First-time applications in 2015, in thousands



Source: Eurostat

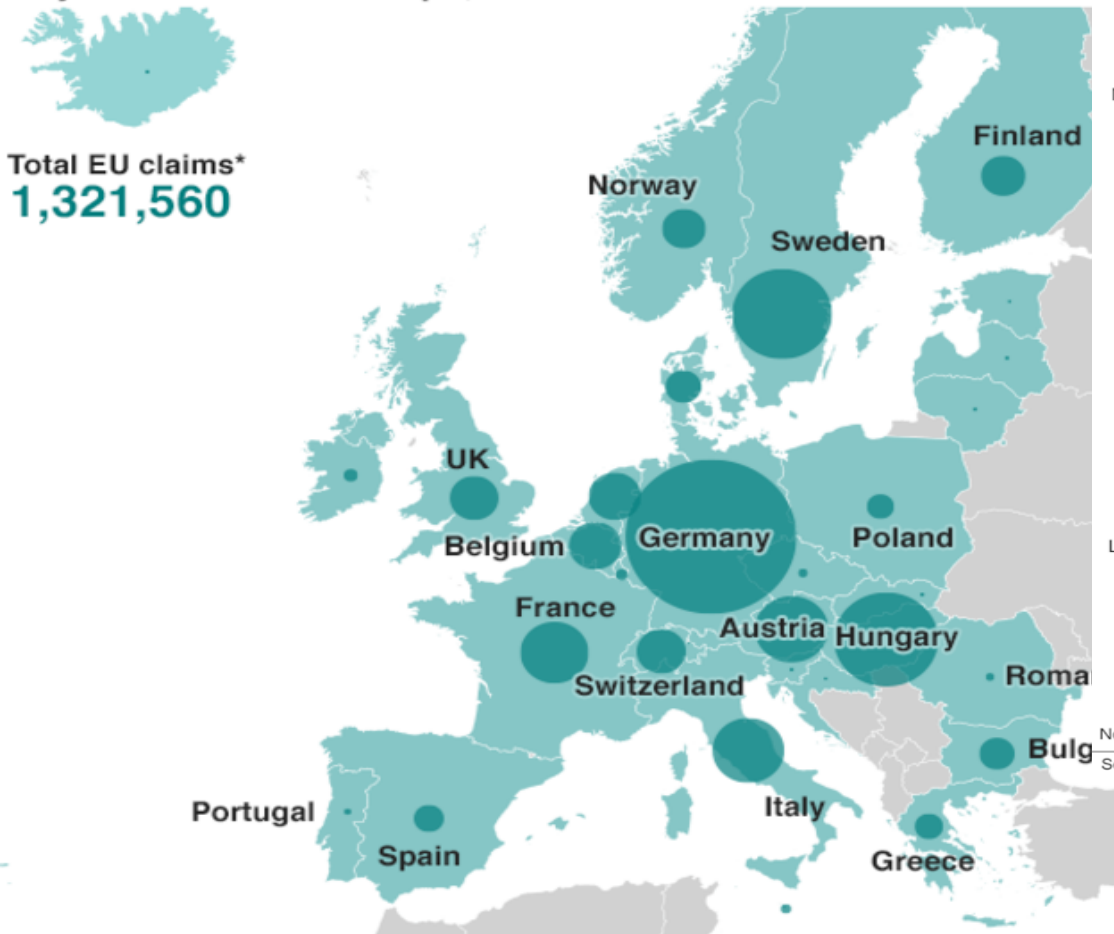
[Interactive map on current migration flows/ the 'Mediterranean crisis'](#)

Migrants detected entering the EU illegally, 2014-2015



Source: Frontex

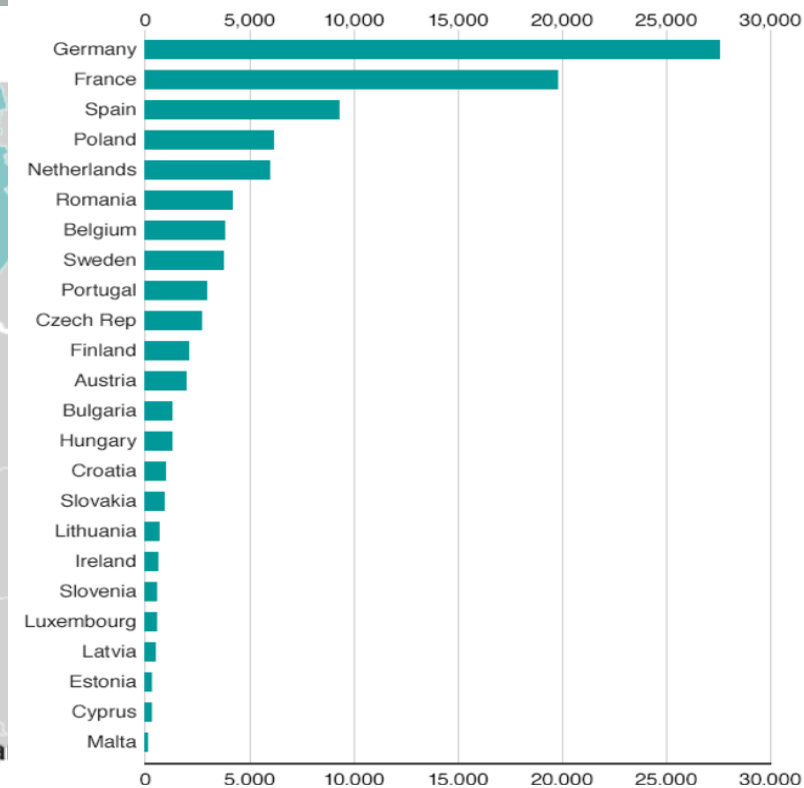
Asylum claims in Europe, 2015



Source: Eurostat

EU member state migrant quotas

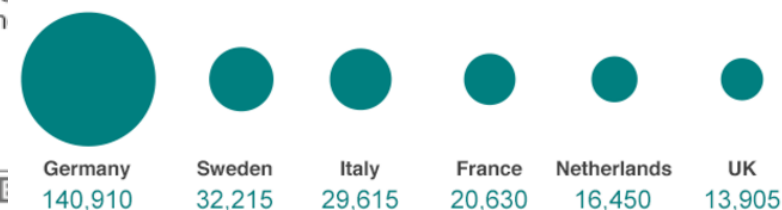
Number of people countries have agreed to relocate from Greece and Italy



Asylum applications approved 2015



Total claims granted by country

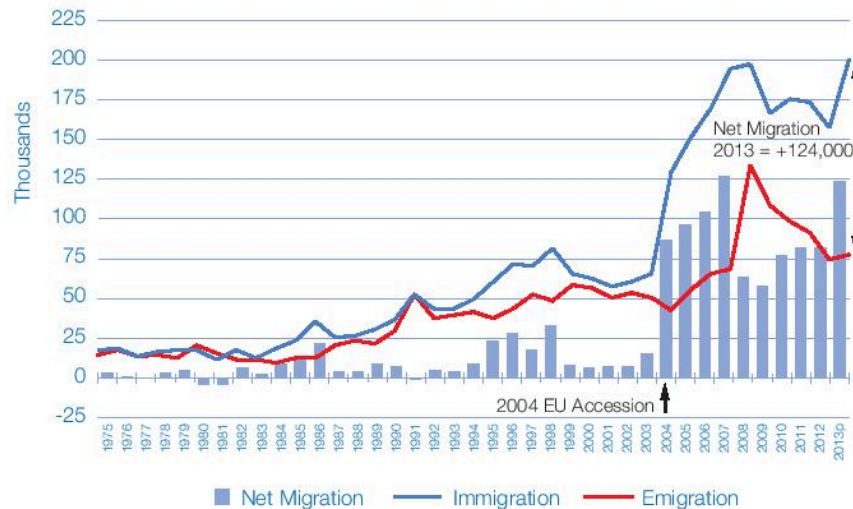


Source: Eurostat

BBC

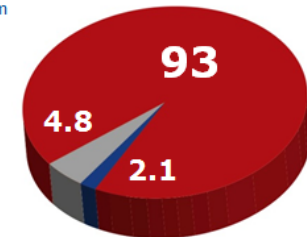
MS example UK: Brexit to stop free movement and benefit tourism?

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



Claimants of benefits (%)

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)



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?

