



BACKGROUND GUIDE

COUNCIL OF EUROPE

Agenda:

The European Migrant crisis

LETTER FROM THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

Greetings delegates,

We welcome you to the simulation of Council of Europe at Jaypee Model United Nations Conference 2018. The committee shall be discussing “The European Migrant Crisis” as its agenda for the course of two days. The agenda is chosen after intense debate and deliberation amongst the Executive Board, keeping in mind the relevance, the mandate and the wide availability of information of the same.

Though we shall try our level best to give you all a very comprehensive guide, however, the responsibility of reading between the lines and joining the dots lies on you. We as moderators can just bring information on the table; it's on you how you wish to pursue that information as. So in this Guide as well, we shall bring in a wide range of information to your notice, ranging from official statements to scholarly views however the responsibility of prioritizing what to focus on and not is totally yours. When we talk of prioritizing information, what we mean is not to prioritize information according to what you think should be focused, but prioritizing information according to what your country thinks should be focused.

We hope that we will be able to critically examine the agenda and come up with solutions, or maybe measures, which we can adopt to avert crises. Just remember that being a problem solver is your primary role as a participant in this discussion, even if you may have to speak from the perspective of the respective governments which you are going represent. We know that there will be times when you will be stuck in formulating a solution. The reason simply being that you will be able to see limitations to whatever you are suggesting. Here, a key advice would be that you cannot make a perfect solution. None of us can. We have to figure out the outcomes we wish to prioritise and why should we prioritise. We shall also be looking forward to originality but do remember in the course of representing a country, do not deviate from your foreign policy.

While researching do not treat data or figure as just numbers or letters, there is a whole lot of backlog which resulted in the creation of such a data. Try your best to know the story behind that data, to understand the construction of that data and know why that data exists. While researching you shall always have prejudices about which information is important which is not, but rectifying them and treating every piece of information on the same platter is what your role should be as a person trying to make sense of information. In short, it is a request to strive for reducing cognitive biases. While researching or debating it has often been observed that we all tend to get swayed

by our common sense. We start believing on something just because it delights our common sense. One's role as a diplomat and as a person who is researching on any issues is to prevent himself or herself from getting swayed away by common sense. And the best way to overcome this, is to question your own common sense, what is the root of our common sense.

Oh! And we want you to know that it is not only going be about the “serious stuff”. We will hopefully grab a chance or two to also know each other better informally. So prepare to engage at different levels. We are eagerly looking forward to meet each one of you.

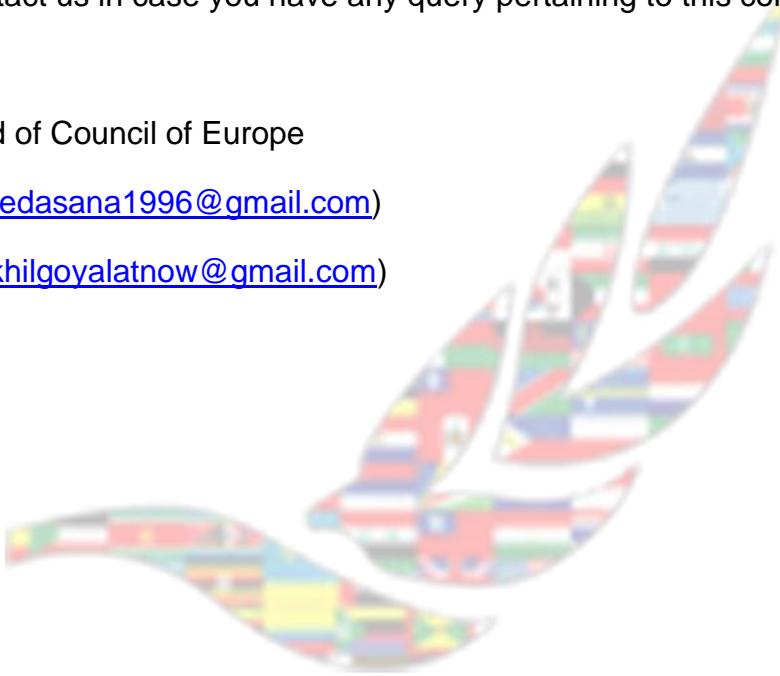
Feel free to contact us in case you have any query pertaining to this committee.

Regards

Executive Board of Council of Europe

Syeda Sana (syedasana1996@gmail.com)

Nikhil Goyal (nikhilgoyalatnow@gmail.com)



CREDIBILITY OF SOURCES IN THE COUNCIL

We all understand that the internet today is flooded with information. We often encounter pieces of information or facts which are inaccurate or even fabricated. Many times we read news articles which are biased. This challenge, of determining which fact is true or not, sometimes becomes a bone of contention between different governments as well. Take for example India and Pakistan, which often accuse each other of initiating the violation of the ceasefire establish between them at the Line of Control (LoC). Thus, even at the international arena, veracity and acceptance of a fact by one or more government plays a major role in how an agenda is understood, deliberated or resolved. As it is likely that disputes may arise in the council related to the facts presented by various delegates, the Executive Board is sharing a list of sources which it will deem more credible than any other source. It means that if the Board has to decide which fact is true at a time of dispute resolution, then it may choose the fact from one of these sources over others.

But please note that as a representative of a country's government, you are free to look at all types of sources for your reference or preparation. However, it is advised that you cross-check facts from at least one of the following –

1. News Sources

a. **Reuters**

It is an independent private news agency, which mostly covers international events of importance.

Website: www.reuters.com

b. **State operated News Agencies**

In many countries the government itself partially or fully controls the media, and thus the subsequent flow of information. Hence, news reports from such outlets can be used by a participant to substantiate or refute a fact in context of that government's position on the agenda in the council. For examples,

- i. RIA Novosti (Russia)
- ii. IRNA (Iran)
- iii. sXinhua News Agency and CCTV (People's Republic of China)

2. Government Reports

These are reports which various organs, ministries, departments or affiliated agencies of a government release. They can be used in a similar way as the State Operated News Agencies reports. You may visit different governmental websites for the same. For Example,

a. State Department of the United States of America

Website: www.state.gov

b. Ministry of Foreign or External Affairs of various countries like India

Website: www.mea.gov.in

3. Permanent Representatives to the United Nations

This portal serves as a one-stop-shop for finding documents which reflect the activity of a country at United Nations or its affiliated bodies. The documents from these individual country websites also serve as a source for finding official statements by that country on various agendas. Do take note that the nature of websites varies a lot from country to country.

Source Link: www.un.org/en/members/

(Click on a particular country to get the website of the Office of its Permanent Representative.)

4. Other Multilateral or Inter-Governmental Organizations

These are international organisations which are apart from the United Nations. Usually one may find these organisation based around a specify region like South Asia, and a specific purpose such as trade, security or cooperation. Documents from the same can be deemed credible; most certainly for the countries which are a part of that organisation. For example,

a. South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC)

Website: www.saarc-sec.org

b. The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)

Website: www.nato.int/cps/en

5. United Nations and Affiliated Bodies

All reports or documents from the United Nations, its organs or affiliated bodies may be considered as a credible source of information.

Website: www.un.org

a. Organs such as,

- i. UN Security Council

Website: www.un.org/Docs/sc/

- ii. UNGA

Website: www.un.org/en/ga/

b. UN Affiliated bodies such,

- i. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)

Website: www.iaea.org

- ii. The World Bank (WB)

Website: www.worldbank.org

6. Documents from Treaty Based Bodies

These are bodies which are strictly formed for looking after the implementation of an international treaty or agreement. These agreements are pertinent to a specific theme; a document which various countries sign and agree upon. For example,

a. The Antarctic Treaty System

Website: www.ats.ag/e/ats.htm

b. The International Criminal Court

It is based on an agreement known as the Rome Statute.

Website: www.icc-cpi.int

Note while ruling a Point of Order the reports published by Council of Europe shall take precedence over any other source of information.

COMMITTEE DESCRIPTION

The Council of Europe is the oldest intergovernmental organization in Europe and brings together the largest number of European countries: 47 Member States representing some 800 million Europeans. While it is totally independent from the European Union, the two entities do collaborate in certain domains. The 28 Member States of the European Union are all members of the Council of Europe. The Council of Europe principally aims to defend human rights and parliamentary democracy. The organization is composed of two bodies : the Committee of Ministers and the Parliamentary Assembly, as well as three institutions: the European Court of Human Rights, the Commissioner for Human Rights and the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities. The Secretary General of the Council of Europe has the overall responsibility for the activities of the organization.¹

NOTE- We shall be simulating the **Committee of Ministers at the Ministerial Level**.

ABOUT THE COMMITTEE OF MINISTERS AT THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL

The Committee of Ministers (CM) is the Council of Europe's decision-making body.

Representatives on the CM are the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Council of Europe member States. The Committee meets at both ministerial level and at Deputy-level.

The CM's role and functions are described in Chapter IV of the Statute. It adopts its own rules of procedure.

Its timetable is based on the holding of one annual ordinary ministerial session around the symbolic date of 5 May, leaving open the possibility of holding a second one during the year.²

To know more about the meeting, kindly refer to this link-
<https://www.coe.int/en/web/cm/ministerial-level>

¹ <http://en.strasbourg-europe.eu/council-of-europe,2090.en.html>

² [https://www.coe.int/en/web/cm/ministerial-level#{"17738891": \[0\]}](https://www.coe.int/en/web/cm/ministerial-level#{)

INTRODUCTION

More than a million migrants and refugees crossed into Europe in 2015, sparking a crisis as countries struggled to cope with the influx, and creating division in the EU over how best to deal with resettling people.

The vast majority arrived by sea but some migrants have made their way over land, principally via Turkey and Albania.

Winter has not stemmed the flow of people - with 135,711 people reaching Europe by sea since the start of 2016, according to the UNHCR.

1. Which countries are migrants from?

The conflict in Syria continues to be by far the biggest driver of migration. But the ongoing violence in Afghanistan and Iraq, abuses in Eritrea, as well as poverty in Kosovo, are also leading people to look for new lives elsewhere.

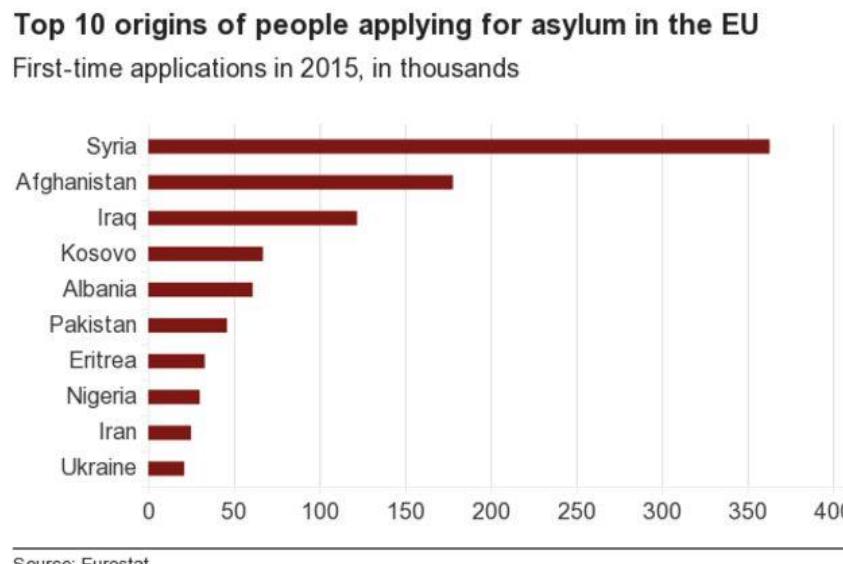


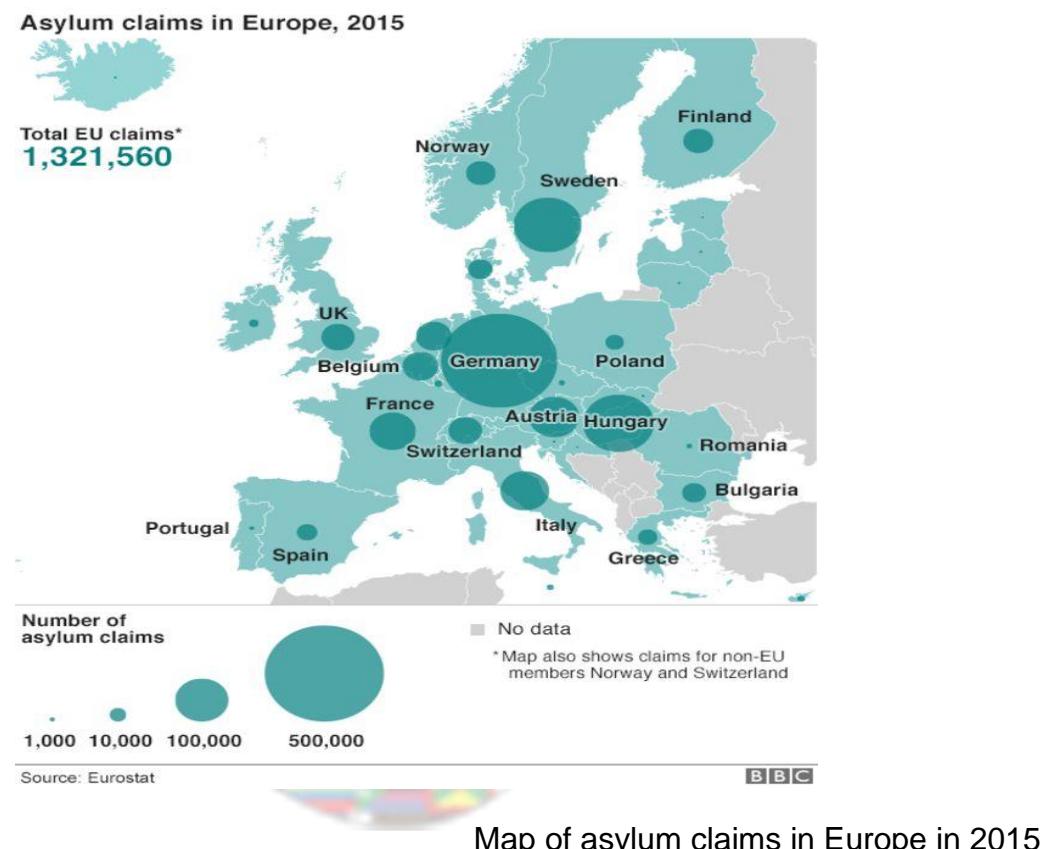
Chart showing origin of asylum seekers.

2. Where are migrants going?

Although not all of those arriving in Europe choose to claim asylum, many do. Germany received the highest number of new asylum applications in 2015, with more than 476,000.

But far more people have arrived in the country - German officials said more than a million had been counted in Germany's "EASY" system for counting and distributing people before they make asylum claims.

Hungary moved into second place for asylum applications, as more migrants made the journey overland through Greece and the Western Balkans. It had 177,130 applications by the end of December.



3. How do migrants get to Europe?

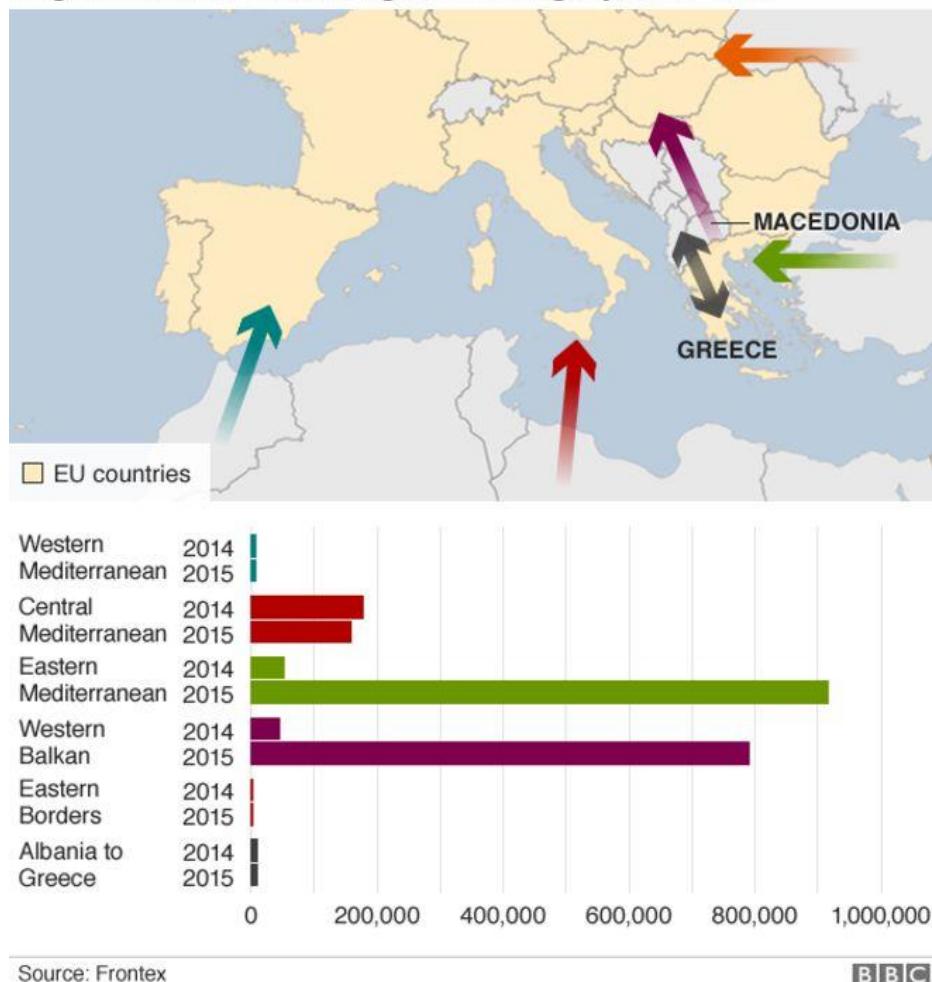
The International Organization for Migration (IOM) estimates that more than 1,011,700 migrants arrived by sea in 2015, and almost 34,900 by land.

This compares with 280,000 arrivals by land and sea for the whole of 2014. The figures do not include those who got in undetected.

The EU's external border force, Frontex, monitors the different routes migrants use and numbers arriving at Europe's borders and put the figure crossing into Europe in 2015 at more than 1,800,000.

Most of those heading for Greece take the relatively short voyage from Turkey to the islands of Kos, Chios, Lesvos and Samos - often in flimsy rubber dinghies or small wooden boats.

Migrants detected entering the EU illegally, 2014-2015



Migrants detected entering the EU, 2014-2015

4. How dangerous is the journey?

According to the IOM, more than 3,770 migrants were reported to have died trying to cross the Mediterranean in 2015.

Most died on the crossing from north Africa to Italy, and more than 800 died in the Aegean crossing from Turkey to Greece.

The summer months are usually when most fatalities occur as it is the busiest time for migrants attempting to reach Europe.

But in 2015, the deadliest month for migrants was April, which saw a boat carrying about 800 people capsize in the sea off Libya. Overcrowding is thought to have been one of the reasons for the disaster.

Migrant deaths in the Mediterranean by month

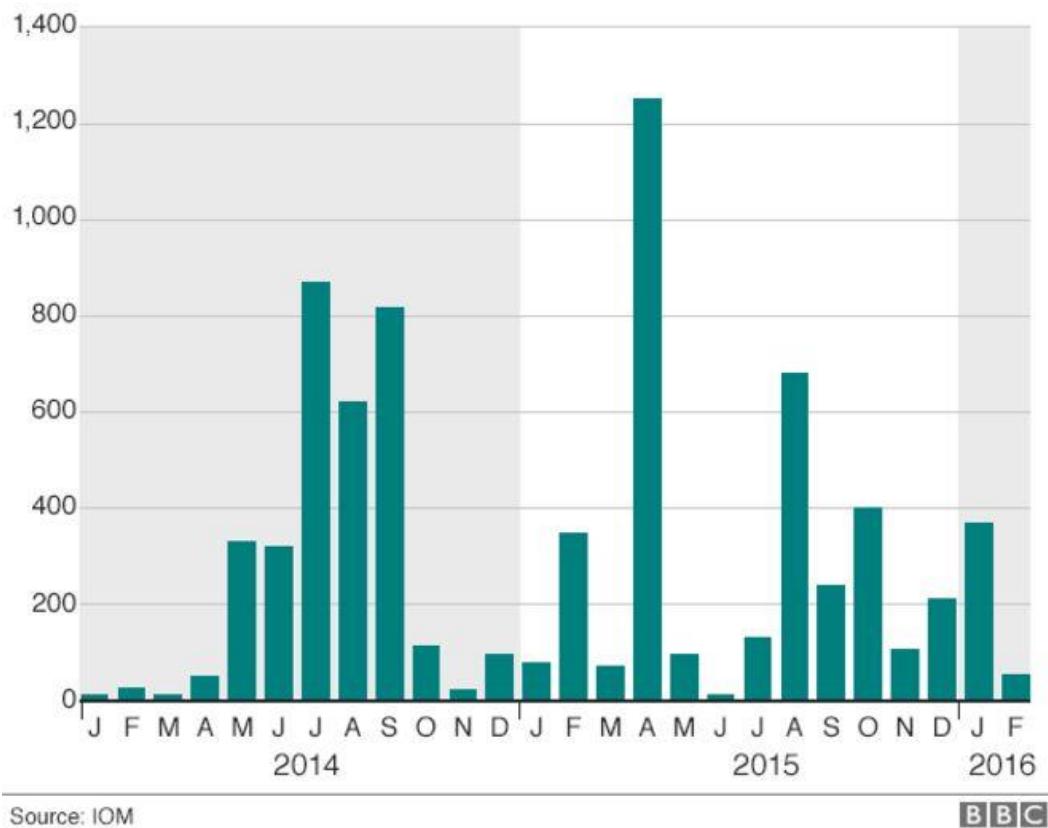


Chart showing number of migrant deaths in the Mediterranean by month from 2014 to February 2016

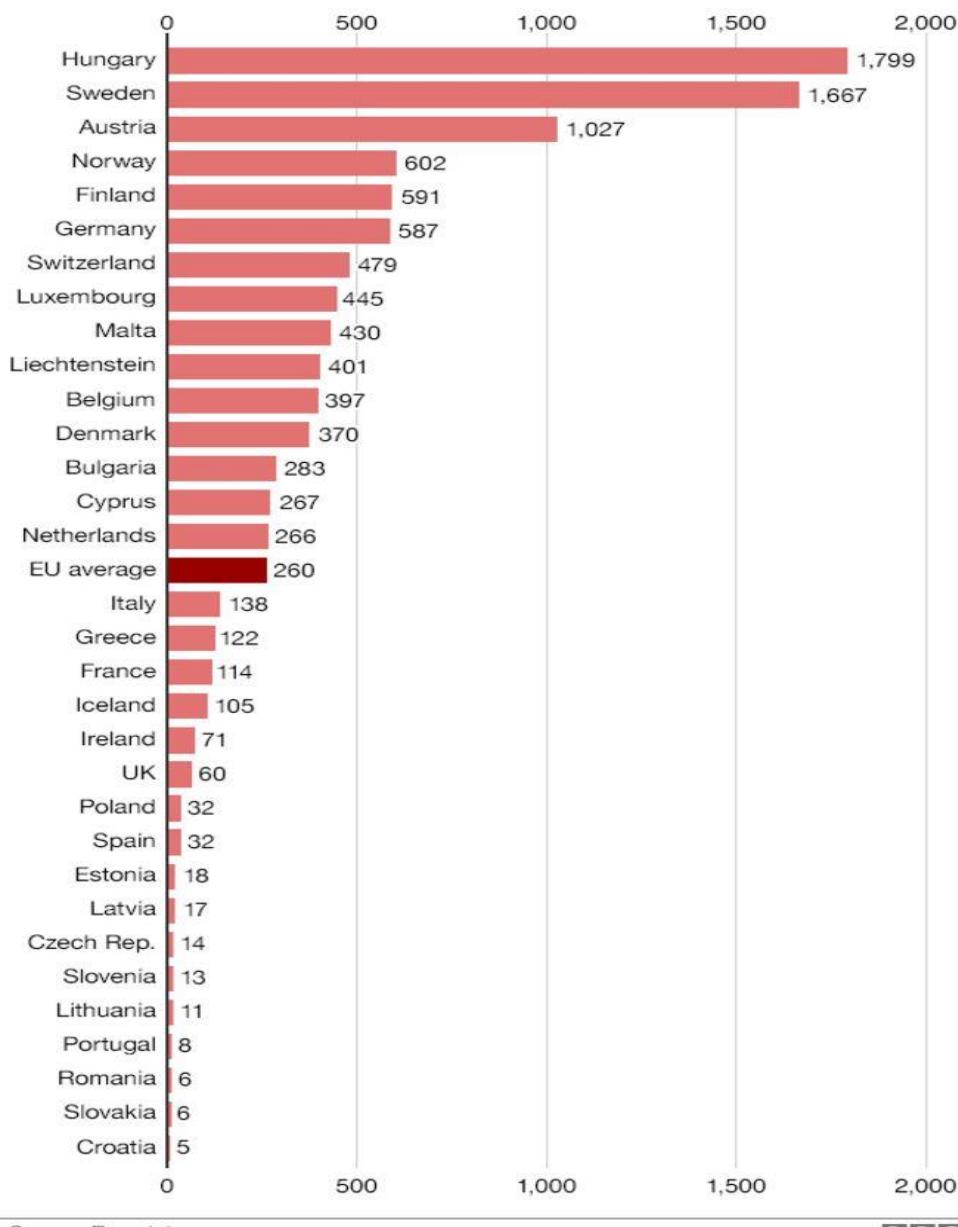
5. Which European countries are most affected?

Although Germany has had the most asylum applications in 2015, Hungary had the highest in proportion to its population, despite having closed its border with Croatia in an attempt to stop the flow in October. Nearly 1,800 refugees per 100,000 of Hungary's local population claimed asylum in 2015.

Sweden followed close behind with 1,667 per 100,000.

The figure for Germany was 587 and for the UK it was 60 applications for every 100,000 residents. The EU average was 260.

Asylum applications per 100,000 local population, 2015



Source: Eurostat

BBC

chart showing asylum applications_per_capita_in 2015

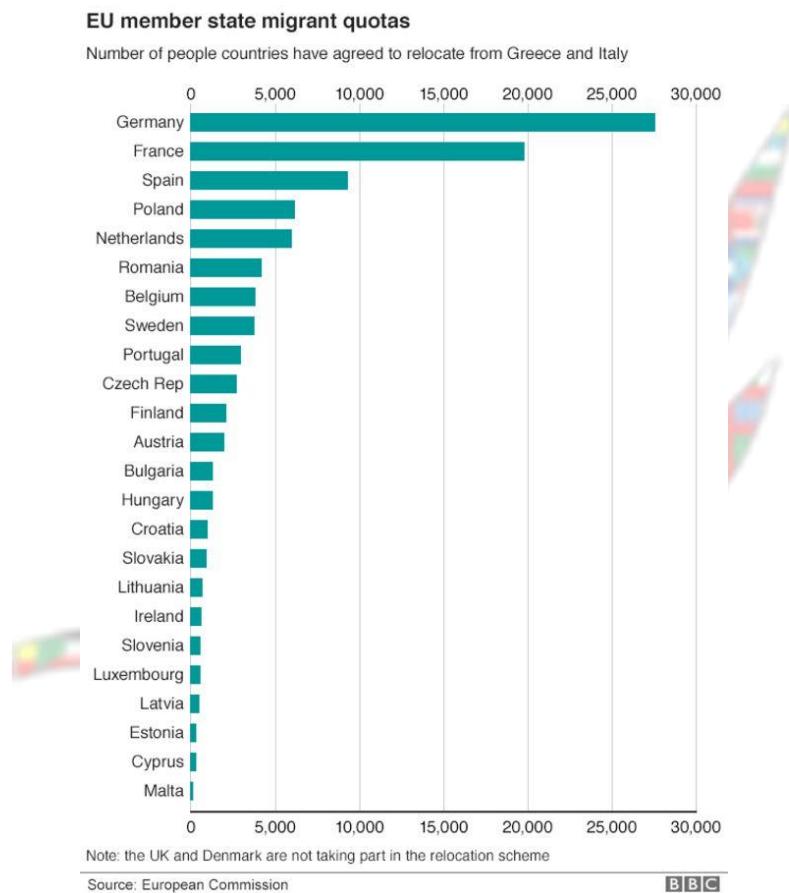
6. How has Europe responded?

Tensions in the EU have been rising because of the disproportionate burden faced by some countries, particularly the countries where the majority of migrants have been arriving: Greece, Italy and Hungary.

In September, EU ministers voted by a majority to relocate 160,000 refugees EU-wide, but for now the plan will only apply to those who are in Italy and Greece.

Another 54,000 were to be moved from Hungary, but the Hungarian government rejected this plan and will instead receive more migrants from Italy and Greece as part of the relocation scheme.

The UK has opted out of any plans for a quota system but, according to Home Office figures, 1,000 Syrian refugees were resettled under the Vulnerable Persons Relocation scheme in 2015. Prime Minister David Cameron has said the UK will accept up to 20,000 refugees from Syria over the next five years.



7. How many asylum claims are approved?

Although huge numbers have been applying for asylum, the number of people being given asylum is far lower.

In 2015, EU countries offered asylum to 292,540 refugees. In the same year, more than a million migrants applied for asylum - although applying for asylum can be a lengthy procedure so many of those given refugee status may have applied in previous years.³

³ <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34131911>

Asylum applications approved 2015



Source: Eurostat

BBC



KEY DEFINITIONS OF REFUGEE, MIGRANT AND ASYLUM SEEKER

A refugee is a person who meets certain eligibility criteria set out by international law. At the global level, the 1951 Refugee Convention defines a refugee as a person who, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership of a particular social group, is outside the country of nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of that country.

There is no single definition of migrant. The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies' (IFRC) policy on migration describes migrants as people who leave or flee their places of habitual residence to go to a new place, across international borders or within their own state, to seek better or safer prospects. Migration can be forced or voluntary, but most of the time a combination of choices and constraints are involved, as well as the intent to live abroad for an extended period of time. Therefore, the IFRC policy definition of migrant includes, among others, labour migrants, stateless migrants, and migrants deemed irregular by public authorities.

An asylum seeker is a person seeking protection from a country other than his or her own as a refugee but whose claim has not yet been adjudicated. Not every asylum-seeker will ultimately be recognized as a refugee, but every refugee is initially an asylum-seeker.

THE GENESIS OF CURRENT MIGRANT CRISIS

The recent trends in the inflow of the migrants and refugees into Europe reflect a combination of several factors such as political instability, social unrest, violence, emerging geo-strategic dynamics in West Asian region, quest for better political and socio-economic conditions, social security system, etc. Global trends point out that the number of displaced people has been rising. The UNHCR Annual Global Trends Report, World at War, noted that worldwide displacement was at the “highest level ever recorded”. War, violence, persecution, and economic and social deprivation remain the major factors in pushing people out of their countries. The UNHCR report observes that almost 15 conflicts have occurred in Africa, Asia, Middle East and Europe in the last five years. Most conflicts – eight – have ignited in Africa, namely Côte d'Ivoire, Central African Republic, Libya, Mali, north-eastern Nigeria, Democratic Republic of Congo, South Sudan and Burundi; Middle East and South and Central Asia witnessed three each in Syria, Iraq, and Yemen; Kyrgyzstan, and in several areas of Myanmar and Pakistan. The annexation of Crimea by Russia and persisting tension in Ukraine has transformed the geopolitical environment in the Eastern European region. The Syrian crisis has become ‘the world’s single-largest driver of displacement’ since early 2011. At the same time, persisting instability and conflict in Afghanistan, Somalia and other parts of the world are keeping millions of people displaced.

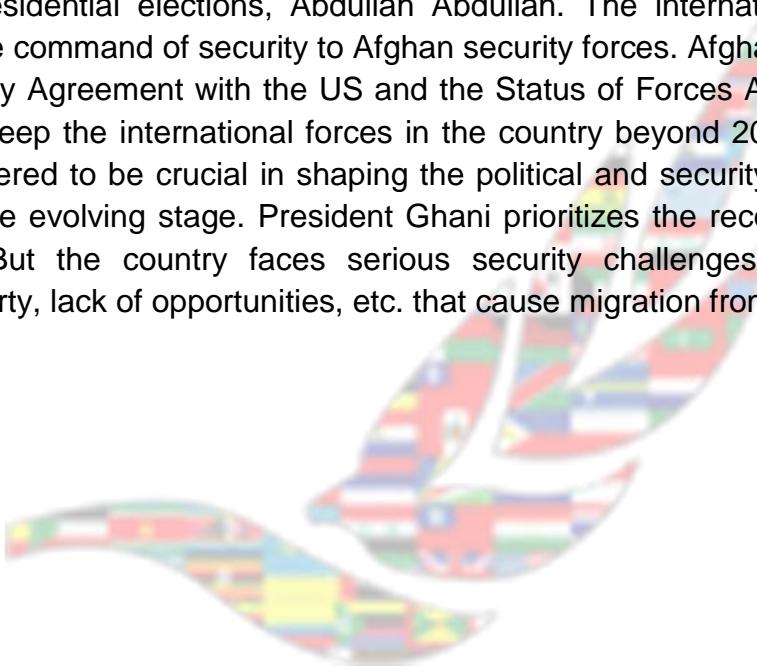
WHAT CAUSED CITIZENS FROM SYRIA, IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN TO MOVE TOWARDS EUROPE?

As explained, most of the people coming to Europe are from Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan. Politically Speaking, Syria and Iraq are in a state of turmoil. What began as a pro-reform and democracy movement, the crisis in Syria has taken a global dimension. Bashar al-Assad government adopted repressive methods to suppress people's discontent, who called for reforms and, subsequently, the resignation of the President. Violence escalated; consequently, the country plunged into a civil war. Fighting reached to the capital Damascus and Aleppo. The UN said that 250000 people had been killed in the Syrian conflict. The conflict is now more than just a battle between President Assad and the rebel groups. The conflict has taken a sectarian color with Sunni majority fighting against the President's Shia Alawite sect, a regional outlook by drawing in neighboring countries; and a global outlook by involving world powers. The Syrian government argues that it is the target of a concerted strategy of Israel and Western and pro-Western Arab states. As a consequence of more than five years of war, more than four million people have fled Syria since the start of the conflict, most of them being women and children. Syria: Confronting Fragmentation! Impact of Syrian Crisis, a report from Syrian Center for Policy Research, noted that the economy of Syria has 'shattered and fragmented'; it is 'dominated by the fighting subjugating powers.' It further notes, ".....systematic collapse and destruction of its economic foundations: infrastructure and institutions, human and physical capital, and the wealth of the nation have almost all been obliterated." The UNDP report, 'Syria Alienation and Violence: Impact of Syrian Crisis Report,' notes that armed conflict, economic disintegration and social fragmentation have transformed the human geography of Syria. Neighbouring countries have borne the brunt of the refugee crisis, with Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey struggling to accommodate the flood of new arrivals. These countries have taken most of the Syrian refugees. A further 7.6 million Syrians have been internally displaced within the country. The US-led invasion ousted President Saddam Hussein in Iraq in 2003. He was executed in 2006. Iraq was under economic sanctions after the invasion of Kuwait in 1990.

Economic sanctions of the United Nations had severe implications for Iraqi economy and society. Thousands of Iraqis left the country in a search of living and a better life. The end of the rule of Saddam Hussein could not bring peace and stability in the country. The progress in the nation-building process and growth in employment opportunities were noted to be slow. Anthony H Cordesman noted, "the problems in nation building increasingly led the United States and its allies to act as occupier rather

than liberators." The country is witnessing deadly violence. Islamic State has captured a large part of the country and has unleashed terror after capturing Mosul, which is the second largest city of Iraq. The UN says that Iraqi people continue to suffer from this vicious circle of violence. Political scenario does not seem to be clear in Iraq and Syria. The Western countries believed that the Assad government may not survive long. With the support of Russia, the Assad government keeps fighting the Islamic State. Crisis in Syria has also implications for the geo-political dynamics in the region, particularly for Iraq. After more than a decade long international engagement, the security situation in Afghanistan is far from satisfying.

President Ashraf Ghani has become the President with an agreement with his political rival in the Presidential elections, Abdullah Abdullah. The international forces have handed over the command of security to Afghan security forces. Afghanistan has signed Bilateral Security Agreement with the US and the Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) with NATO to keep the international forces in the country beyond 2014. Reconciliation, which is considered to be crucial in shaping the political and security processes in the country, is in the evolving stage. President Ghani prioritizes the reconciliation process with Taliban. But the country faces serious security challenges from insurgents. Insecurity, poverty, lack of opportunities, etc. that cause migration from Afghanistan.



WHY ARE REFUGEES FROM TURKEY, LEBANON AND JORDAN MOVING TOWARDS EUROPE?

Syrian migrants, who have taken shelter in Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan, are moving towards Europe due to deteriorating conditions in the camps, in quest for stability and prospects for better social and economic opportunities. The situation in all the three countries is not appearing conducive for refugees. Turkey does not give Syrian refugees the legal right to work because the country already has an unemployment rate of almost 10 per cent. There is growing tension among local communities in Turkey. The Syrian refugees are working at lower wages, which is not going well with local employment seekers.

Considering the political and social conditions in the country, Turkey government may not like to keep borders open for the refugees. In addition to socio-economic pressure, it is also perceived that Turkey may be the target of Islamic State as Ankara has joined the US to airstrike against the Islamic State. It has suffered a number of terrorist attacks in the recent past. Islamic State is blamed for most of the deadly attacks.

The conditions for Syrian refugees in Jordan and Lebanon are also not satisfactory. Some are now considering returning to their war-ravaged homeland rather than suffering from poverty, hunger and a sense of insecure future. Humanitarian agencies are painting a grim picture of the state of refugees. It is feared that some would try to return to their ruined and war ravaged country. Due to the impact of Syrian refugee crisis on Lebanon, an estimated 170,000 Lebanese had fallen into poverty; unemployment had doubled to around 20 per cent and economic losses of some US\$7.5 billion had been incurred by 2015. It is noted that only around half of Syrian refugees are economically active and one-third have access to informal and low-skilled employment. Thus, implications may be much higher when more refugees would seek employment. The deterioration of conditions in three main hosting nations – Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan is considered to be pushing refugee and migrants to move towards Europe.

AFRICAN MIGRANTS AND REFUGEES

The number of migrants in Europe from Eritrea has increased sharply. The number of asylum-seekers in Europe from Eritrea has nearly tripled in 2014. Earlier, these Eritrean refugees were living in Sudan and Ethiopia. Now these refugees are frustrated with the humanitarian situation in refugee camps and ‘self-reliance’ opportunities. Violence has erupted in South Sudan; natural calamities – heavy rainfall and flooding in Ethiopia, Djibouti and South Sudan have further worsened the condition. Security and political situation remain fragile in Somalia. It is expected that violence and conflict may continue in future

EUROPEAN RESPONSE TO THE MIGRANT AND REFUGEE CRISIS

In order to deal with the current migrant and refugee crisis, the EU and European member states are taking a number of steps. The European Commission states, “The European Agenda on Migration is based on a simple principle: help migrants in need of international protection and return migrants that have no right to stay on EU territory.” They devised a plan to relocate them. The EU proposed to set up an agency for controlling external borders.

It has stepped up its political initiatives to control the migrants before entering the European borders. They signed a deal with Turkey to control the inflow of migrants. European response to the current migrant crisis can primarily be analyzed at two levels. The internal and external measures taken by the EU to accept migrants and provide them conditions to settle down in the region, and taking preventive measures to stop the heavy inflow of migrants to the European borders and resolve the crisis in the Middle East.

EUROPEAN RULES AND REGULATIONS

All Member States of the EU signed and ratified the 1951 Geneva Convention on the Protection of Refugees. The European countries are also signatories of 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, other human rights conventions, such as the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. As per the 1951 convention, asylum is the fundamental right of people facing 'persecution' and 'serious harm' in their home country.

The asylum and migration policy states that the provisions of the Geneva Convention are implemented through the national legislation of each member state.

Although the EU has taken attempts to harmonize the national refugee and asylum laws, its member states have 'a large degree of sovereignty' in providing refuge to the asylum seekers and refugees. Therefore, the conditions and benefits to asylum seekers and refugees in the EU member states may differ and the Common European Asylum System is yet to completely evolve as it is still in process. The EU has been taking measures to harmonize the asylum and migration policy among the member states. The EU has adopted several legislative measures for harmonizing common minimum standards for asylum between 1999 and 2005. The most important aspects, which have improved, were strengthening of financial solidarity with the establishment of the European Refugee Fund. The Temporary Protection Directive will be allowed for a common EU response in case of mass influx of displaced persons, who are unable to return to their country of origin. The EU family reunification directive is also applicable to the refugees. In order to bring more coherence and facilitate practical cooperation, the EU is aligning the standards of protection in the EU Member States' asylum legislation. Apart from the member states, the EU also supports cooperation among its member states and non-EU countries.

The Dublin Regulation sets out the process of asylum applications and transfers the asylum applicants to the responsible states. The regulation also states that the first entry country will be responsible for processing asylum applications. The International Organization for Migration Report 2015 noted that most of the migrants entered Greece. Migrants are entering through the sea routes of Italy and other sea facing countries. Eastern and Western Mediterranean routes are commonly taken by migrants from the Middle East, who are living in Turkey, than those living in the West Asian countries. People from North African countries' come through the Central Mediterranean route. Migrants from unspecified countries came through the Western Balkan route. As per the

Dublin Regulations, the first country where migrants enter has to process the application of asylum.

EUROPEAN PLAN FOR THE RELOCATION OF REFUGEES

Despite opposition from the Eastern European countries, the EU Interior Ministers have approved the plan for distributing 120,000 migrants among the EU member states. The plan was devised on the basis of 40 per cent of the size of population, 40 per cent of the GDP, 10 per cent of the average number of past asylum applications and 10 per cent of the unemployment rate. The relocation plan of migrant agreement was decided by voting and majority of member states voted in favour of the plan. Therefore, 120,000 migrants will be located across the EU. Although majority of member states led by Germany are ready to take more migrants, Eastern European countries, namely, Slovakia, Romania and Hungary opposed the compulsory quota system. These countries voted against the proposal, while Finland abstained. Germany, France, Britain and other countries have agreed to take more migrants.

The European Council meeting was held on 18-19 February 2016. European leaders were more concerned about the UK demand for reforms in the EU. The migration and geopolitical dynamics were high on the agenda of the meeting. It was decided to improve the identification, registration and fingerprinting and security checks. The European Council aims for 100 per cent identification and security checks against the European databases and collection of information needs to be finalised. As migrants and refugees wish to concentrate in a few European countries, the EU calls for distribution of burden among the member states. Therefore, the conclusion of the meeting is that the asylum seekers do not have the right to choose the country where they would seek asylum. The refugee distribution has not been successful so far. The EU leaders have called for the implementation of relocation of refugees in the EU.

European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker stated that addressing the refugee crisis is the first priority. He noted, "Europeans should remember well that Europe is a continent where nearly everyone has at one time been a refugee. Our common history is marked by millions of Europeans fleeing from religious or political persecution, from war, dictatorship, or oppression." He appealed to member states to accept the refugees. He noted that the refugees still constitute a very small number as they represent only 0.11 per cent of the total EU population. In Lebanon, the refugees represent 25 per cent of the population.

The EU admitted that its plan for relocation of refugees is not working. The EU's Migration and Home Affairs Commissioner, Dimitris Avramopoulos noted that just 272 refugees have been relocated from Italy and Greece. Dimitris Avramopoulos argued that the member states are "prisoners of their domestic agenda", therefore, the scheme of relocation of the refugees would fail. He warned that the high volume of influx of refugees continues in Europe and the EU would face more complicated challenges in the future. Many member states are introducing border controls in EU.

SAFE COUNTRY LIST

As part of the European agenda on migration, the European Commission proposed to create a common EU list of safe countries of origin. The concept of 'safe country' is designed to decrease the amount of asylum claims to be determined. If an individual came from or passed through a 'safe country', s/he becomes liable to return to that 'safe country'. A country is presumed to safe on consideration of several factors including human rights records and political situation. The list initially comprises Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Kosovo, Montenegro, Serbia and Turkey. These countries are considered safe according to the criteria set out in the Asylum Procedures Directive and in full compliance with the principle of non-refoulement. Generally, safe countries' list is prepared at the national level. The EU process of harmonization of safe country list would speed up application processing and discourage the arrival of economic migrants as well.

NEW EUROPEAN BORDER AND COAST GUARD

The European Commission has planned to replace EU's Frontex with a new European Border and Coast Guard. Currently, Frontex coordinates national border agencies and is responsible for security at the national boundaries. It has about 400 staff members at present. The strength of the new agency would be enhanced in terms of personnel, finance and power. It would have larger number of personnel, which is expected to be around 1000.

If the proposal is implemented, the agency would have more financial and security powers. It will receive 322 million euros in funds by 2020 and will have more powers,

including a strong rapid reaction force. The European Commission has also proposed that the new agency would also be responsible for expelling people, who do not qualify for European asylum as per its criteria. The European Commission plan is supported by Germany. However, some member states have criticized the plan and have asserted to maintain national sovereignty in external border control. In addition, the EU aims to strengthen the role of EUROPOL as an intelligence hub for dismantling criminal networks and intends to launch Common Security and Defence Policy operations in the Mediterranean to capture and dismantle boats.

Political and security measures have been taken to address the security concerns in the European region after the Paris attacks in November 2015. The European Commission called for the establishment of an EU-wide intelligence agency. The EU Ministers agreed to enhance border security and tighten border control. The EU Ministers agreed at the emergency talks in Brussels to tighten checks on all travellers at the borders of the Schengen zone.

DEPORTING MIGRANTS WHO COMMIT CRIME

Germany is intended to ease the law to send back migrants, who commit crimes in the country. German Chancellor Merkel adopted the ‘open door’ refugee policy, but also supported the deporting of migrants, who commit crimes in the country. Pressure has risen on Chancellor Merkel as crime rate has increased in German refugee and migrant centres and sexual and robbery incidents have increased in Cologne. In the debate over new measures for asylum policy, German politicians supported easier and stricter measures for deporting the migrants and refugees after committing crimes. Switzerland also held a referendum over the deportation of foreigners, who commit crimes. The Swiss People’s Party (SVP) initiated the proposal to deport the foreigners, who commit lesser crimes. The proposal was rejected by Swiss voters. The German government has also taken measures to step up security and bring more order in managing the security. Germany is digitalizing the information about the refugees. It is also internally distributing the refugees in different regions on the basis of tax revenues and level of population. The Criminal Police in Germany has registered increasing number of crimes in refugee and asylum centres. The German government wanted to keep track of crimes committed by or targeted at migrants. The Federal Criminal Police Office President, Holger Münch told that migrants commit criminal offenses. However, he said that Syrian and Iraqi immigrants are found to be less frequent in committing crimes. Dusseldorf police with the federal police and other state administrative officers conducted raids in Düsseldorf neighbourhood on 16 January 2016. The Police said that raids were

targeted towards people allegedly involved in pick-pocketing, robbery and drug dealing. Interior Minister Thomas de Maiziere visited Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia for seeking speedy repatriation of unsuccessful asylum seekers returned to these countries. Germany considers declaring themas safe countries of origin would help in controlling the inflow of migrants.

THE EU EXTERNAL ACTIONS TO CONTROL MIGRANT AND REFUGEE INFLOW

The EU is taking initiatives to control the smuggling of migrants, providing economic assistance to concerned countries, working to evolve regional framework to contain heavy inflow of migrants. The EU takes preventive measures on smuggling and breaking criminal networks. The EU envisages enhanced cooperation with countries of origin and transit, reinforced intelligence sharing, investigation capacities and prosecution to clamp down on migrant smuggling networks. In line with other member states' governments, the EU also plans to contain migrants through improving socio-economic conditions in origin places. The crisis in Syria is yet to be completely resolved. Stabilizing Middle Eastern economies and politics, and avoiding spill-over effects for Europe have been the main considerations for the EU in dealing with the Middle East. The European Council has agreed to sustain the delivery of humanitarian assistance. Stopping the hostilities would only ensure the delivery of humanitarian assistance. The EU expects that the end of fight would bring normalcy, which may result in reducing the migrant pressure on the continent. After the Paris attacks in November 2015, the European countries have enhanced their political and military campaign against the Islamic State. Germany and the UK joined the airstrikes against the Islamic State. French President Francois Hollande visited Russia in his effort to build an alliance against the Islamic State. Russia and France have agreed to extend their defence cooperation to the fight against terrorism in Syria. Both countries would share intelligence about terrorist activities and military operations in Syria.

Islamic State has reportedly suffered territorial loss. President Assad's forces have retaken territory controlled by the Islamic State. In the changed geo-political scenario, Russia has partially withdrawn from Syria. Ceasefire has expanded. Russia and the West have expressed their commitments for exploring political solution for the crisis in Syria.

However, how the peace process would turn up, seems uncertain. The opposition High Negotiations Committee (HNC) announced to suspend the UN brokered peace talks in

Geneva. The opposition alleges that violence is escalating in northern Syria and President Assad's forces have violated the ceasefire more than 2000 times. It opined, "letting the conflict stew isstill the bad option.

THE EU-TURKEY AGREEMENT

The EU and Turkey agreed for enhancing cooperation for dealing with the inflow of migrants and refugees. As a part of measures to contain the refugee challenges in its neighbourhood, the EU tried to persuade Turkey for stepping up its actions to stop the flow of migrants. The EU has offered more than 'political support' to Ankara to manage the refugee emergency in Europe. Apart from providing financial support for enhancing institutional and procedural issues, the EU has also offered easier access to visas for Turkish citizens and speeding up membership negotiations. The EU offered financial assistance of three billion Euros. The addition is intended to enhance the asylum and documentation procedures in Turkey. The EU and Turkey are concerned about the security issues on the borders and coastal areas where smugglers and human traffickers are operating to smuggle people. Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan has criticized the EU for not taking comprehensive measures to tackle the refugee problem, particularly of those coming from Syria. He told that Turkey has already taken a huge number of refugees. He also criticized the EU approach to membership negotiations. He argued that Brussels is not sincere about Turkey's membership in the EU.

Turkey arrested around 1300 migrants, who intended to go to Greece. The EU also wants to the migrants, who have already entered Europe, but do not qualify the criteria of refugee, to be returned to Turkey. Turkey has also introduced visa restrictions for Syrians coming there via air or sea. Turkey said that visa restrictions are intended to reduce the number of Syrians arriving indirectly from third countries like Lebanon or Egypt. However, it maintains that it would not ask for visas from Syrians entering the country via land border.

After almost two months of agreement, the EU told Turkey that the number of migrant crossing European border through Turkey has not decreased. The EU Vice

President Frans Timmermans stated that the goal of action plan is to control the flow to 2000 to 3000 a day. Turkey may reportedly start offering Syrian migrants work permit. Therefore, they can stay in the country. Greece also accused Turkish authority for helping smugglers. Greek President, Prokopis Pavlopoulos said, "I have a strong fear

that Turkish smugglers have the support of the authorities, in particular, border authorities, who act like they have seen nothing."

Turkish role in controlling the migrant inflow was further emphasized during the meeting of European Council. The EU noted that the implementation of EU-Turkey Action Plan is the priority. The EU puts substantial onus on Turkey to reduce the migrant entry and illegal entry. It maintains that migrant inflow to Greece from Turkey remains too high. Therefore, Turkey needs to ensure speedy and effective implementation of the Action Plan. The EU and Turkey agreed to reduce the irregular migration. They also decided to provide 'safe and legal route' to the EU for Syrian refugees. As per the agreement, the EU would take a Syrian refugee from Turkey in exchange of every Syrian returned to Turkey from Greek Islands. The EU would expedite the disbursement of the initially allocated €3 billion under the Facility for Refugees in Turkey and provide additional 3 billion Euros to Turkey by end of 2018, and promised short-term visa free travel to Turks and resume the negotiations on EU membership for Turkey. Turkey-EU cooperation is the need of the hour. The EU needs support for effective control of inflow of migrants as well as containing smuggler networks. Turkey is worried about the persisting crisis in Syria. It is concerned about the economic implications of instability in West Asia and tension with Russia. In such a scenario, the EU appears to be a viable major economic partner for Turkey.

NATO AEGEAN SEA MISSION

The NATO would provide support to assist with the refugee and migrant crisis. It will try to curtail illegal trafficking and illegal migration in the Aegean Sea. The Secretary General of NATO stated that the mission aims towards contributing critical information and surveillance to help counter human trafficking and criminal networks. The NATO would cooperate with national coastguards and the EU. In cooperation with Turkey, Greece and Frontex, NATO ships will work to deter the migration inflows. Rescued migrants and refugees would be sent to Turkey. The EU states that all members of NATO to support NATO measures and Frontex, should closely cooperate with NATO.

THE EU'S COOPERATION WITH AFRICAN COUNTRIES

The EU has proposed some measures to tackle migration from Africa. The EU has decided to diplomatically engage in resolving the root causes of conflicts in African countries. The EU has launched an Emergency Trust Fund for addressing the causes of irregular migration and displacement of persons in Africa. This trust fund would be utilized for generating employment opportunities and providing basic services for local population. The EU would also work to tackle trafficking and illegal migrations. 80 African countries were not satisfied with European development assistance. They maintained that 1.8 billion Euro is not enough to effectively tackle the crisis. Germany is negotiating with African countries to accept their nationals who do not qualify for asylum in the country. Some countries-Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia-have offered their support to the initiative. Other countries such as Benin, Senegal, GuineaBissau, Niger, Nigeria and Sudan are asked to take back their nationals, who may not receive asylum in Germany. At the meeting of European Council, the EU leaders stressed that Vallenta Summit points should be implemented.

DEPORTING AFGHAN REFUGEES

Afghanistan remains one of the major sources of asylum seekers in Europe. A report says that Afghanistan issued more than 2,000 passports a day in Kabul last year, a six-fold increase over 2014, mostly to men and women under the age of 30. Germany has announced to expedite the process of deporting Afghan asylum seekers, who do not qualify for asylum status in Europe. German Interior Minister Thomas de Maiziere stated that Afghans are one of the major asylum seekers in Europe, and Germany wants them to stay in Afghanistan. Germany also launched a campaign to discourage potential Afghan migrants and asylum seekers in Germany. To discourage the migrants to move towards Germany, it also started a public awareness campaign. "Germany has also decided to increase the number of troops to 980. The current number of troops is around 850. The German government's decision to enhance troops' number, although it seems to be quite marginal, came as intensified Taliban attacks in Afghanistan occurred.

COMPLEXITIES IN EUROPEAN RESPONSE

The complexities, which have emerged in European response, are imbedded in their institutional set up, policy framework, persisting economic slowdown, national identity and social-religious fabric and political discourse. The EU stands divided on collective and coordinated measures to deal with the crisis. The EU has failed to find common solution to refugee crisis and its measures appear to be piecemeal rather than being comprehensive and long term. The “Dublin system” has been heavily criticized on various grounds, such as for causing violations of asylum seekers’ human rights; and producing inequitable distribution of asylum applications across EU member States. It provides for transfer of responsibility to countries of irregular first entry, especially to the south. The system seems to be slow, costly and experience reflects that it is also ineffectual.

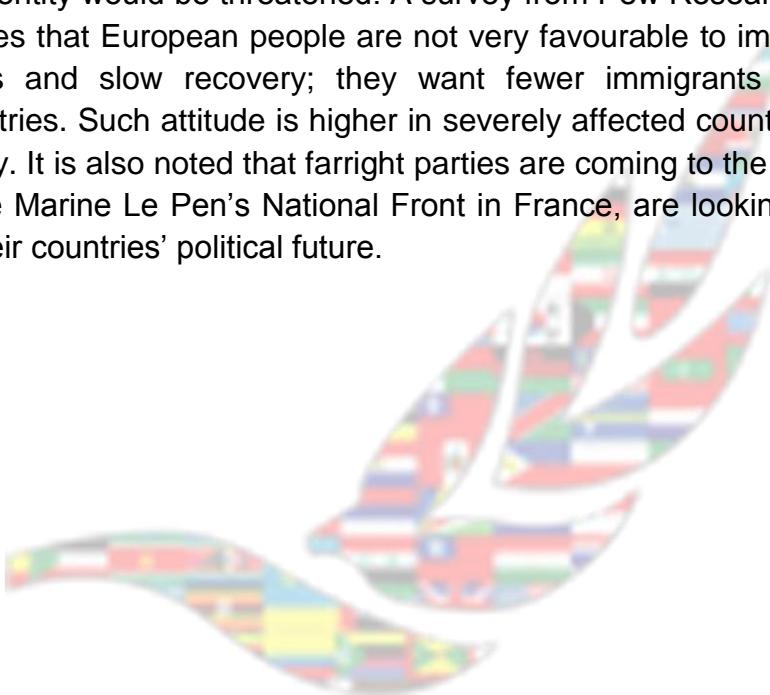
DIFFERENCES IN THE EU

The EU lacks policy synergies and collective approach to deal with the migrant crisis. The Central and Eastern European countries were opposed or are reluctant to implement the quota system devised for refugee settlement. Although majority of member states led by Germany are ready to take more migrants, Eastern European countries, namely Slovakia, Romania and Hungary opposed the compulsory quota system. These countries voted against the proposal, while Finland abstained. Hungary and Slovakia have filed a legal case against the quota plan in the European Court of Justice. Hungary also launched a media campaign against the quota scheme. After the victory of Law and Justice Party (PiS), Poland has also hardened its stand on the refugee settlement. After the Paris attacks, security concerns have increased. Irked by the unresponsive attitude of East European countries, which was also criticized by the United Nations agency and human rights groups, German Interior Minister stated that EU structural funds for countries that refused to take quotas of refugees should be cut. The difference between the Eastern and Western Europe is noted to be ‘clear’ and ‘persistent’. Central and Eastern European countries worry about accepting the migrants. They are culturally and religiously more homogenous.

Central and Eastern European countries are concerned about improving their economic growth and promote development. In the time of economic crisis, they want to generate

more employment opportunities for their own citizens. Ukrainian people have also moved to Poland and other Central European countries after political upheavals in Ukraine. These countries have already taken refugees and migrants from Ukraine.

With the rise of far-right movements, and far-right parties, these countries are unlikely to accept Muslim migrants. Culturally, Western European countries are more diverse than those of Eastern Europe. Eastern European nations were under the communist rule and are socially more homogeneous. For instance, Poland is 98 percent white and 94 percent Catholic and other countries also have very little diversity. Thus, it is focused on granting asylum to Syrian Christian. Hungarian Prime Minister, Viktor Orban declared that Christian identity would be threatened. A survey from Pew Research Centre's study in 2014 illustrates that European people are not very favourable to immigrations due to economic crisis and slow recovery; they want fewer immigrants allowed in their respective countries. Such attitude is higher in severely affected countries, for instance, Greece and Italy. It is also noted that far-right parties are coming to the political forefront, and parties, like Marine Le Pen's National Front in France, are looking to play a much larger role in their countries' political future.



RISE OF FAR-RIGHT, ANTI IMMIGRATION PARTIES

The rise of right wing political parties has been registered in the EU member states. Against the common European approach to global and regional challenges, these political parties fuel nationalist tendencies and attempt to generate an anti-immigrant feeling in the society. Although causes of their rising support in elections vary from country to country, these political trends are not considered to be viable for generating collective response. The Law and Justice (PiS) party won the election in Poland. It has opposed accepting the migrants in Poland. Therefore, the new Polish government has anti-immigrant sentiments and it appeared reluctant in taking migrants. Konrad Szymanski, Poland's European Affairs Minister said that Poland would not accept relocated refugees as per the distribution plan of the EU. He stated, "...in the face of the tragic events in Paris, we see no political possibility of implementing them." He further argued that Poland must retain complete control of its borders, as well as its asylum and migration policy, though Poland has voted in favour of redistribution plan of the EU.

Hungary continues to put strong opposition to inflows of migrants. Prime Minister Viktor Orban severely criticized the European policy to allow migrants in the EU. In the same line, Czech Republic President also joined and shared the stage with anti-Islam and anti-refugee fronts in the country. In his Christmas message, Czech Republic's President, Milos Zeman, compared the refugees coming to Europe with the Trojan horse. He called the influx of migrants an 'organized invasion' in Europe. Earlier, he had also warned that migrants would bring terrorism and infectious diseases to Europe. The Czech government also keeps illegal migrants in detention centres and has been accused of giving harsh treatment to them. The UN Human Rights Chief, Zeid Ra'ad al-Hussein criticized the Czech government for detaining refugees for up to 90 days and strip-searching them. Since majority of Czech people are against taking in the migrants, and fear that Muslim migrants may create social tension, therefore, the Czech leadership and politicians are giving such statements to serve the national electoral politics.

Anti-immigration and right wing ideology parties also gained momentum in Germany and France. Although German Chancellor welcomed refugees with open arms, anti-refugee sentiment is also rising in the country. The PEGIDA (Patriotic Europeans against the Islamisation of the West – Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes) movement is gaining momentum against Islam and refugees in the country. Thousands of people are attending the rallies of anti-Islamic groups. There is a trend of rise of the populist-nationalist Alternative for Germany (AfD) party. The party received increased support in regional elections held in Baden-Württemberg,

Rhineland-Palatinate and Saxony-Anhalt in March 2016. Complaints of sexual assaults were registered on New Year's Eve in Cologne. The number of complaints has risen to 516. In 40 per cent complaints, women reportedly said that the crimes were sexual in nature. Women also stated in their complaints that they were subjected to lewd insults and robbery. The Police said that most of the accused were from North African countries, and majority of them are either asylum seekers or are illegally living in Germany. The incidents have generated criticism of German policy to welcome refugees and migrants and have shocked the country, and several protests for better security and respect for the rights of women have been launched. These parties are making attempts to exploit such fear. Attacks on buildings sheltering asylum seekers and other anti-refugee incidents have increased in Germany.

The migrant and refugee crisis and terror attacks had fuelled anti-immigrant sentiments in France. The National Front achieved considerable electoral gain in the recent elections. The National Front could not win in a single region in the regional elections held in December 2015. Despite the electoral loss, Le Pen's National Front was considered to be a strong political force in the country. The party maintains that the main two political parties showed that they were two sides of the same coin, thus, it offered the only real political alternative.

Far-right parties also gained strength in other European countries as well. The Danish People's Party got the second largest percentage of votes in the national elections held in June 2015. The anti-immigration party gained huge support, particularly in rural areas, playing on nationalist sentiments and the promise of preserving the benefits for Danish citizens. Denmark has started to take away refugee's asset in order to support their stay in the country. The Danish parliament has approved the law to take away asylum seekers' personal possessions to cover the cost of their stay in the country. The police may search refugees' assets and take the non-essential items worth more than 10,000 kroner. But the law makes the exception of articles of sentimental value, such as wedding rings, family portraits, decoration and medals. Danish Government says that the policy would treat migrants and refugees similar to the unemployed of the country, who must sell assets of a certain value before they can get benefits. The law also intends to delay family reunification of the refugees. The legal measure is mainly intended to deter the asylum seekers to move towards Denmark. The law received widespread condemnation from human rights groups. The United Nations also criticized the Danish legal measures. The Amnesty Denmark said that the law reflects that the Danish government's main priority was to deter asylum seekers from coming to the country. Switzerland and southern German provinces – Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg - have similar laws, which allow taking refugees' assets. Switzerland collected a total of 210,000 Swiss francs, equivalent to US\$210,000 or 200,000 Euro, from 112 people in 2015 under the regulation. The Swiss government also faced

criticism. But, the government argued that the policy reflects the view of Swiss voters. The authority of German provinces stated that asylum seekers must use their own resources first. They will receive aid later.

The extreme-right Sweden Democrats have steadily risen in the polls, and in one survey in August, they even ranked as Sweden's most popular party. Austria's far-right Freedom Party came second in the regional election. The party won 30.4 per cent vote in the state of Upper Austria. The fears of migrants and refugees played a significant role in the elections. The Greek Golden Dawn gained the third largest percentage of votes in the general elections. Termed as the 'neo-fascist,' the party came in third with seven per cent of the votes, behind the triumphant left-wing Syriza and conservative New Democracy. In April, most of its leaders were put on trial on charges of running a criminal organisation masquerading as a political force. The party stands accused of murder, armed attacks, money laundering and trafficking. The party's anti-immigration stand helped in the elections. The UKIP could not win more than a single seat in the UK general elections 2015, but the party received around 13 per cent votes. Party leader Nigel Farage also criticized taking in refugees. He wrote, "Merkel's crazy pledge to take an unlimited number of migrants is causing a huge security and cultural risk to Europe. The mass movement of people from East to West, most of whom we do not know who they are or where they are from and what they have done or intent to do, is madness."

TIGHTENING THE BORDER CONTROL

The EU member states are taking steps to tighten control on their borders. Free movement of people, capital and goods and services are considered as fundamental elements of the European integration project. Amid rising migration and security concerns, passport free movement in the Schengen zone has created challenges for the EU. The UK Home Secretary noted that the Schengen system has increased irregular migration in the EU. Sweden, Hungary, Finland and Austria have imposed temporary checks on the borders to control the inflow of migrants. Hungary took the stringent steps to put razor wire fence and declared a state of emergency in the border areas. Germany also stepped up checks at the borders with Austria. Border control assumed another dimension when the new government of Poland demanded greater national control over member states' borders. The strain in the Schengen agreement has emerged, and there is call for suspend the Schengen zone for a period of two years also appeared. Some political parties such as UKIP, FN are also demanding to end or suspend the Schengen agreement. UKIP leader Nigel Farage categorically stated that

Schengen is ‘dead’. Nicolas Sarkozy, UMP party, supports that EU but demands fundamental changes in travel in Schengen agreement. Despite the pressure, member states are in favour of free-movement of their citizen and its benefits.

CONCLUSION

The inflow of migrants and refugees has posed challenges not only to European values and their international humanitarian obligations, but also to the European political fabric and institutions. Historically, Europe has made efforts in building human rights protection regime at the regional and global levels. European countries are signatories of international treaties and conventions on the refugee. However, some countries are reluctant or opposed to the redistribution of the refugees, though the magnitude of influx of migrants and refugees is unprecedented. They need to respond collectively, but, their common response is further weakening and political tensions have emerged among Member States. Eurozone economic recovery is ‘moderate’; France has declared a state of economic emergency, hence, the EU member states may also be worried about the assistance to be provided to help a large number of migrants and refugees. The incidents of terror and sexual attacks have raised security and social concerns. People’s perception has changed after the incidents of sexual abuses and robbery involving the refugees and migrants. Anti-refugee protests have been registered across Europe, and people participation is gradually increasing. Rise in incidents against refugees was registered in Germany. Anti-immigrants parties have registered electoral success in the elections.

Contestation among the EU has been noticed in the areas of regional, financial crisis and current migrant and refugee crisis has led the dissent flourish against the EU policy at the national and local levels. Increasing political support may complicate the formulation of common efforts to solve the crises Europe is facing today. Some Central and Eastern European countries fear that migration may disturb their social homogeneity. Strains in the Schengen zone fuel the demand for suspending or ending Schengen passport travel. The European neighbourhood remains unstable. West Asia – namely Syria and Iraq – is the main source of current migrant and refugee inflow. The prevailing geo-political environment in West Asia is not conducive for establishing stability in these countries. Instability will persist and it would be difficult to scale down the inflow of migrants and refugees in Europe. The EU should have a diplomatically more engaged and clear strategy to end the conflict in Syria. The EU may work towards finding a broad-based political solution to the crisis. UN brokered peace talks are yet to

produce result, but the UN sounded optimistic about the peace process. Human rights group voiced concern over the deal between Turkey and the EU for controlling the migrants' inflow, nonetheless, the EU believes in bringing more order at its borders and in the resettlement of refugees. Other countries from where refugees and migrants are moving towards Europe are politically and socially unstable. Afghanistan is facing insurgency and reports suggest that Taliban control has increased in the country. The EU efforts to quell the root cause of migration are not considered to be adequate. People may be in search of opportunities for safe, secure and economically a better life. The EU primarily relies on political and developmental means. The European countries may have used diplomatic and political measures to evolve effective regional mechanisms to ensure peace and stability in Afghanistan. Exogenous factors have strong footprints on security in Afghanistan. Security is the key to the reconstruction and development of a war-torn country which is under process of reconstruction. In the absence of security and law and order, people may not find it viable to return to Afghanistan in the search of their destiny. African countries demand more efforts from the EU to address the cause for migrations. Financial assistance promised to them might not be effective to address the socio-economic factors – which push people to flee their homeland. The contemporary geo-political complexities would not settle down soon. In the given political and security scenario, migrants and refugees may try to move towards Europe in immediate future. Thus, more complexities and uncertainty in the European response may surface.⁴

LINKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. [https://www.acaps.org/sites/acaps/files/products/files/report 3 situation analysis europe march 2016.pdf](https://www.acaps.org/sites/acaps/files/products/files/report_3_situation_analysis_europe_march_2016.pdf)
2. <https://www.pwc.com/gx/en/issues/crisis-solutions/refugee-and-migrant-crisis-report.pdf>
3. <http://bruegel.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/VisionEurope%E2%80%93PolicyPapersweb.pdf>
4. <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201617/cmselect/cmhaff/24/24.pdf>
5. [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2016/573908/EPRS_BRI\(2016\)573908_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2016/573908/EPRS_BRI(2016)573908_EN.pdf)

⁴ <http://www.icwa.in/pdfs/guestcolumn/2014/MigrantCrisisinEurope26042016.pdf>