



The politics of migration: Europe and Africa

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The politics of migration

- The political repercussion of refugee, asylum and 'irregular' migration flows to the EU
 - Europe's 'migration crisis'
 - Internal response
 - External repercussions: EU relationships with African countries

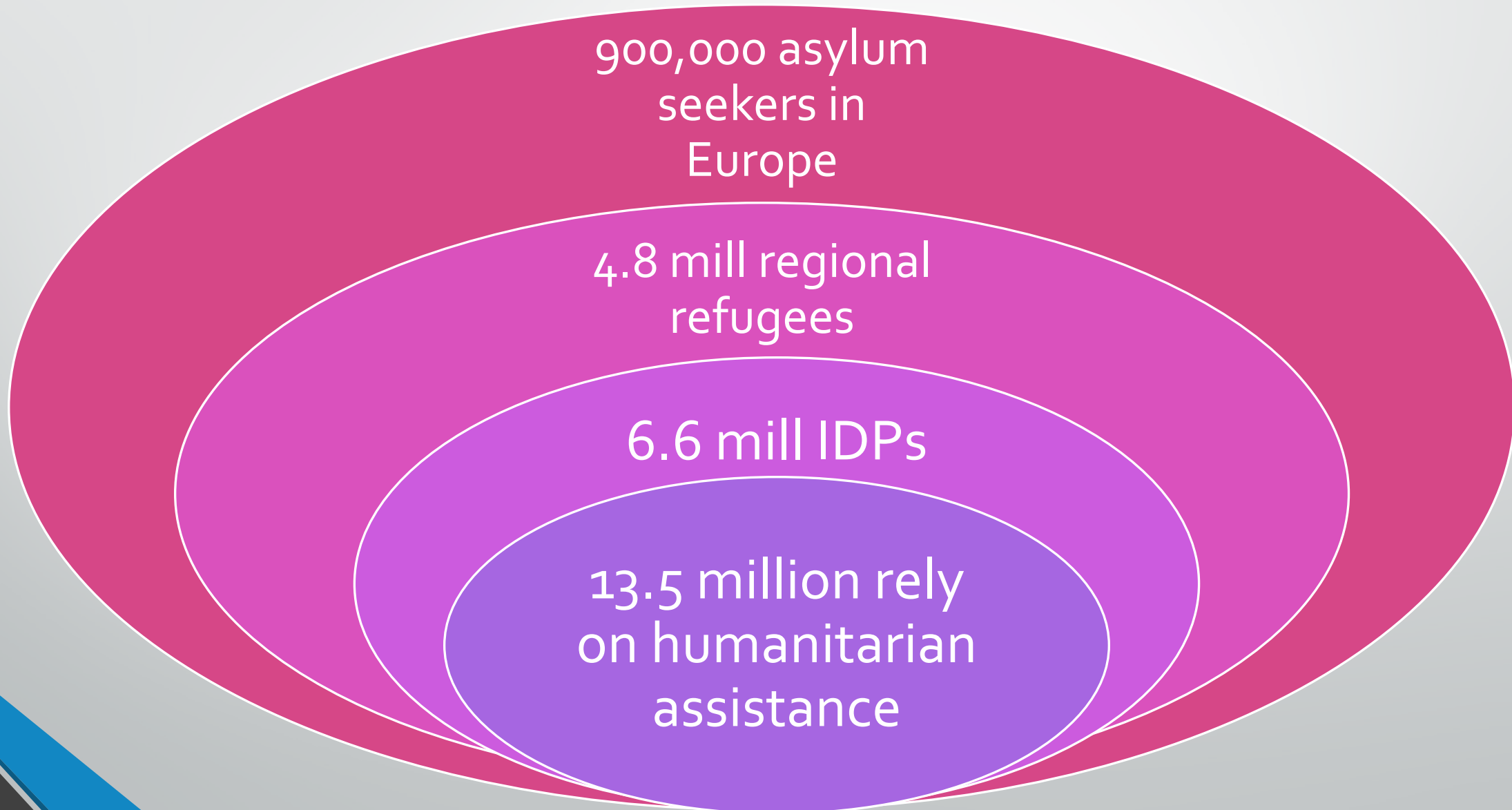
Europe's migration crisis: Irregular migration across the Mediterranean to Greece, Italy

- In proportion to overall number of international migrants, boat migrants have a seemingly outsized political effect
 - EU had around 55 million international migrants in 2015
 - Jan 2015 until today: ca 1,5 million arrivals across the Mediterranean, most in a six month period in late 2015 and early 2016
- But
 - Irregular migrants form a larger proportion of *new* arrivals
 - They explain a lot of the growth in net migration *into* the EU, as opposed to EU citizens moving between EU countries
 - Boat migrants are a particularly visible, chaotic, form of migration

Building up to the 2015 migration crisis

- Rising number of international 'irregular' migrants from 2010
 - 'Mixed flows', but depicted primarily as economic migrants
 - After a lull, a sharp rise in conflict & displacement
 - Record displacement (still rising) combined with record South-North migration (peaked in 2005-10 period)
 - Pressure on refugee host states in EU's neighbourhood
 - 3.7 mill Syrian refugees in the region by end-2014
- Scene set for Europe's refugee and migration crisis

Syria: Concentric circles of flight (2015)



Arrivals to Greece in 2015

Last updated 26 Dec 2015

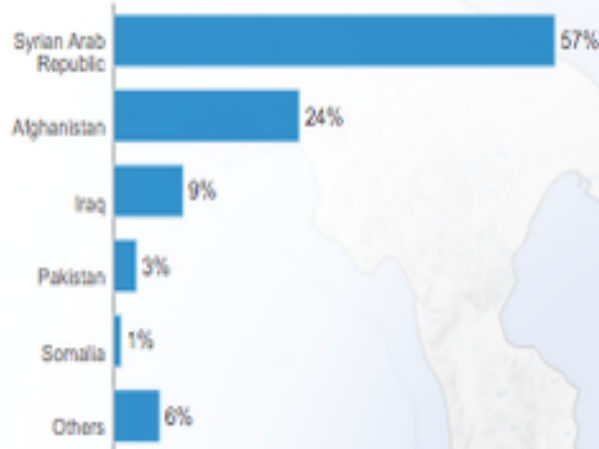
Increasing numbers of refugees and migrants take their chances aboard unseaworthy boats and dinghies in a desperate bid to reach Europe. The vast majority of those attempting this dangerous crossing are in need of international protection, fleeing war, violence and persecution in their country of origin.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

836,627 arrivals by sea in 2015

91% of arrivals come from the world's top 10 refugee-producing countries

Top-10 nationalities of Mediterranean sea arrivals

Top-10 nationalities represent **100%** of the sea arrivals



The charts below are based on figures from the Hellenic Coast Guard and Police. All figures are provisional and subject to change. Data includes sea arrivals to Greece from January 2015 to February 2016.

Figure 4. Percentages of nationalities arriving to Greece

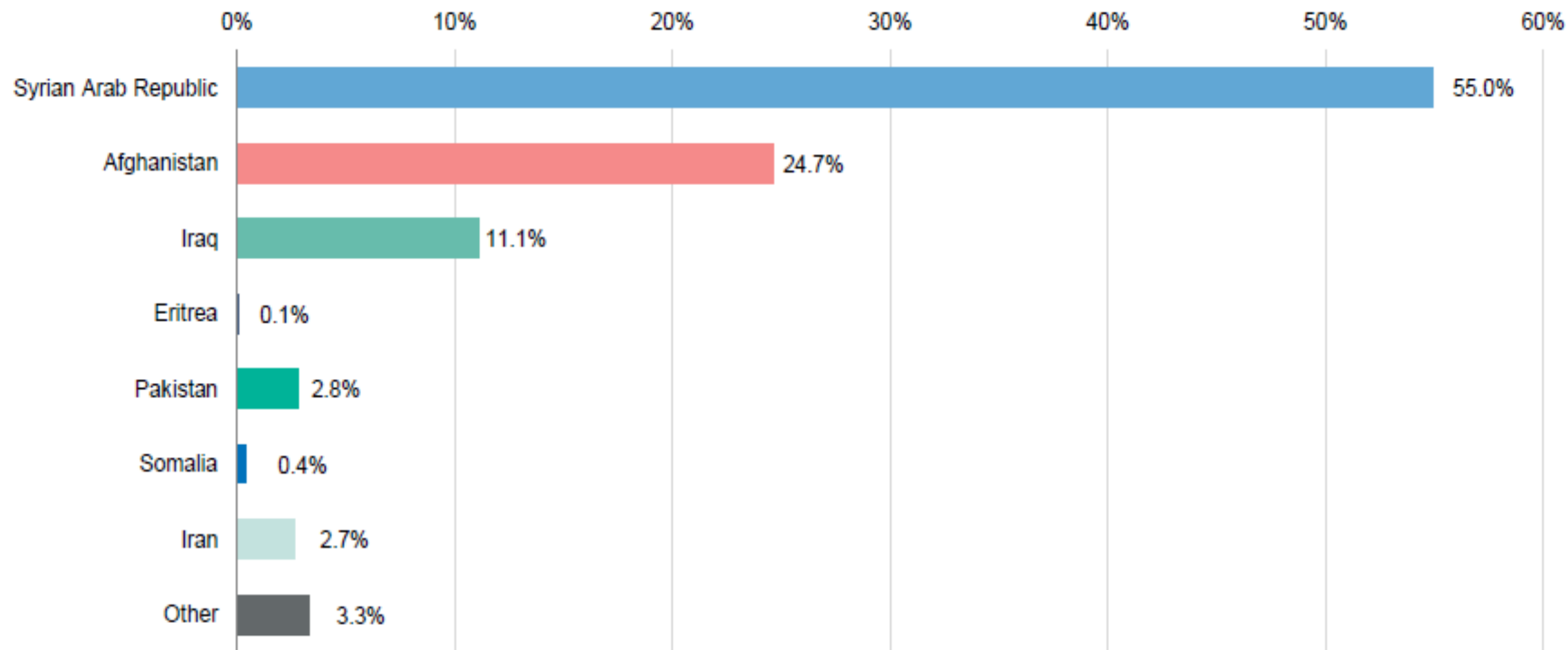
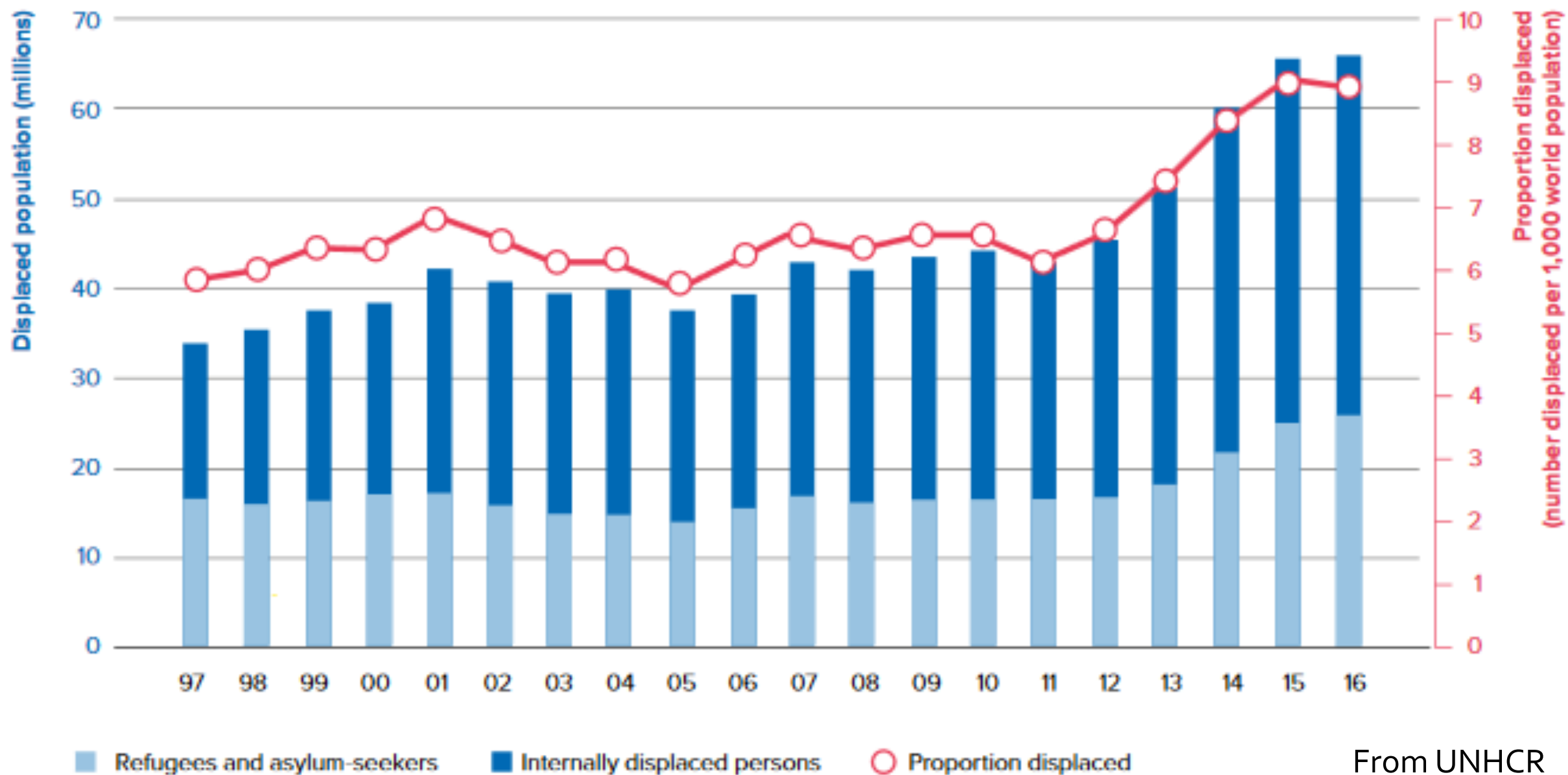


Figure 1 | Trend of global displacement & proportion displaced | 1997-2016



From UNHCR

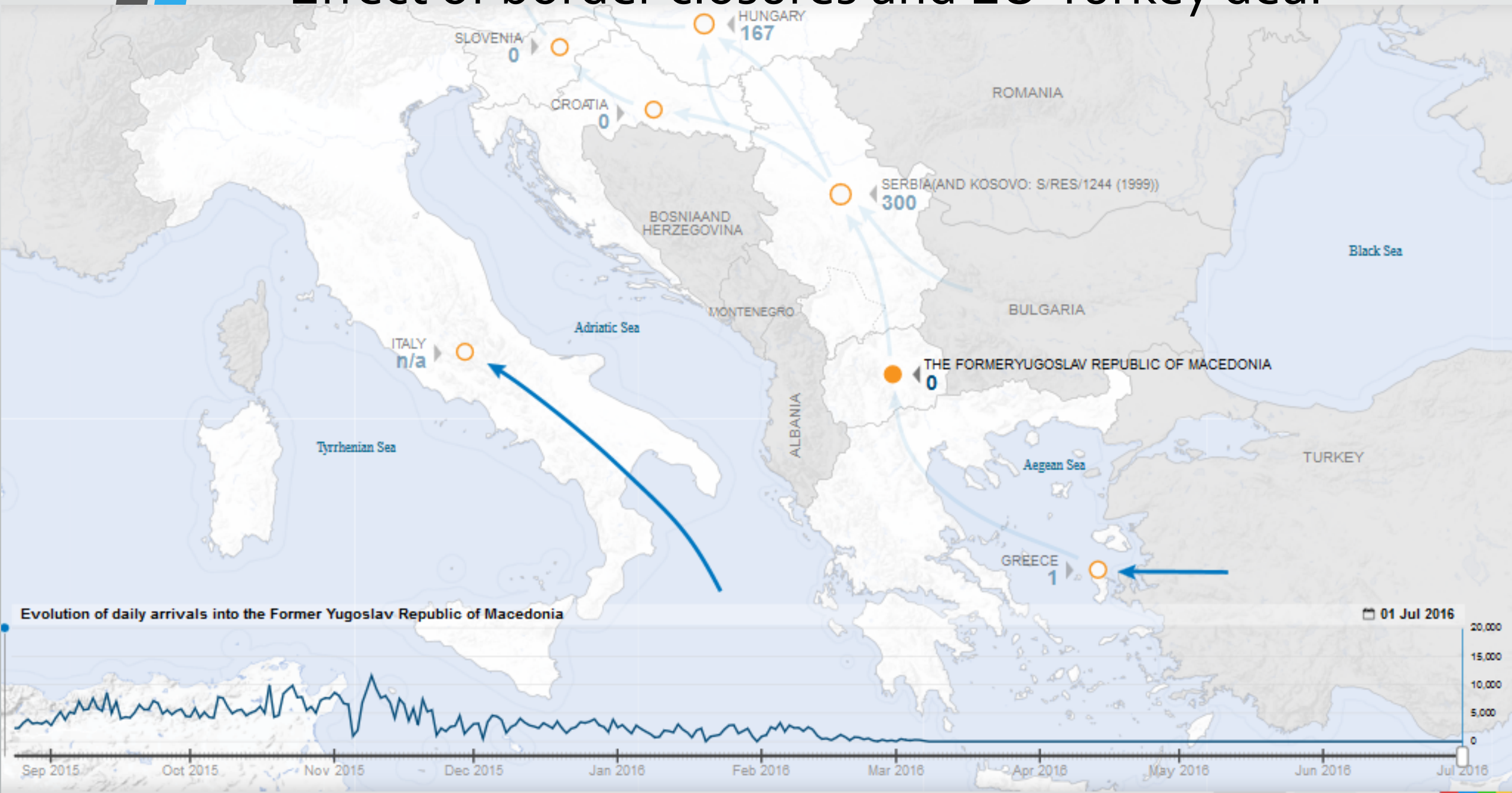
The situation in the EU at the start of 2016

- 1.3 million asylum seekers in EU
 - Majority to Germany, after lifting Dublin requirement in August
- No progress on relocation, hotspots or other common EU measures
- Unilateral border closures starting with Hungary, Oct. 2015
- Mood shifts: Terror attack in Paris, Nov. 2015; New Years Eve in Cologne

Border closures and EU-Turkey deal

- Put an effective stop to the migrant trail, almost from the moment Macedonia closed its border in late February
 - Norway, 2016: The lowest level of asylum seekers since 1997
- 20 March 2016: **EU-Turkey deal**
 - Around 50-60,000 stuck in Greece
 - Not clear how long the deal will stick, but not clear it needs to...

Effect of border closures and EU-Turkey deal



EU internal repercussions

- Anti-migrant sentiments, nationalism, on the rise (not just in EU)
 - Brexit, Trump, Austria, Poland, Hungary...
 - Rise of far-right, response of main-stream parties
- Stricter asylum rules across Europe
 - Denmark's Jewellery law; curbs on family reunion; protection short of asylum
 - Suggestions of scrapping asylum system for quotas
 - More forced returns, particularly to Afghanistan
- EU burden sharing not working
 - East-West differences
 - Pressure on 'free movement' pillar – UK Brexit
 - External EU border control, but little internal cooperation
 - Sealing off Greece and, increasingly, Italy from onward movement
 - EU in security mode: Deterrence, interception, detention, border control

EU-Africa relationships

- Migration dominating the EU's agenda vis-à-vis Africa
 - All EU-AU summitry since Malta 2015
- Replicating the spirit of the EU-Turkey deal in Africa, esp. Libya
 - Stopping the boats
 - Pushing de facto EU border control to Libya's southern border
 - Deterrence by allowing stranded migrants to suffer in limbo
- Migration 'compacts' with priority countries :
 - Long term ambition: reduce irregular migration incentives through economic growth, job creation, formal migration opportunities, etc.
 - Current focus: border control, crack-down on smugglers (and the migrants they smuggle), return agreements.

A skewed relationship

- EU diplomatic & aid focus shifting north from sub-Saharan Africa
- More humanitarian assistance to fragile & conflict affected states
 - Partly driven by containment agenda
- Migration priorities increasingly influencing aid agenda
 - Positive long-term development initiatives to reduce migration is not easy to achieve/measure – likely a wasteful/ inefficient development strategy
 - Fall-back on support for border control, policing, repressive measures
- Some African countries have better bargaining chips, but the EU's migration control agenda facilitates a highly transactional relationship open to abuse

Kenya's announcement to close Dadaab

Official statement, 11 May 2016:

Kenya appreciates the national security interests that are informing how other countries are dealing with the challenge of refugee inflows. We are also seeking to anchor our humanitarian character, which is recognized all over the world, in considerations that put the security of our country first.

We will not be the first to do so; this is the standard practice worldwide. For example in Europe, rich, prosperous and democratic countries are turning away refugees from Syria, one of the worst war zones since World War Two.

Some concluding thoughts

- Deterrence sort of works, for now and at a cost
- Longer-term migration pressures from Africa to Europe will not go away
- Sustainable Development Goals: link between international migration and sustainable development
 - More positive, mutually beneficial policies need to be put in place
 - But that depends on EU countries' internal migration debates (and a recognition that economic sustainability and political sustainability of immigration levels are not necessarily the same)
 - From immigration panic to migration control

Sea arrivals in 2017

[JSON](#)

145,870

Last updated 20 Oct 2017

Dead and missing in 2017 (estimate)

[JSON](#)

2,784

Last updated 20 Oct 2017

Previous years	2016	2015	2014
Sea arrivals	362,753	1,015,078	216,054
Dead and missing	5,096	3,771	3,538

Demography of Mediterranean sea arrivals from January 2017

[.CSV](#)[JSON](#)

Men Women Children



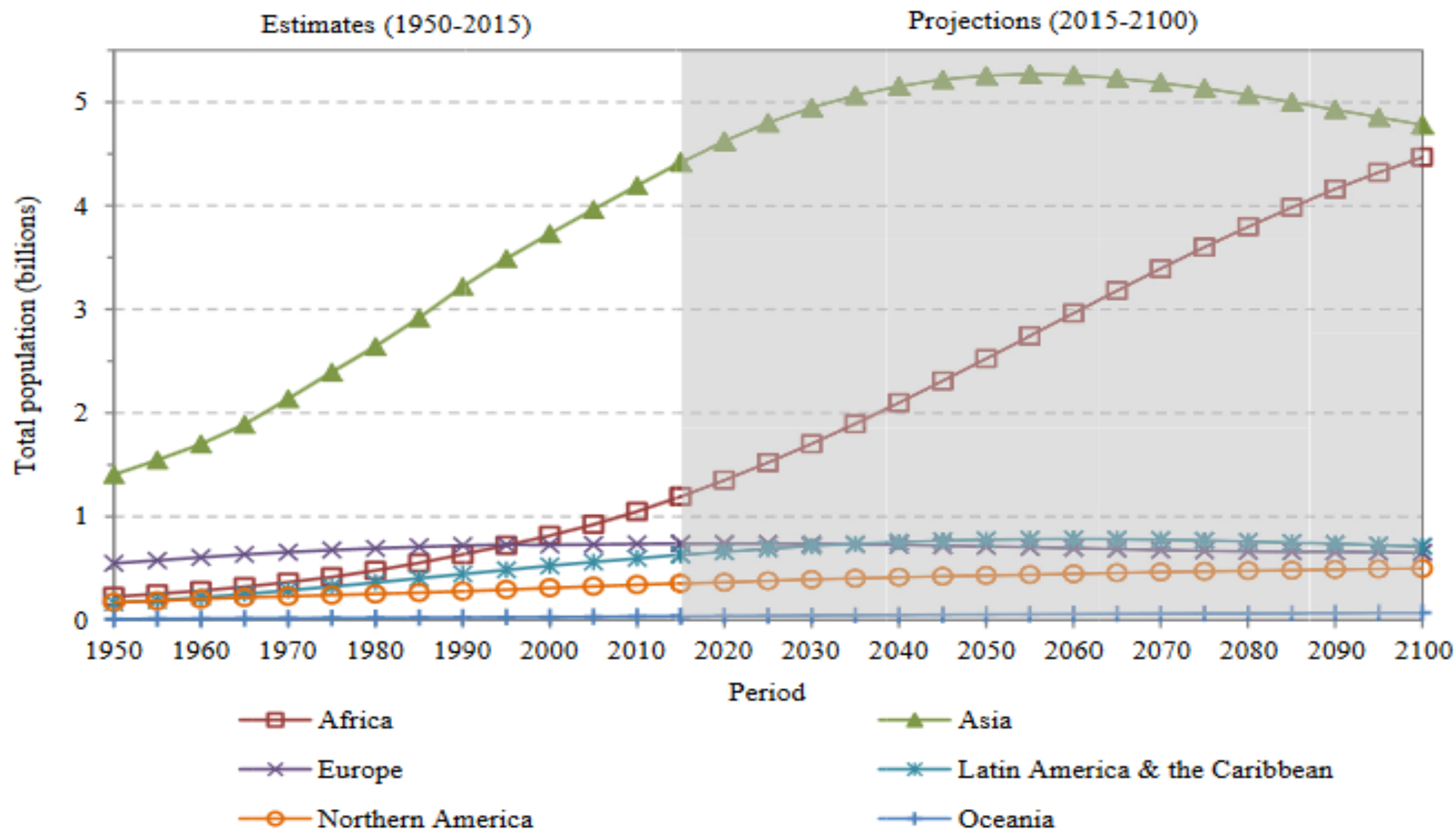


Most common nationalities of Mediterranean sea arrivals from January 2017

[.CSV](#) [JSON](#)

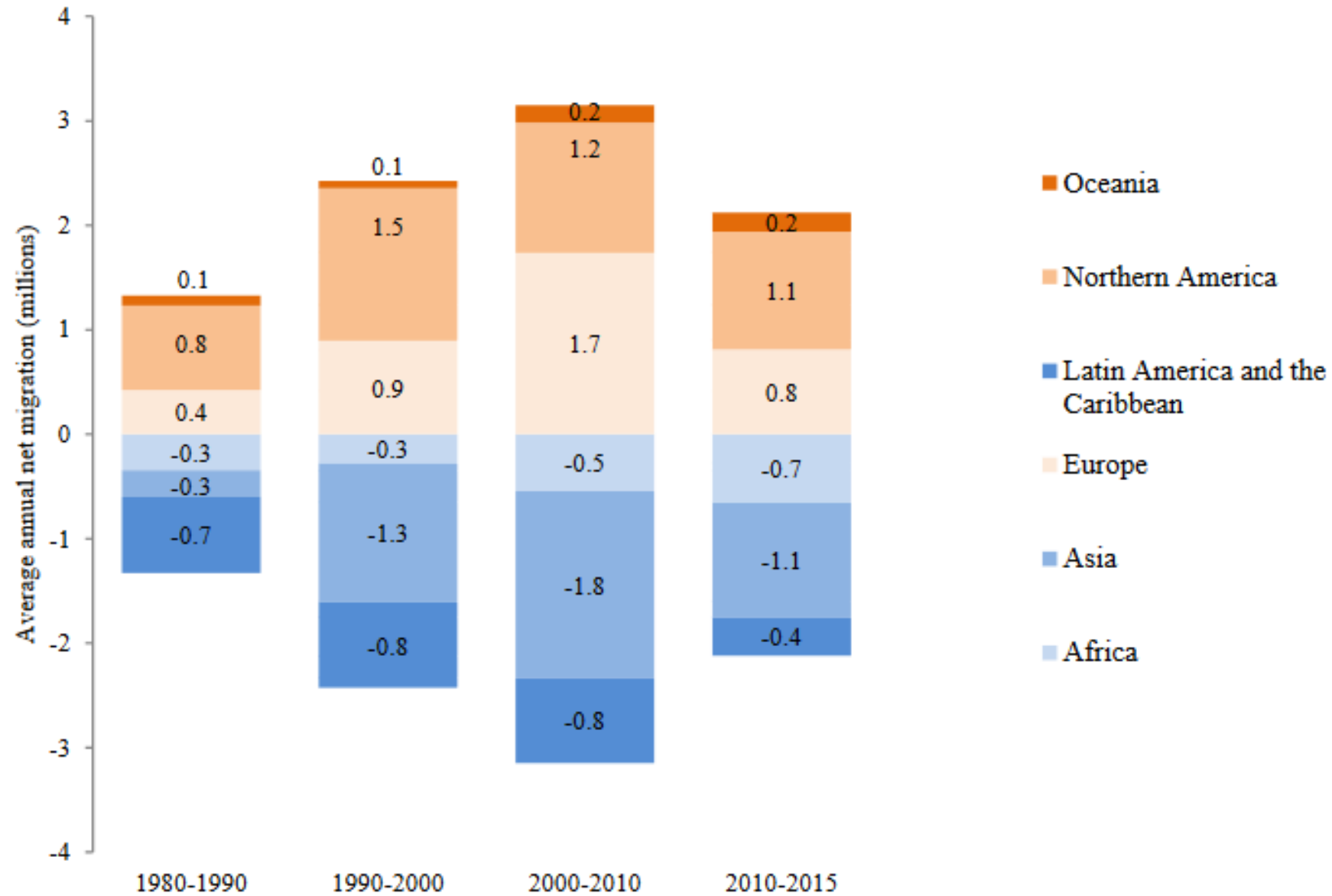
Country of origin	Source	Data date	Population
Nigeria		31 Aug 2017	13.8% 16,624
Syrian Arab Rep.		30 Sep 2017	9.7% 11,654
Guinea		31 Aug 2017	8.5% 10,291
Côte d'Ivoire		31 Aug 2017	7.9% 9,544
Bangladesh		31 Aug 2017	7.3% 8,747
Gambia		31 Aug 2017	5.2% 6,294
Mali		31 Aug 2017	5.0% 5,989
Eritrea		31 Aug 2017	4.6% 5,601

Figure 3. Population by region: estimates, 1950-2015, and medium-variant projection, 2015-2100



Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2017). *World Population Prospects: The 2017 Revision*. New York: United Nations.

Figure 7. Average annual net migration by region, 1980-2015



Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2017).
World Population Prospects: The 2017 Revision. New York: United Nations.

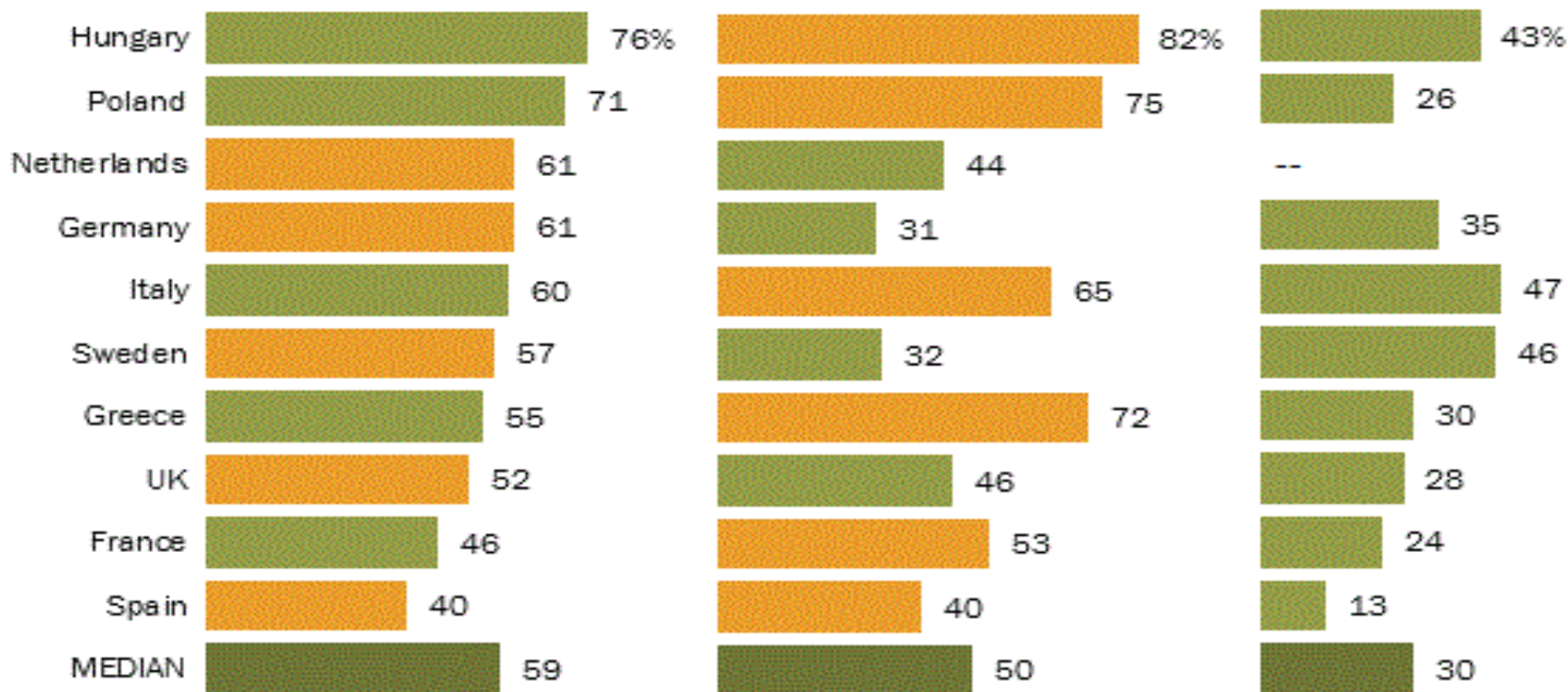
Many Europeans concerned with security, economic repercussions of refugee crisis

■ Top choice

Refugees will increase the likelihood of terrorism in our country

Refugees are a burden on our country because they take our jobs and social benefits

Refugees in our country are more to blame for crime than other groups



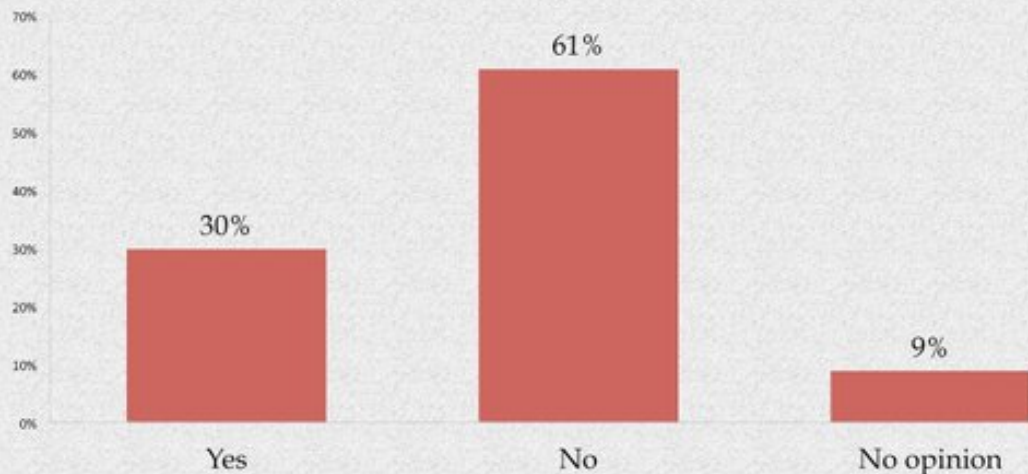
Note: Netherlands excluded on question about crime (Q51b) due to administrative error.

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q51a-c.

Interwar period: hostility to refugees after record number of migrants in the preceding century

U.S. January 20, 1939

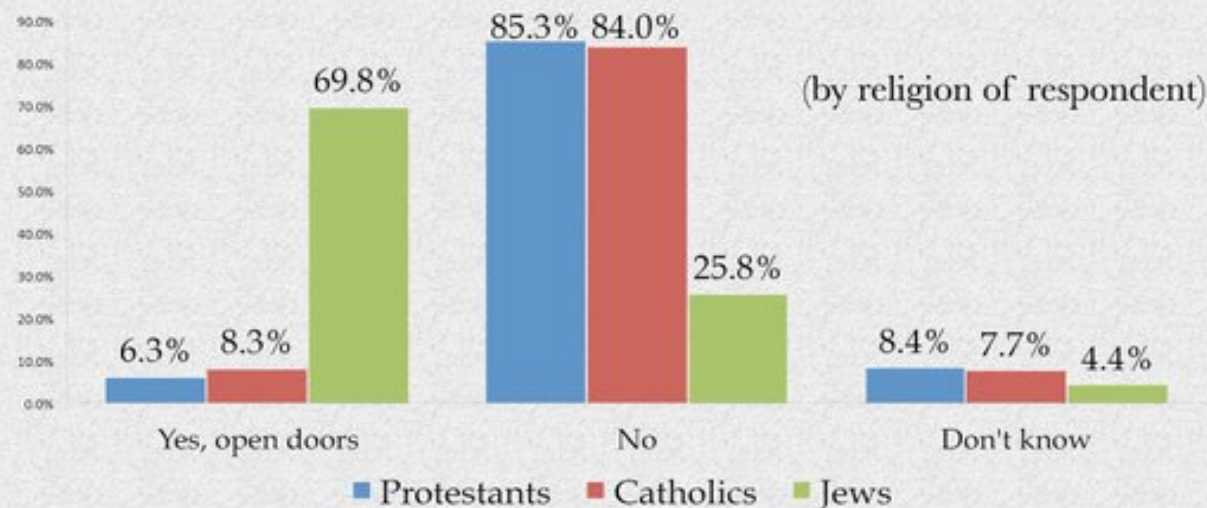
It has been proposed to bring to this country 10,000 refugee children from Germany—most of them Jewish—to be taken care of in American homes. Should the government permit these children to come in?



Source: American Institute of Public Opinion

U.S. April, 1939

If you were a member of Congress, would you vote yes or no on a bill to open the doors of the United States to a larger number of European refugees than now are admitted under our immigration quotas?



Source: Fortune

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