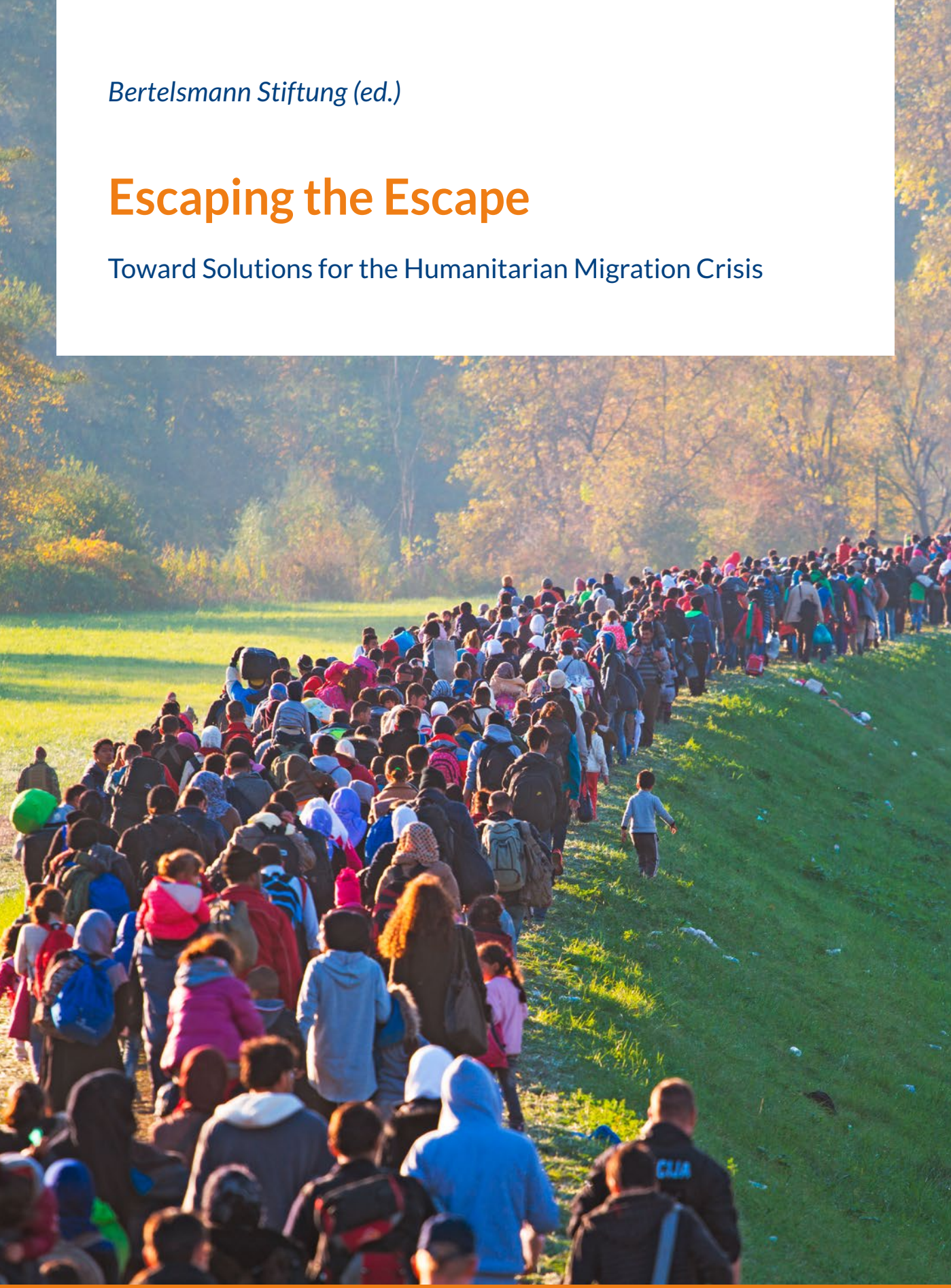
Bertelsmann Stiftung (ed.)

Escaping the Escape

Toward Solutions for the Humanitarian Migration Crisis



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Contents

Foreword 7
Johannes Hahn

Preface 9
Aart De Geus

A Note from the Editors 11

On the Far Side of Crisis: Moving Beyond a Security-Based Migration Approach in the EU 15
Elena Ambrosetti, Enza Roberta Petrillo

Greece: Both A Transit and Host Country 35
Thanos Dokos

The Balkans as Europe's Blind Spot: A Transit Route and Migrant-Origin Area 49
Dane Taleski

Migration, Refugees and Internal Displacement in Ukraine 75
Hryhoriy Nemyria

Turkey as a Refugee Transit and Host Country 93
Sezer Özcan

Afghanistan: Current Migration Patterns and Policy Challenges 109
Mariam Safi

Iran and the Immigration Crisis: Examining the Causes and Consequences of Afghan Immigration 121
Jafar Haghpanah, Mandana Tishehyar

Emigration from Iraq: Who Wants to Leave and Why? 135
Munqith M. Dagher

The Syrian Crisis and Flow of the Syrian Refugees 155
Radwan Ziadeh

On the Situation of Syrian Refugees in Jordan and Lebanon 169
Ziad Majed

Human Mobility in the Euro-Mediterranean Region: The Case of Egypt 183
Ayman Zohry, Khaled Hassan

The Gaza Strip: Reversing the Desire to Flee 197
Ramy Abdu

The Refugee Crisis and Yemen: Prospects for and Conditions of Improvement 207
Mujahed Ahmed Al-Sha'ab

Irregular Somali Immigration to the EU: Causes and Remedies 221
Osman Moallim

Eritrea – National Service, Forced Labor and Mass Exodus: Is There a Way Out? 231
Abdulkader Saleh Mohammad

More Effective Options in Addressing Irregular Sudanese and South Sudanese Migration to Europe 245
Amira Ahmed Mohamed

A Look Deep Inside Nigeria's Migration Conundrums 265
J. Shola Omotola

Irregular Migration in Libya: Analysis, Facts and Recommendations ... 281
Zakariya El Zaidy

Migration Flows from Tunisia: Analysis of Socioeconomic Causes in the Post-Revolutionary Period 297
Safa Ben Said

Migration and Refugees in Algeria and the Sahel: Targeting a Win-Win Neighborhood Policy in the Mediterranean 313
Arslan Chikhaoui

Morocco as an Origin, Transit and Host Country for Migrants 323
Mehdi Lahlou

Escaping the Escape – A Résumé 337
Stefani Weiss

The Authors 349

Foreword

Johannes Hahn

The EU response to the ongoing migration and refugee crisis is the litmus test for my generation. It is the basis upon which future generations of both EU citizens and people in affected countries will judge whether we have lived up to the high standards of strength and solidarity that we set ourselves.

If we are to succeed, we have to show that we have a true appreciation of the factors that drive these unprecedented flows. In addition, we must prove that we have sustainable solutions that can help those in need, while protecting the interests of our Union. As we endeavour to do this, we cannot lose sight of the concerns and fears that have arisen within European society, too.

The fundamental challenge is that of identifying policies together with our partner countries that are smart, sustainable, effective and respectful of the dignity of the people we are seeking to help. Furthermore, an efficient and sound policy must be tailored to the complex situation in each country concerned. There is no one-size-fits-all policy for host, transit and source countries of migration alike. There are no off-the-shelf solutions for complex regional conflicts.

I therefore welcome this study by the Bertelsmann Stiftung since it provides a valuable insight from within the countries most affected by this human tragedy.

The EU wants to invest more in the stability of these countries. This means stronger support for the roots of socioeconomic development: better education (including vocational training), health care, civic rights and improved access to the labor market. It means more emphasis on good governance and deep democracy, but also on the development and diversification of the business sector. Civil society plays a crucial role in ensuring that universal values, notably the respect for human rights and good governance, are at the basis of our action.

The various contributors to this study, while coming from different geographical regions and experiences, all express one clear message: It is only possible to address the phenomenon of mass flight when you understand the very individual fears, expectations and hopes of those who are fleeing.

When speaking about the refugee crisis and migratory pressure impacting the countries in our neighbourhood, we must resist the temptation of referring to a single, generalized picture. Only then can we hope to find real solutions to help improve the lives of people by supporting their aspirations for stability, liberty and prosperity.

Johannes Hahn
EU Commissioner for
European Neighbourhood Policy & Enlargement Negotiations

Preface

Aart De Geus

"Wir schaffen das!" ("We can do it!") These words, coming from Chancellor Angela Merkel – at the height of Europe's humanitarian migration crisis – have resonated strongly among all Germans. The phrase has become at once a banner loudly proclaiming Germany's "culture of welcoming" and the focus of much criticism. In Europe, but also in Germany, the voices and actions of those opposed to a culture of welcoming have been quickly heard and felt, underscoring the fact that not everyone everywhere believes that receiving and integrating refugees and migrants is something that one should obviously do. What began as a rejection among central and eastern European states of a European Union (EU) quota scheme for allocating refugees within the Union has quickly led to new fences and closed borders within the Schengen area. Across Europe, xenophobic sentiments are gaining traction among politicians and citizens alike. To make matters worse, in many areas throughout Europe, this climate of hostility knows no limits when it comes to verbal and physical attacks on refugees as well as on politicians and volunteers who promote policies designed to facilitate the reception and integration of refugees.

Amid the heated debates, there is one aspect of the situation that often goes overlooked: The reception and integration of refugees in Germany, the EU or elsewhere will not resolve the problems of migration and human displacement but merely treat their symptoms. Indeed, we must address the spectrum of root causes for both, from persecution to war to the lack of opportunities for building a secure and viable future for oneself. What can we do to create a situation in which people are no longer compelled to leave their homeland and embark on an often-dangerous journey to a distant country? Why do people flee their homeland? What roles do various actors in their homeland play in driving migration? What role do international actors, such as the EU, play in this regard? What actions must be taken, particularly by the EU, to improve the situation locally within the countries of origin? As the international actor bearing the greatest consequences of its inability to respond effectively to the crisis thus far, the EU must act quickly. How can we nurture an environment in which people no longer fear the tyranny of violence, terrorism, despotic rule, war and hunger, and can instead enjoy the benefits of access to education, training and jobs under conditions of peace, freedom, security, the rule of law and a well-being that goes beyond survival? And, finally, how do people from these countries view the situation in their homeland? What actions do they believe international leaders and organizations should take?

With these urgent needs in mind, we present "Escaping the Escape," a publication designed to contribute to debates on the root causes of human displacement and migration among those in search of a better life. The publication focuses on the views and opinions of those directly affected, and it invites experts from countries of

origin as well as transit and target countries to analyze the situation in each country before providing the EU, in particular, with recommendations on how to effectively address specific issues.

Through the instruments provided by the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), the EU explicitly targets the strategic goal of promoting a "ring of well-governed countries" along its borders with which it can "enjoy close and cooperative relations." The ENP emphasizes economic, political and cultural cooperation with an eye toward modernization as a means of strengthening ties to the EU among those countries without accession prospects. These efforts are intended to help strengthen respect for the pillars of modernity, such as human rights and the rule of law, as well as the development of market economies.

The ENP has been the subject of much criticism – some justified, some not. More recent and certainly well-founded criticism has focused on the need to align a consistent joint European foreign and security policy with a joint European asylum and migration policy as well as with a joint European development policy. To take up each point of criticism here and debate it anew would go beyond the scope of this publication. Instead, the authors featured here aim to offer constructive suggestions for the ENP while providing insight into the challenges specific to each country within the EU's neighborhood, and to thereby facilitate the creation of a "ring of well-governed countries." This is in the interest not only of those who have left their homeland and those who have remained behind to live in an unstable or unsafe environment, but also of the EU itself.

The contributions presented here are very diverse, but they have one feature in common: Each author, in his or her unique way, calls upon the EU to demonstrate its commitment to the principles of democracy and the rule of law both in its handling of incoming refugee flows and its dealings with less-than-democratic regimes. All too often, these regimes are granted concessions with no strings attached, or they are not held to account when they fail to meet any of the conditions that had been set beforehand.

My sincere gratitude goes to the 25 authors featured here, not only for their insightful analysis and recommendations, but also for their open and constructive criticism offered in several cases even in the face of personal risk. I would also like to thank our language editor, Barbara Serfozo, whose painstaking efforts and thoughtful editing have nonetheless retained the individual character and voice of each author.

I would also like to thank my colleagues at the Bertelsmann Stiftung for their efforts in bringing this publication to print. Special thanks goes to Stefani Weiss for her summary analysis and outlook featured at the end of this volume. Finally, I would like to thank Christian-Peter Hanelt, Sylvia Schmidt and Gabriele Schöler, who not only sparked the idea behind this publication, but also did much of the work themselves, thereby ensuring its success despite the many challenges faced.

Aart De Geus
Chairman of the Executive Board
Bertelsmann Stiftung

Greece: Both A Transit and Host Country

Thanos Dokos

http://www.sgi-network.org/docs/2016/country/SGI2016_Greece.pdf

Basic facts	Greece
Capital	Athens
Demographics	
Population	10.82 million
Annual population growth rate	-0.6%
Net migration rate (2016 est.)	2.3 migrant(s)/1,000 population
Top destination countries (2013)	Germany, the United States, Australia, Turkey, Canada, Albania, the United Kingdom, Belgium, Cyprus, Italy
Top source countries (2013)	Albania, Bulgaria, Romania, Georgia, Pakistan, Monaco, Bangladesh, the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Poland
Ethnic groups	Greek 91.6%, other 8.34% (2011 census)*
Languages	Greek (official) 99%, other 1%
Religions and beliefs	Greek Orthodox (official) 98%, Muslim 1.3%, other 0.7%
Median age (2016 est.)	44.2 years
Economy and employment	
GDP, PPP / GDP per capita, PPP	$288.778 billion / $26,680.1
GDP growth rate	-0.2%
GNI, PPP / GNI per capita, PPP	$289.991 billion / $26,790
Inflation rate (consumer prices)	-1.7%
Unemployment (%) (2014)	26.3%
Youth (15-24 years) unemployment (2014)	53.9%
FDI inflows	-$289.5 million
Imports of goods and services	$58.806 billion
Exports of goods and services	$58.464 billion
Remittances inward flow	$736 million
Political transformation (BTI 2016)	n.a.
Economic transformation (BTI 2016)	n.a.

Note: All figures for 2015 unless otherwise specified. Sources (in alphabetical order): Bertelsmann Transformation Index BTI, CIA World Factbook, Eurostat, UNCTAD, UN Data, World Bank (for details, see "A Note from the Editors").
* (Hellenic Statistical Authority 2014)

Modern Greece has traditionally been a country of emigration. For much of the 20th century in particular, the main reasons people left the country were economic in nature. In the late 1980s, the effects of globalization, combined with the changing political and economic dynamics of Eastern and Central Europe, transformed Greece into a destination country. However, in the period from 2008 to 2015, the number of mostly young and well-educated people leaving Greece in search of employment in Germany and other western European countries has increased again. While no official figures are available, estimates place the number of Greek nationals who have left their country since 2008 at 430,000 (Lazaretou 2016). The medium- and long-term costs of this brain drain will be significant, as the dwindling numbers of the country's "best and brightest" will make recovery efforts more difficult.

According to the 2011 census (Hellenic Statistical Authority 2011), the population of Greece was approximately 11 million (10,816,286), of whom 912,000 were foreign nationals. Albanians comprised more than half (53%) of this group (480,851). Numbering

approximately 200,000, citizens of other EU states represented the second-largest group. Other foreign nationals included Pakistanis (35,000), Ukrainians (17,000) and, with 10,000 to 15,000 each, Bangladeshis, Egyptians, Indians, Moldovans and Russians. More than 70 percent of foreign residents were between 20 and 59 years old, meaning that this was an economically active population. Some 86 percent of the foreign population was employed, and 13 percent of its members owned their own businesses. About 25 percent worked in the tourism and trade sectors, 19 percent in construction, 18 percent in farming, and 14 percent in households, providing family and child care (ibid.).

Beginning at the end of the 1980s and continuing through the early years of the 21st century, some 150,000 people of Greek origin migrated from the former Soviet Union (primarily Armenia, Georgia and Kazakhstan) and were granted citizenship. There is also a significant number of Albanians of Greek origin living in Greece. Although technically not Greek citizens, these individuals are not categorized as foreigners. Their numbers have decreased sharply, from 185,000 in 2008 to 35,000 in 2014 (45,000 were given Greek citizenship) (ibid.).

Table 1: Foreigners in Greece, 2011

	Population	Share of total population
Third-country nationals	713,000	6.59%
EU citizens	199,000	1.84%
Total population of foreign nationals	912,000	8.43%
Total population of Greece	10,815,197	100.00%

Source: Hellenic Statistical Authority 2011

Greece has also experienced relatively high irregular-migrant population stocks and flows over the past 25 years. Irregular-migrant inflows have risen and fallen at the different border areas and at different times. The most notable reductions were seen at the Greek-Albanian border as of 2011 and particularly in 2014, though this was strongly associated with a visa-requirement exemption granted to Albanian nationals entering the EU as of December 2010.

Greece's maritime border with Turkey has been under consistent and increasing pressure over the past five years. This trend has been strongly influenced by geopolitical developments in the region since the Arab uprising in 2011, particularly the implosion of the Libyan regime and the conflict in Syria. However, the conflict-driven instability in the Middle East more generally has reshuffled irregular-migration and asylum-seeking routes across southeast Europe and the Mediterranean. Chronic problems of instability in countries such as Afghanistan and Iraq have played an important role in directing flows of people through Greece and toward western Europe.

This situation evolved rapidly between 2014 and early 2016, with a particular surge in 2015. Arrivals on the Greek islands initially increased almost twentyfold, from just over 2,500 in 2013 to over 42,000 in 2014. They further increased sixfold between 2014 and the first eight months of 2015, while inflows for Greece between

January and mid-August 2016 reached 163,949, according to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR 2016). Moreover, arrivals continued unabated (particularly on the island of Lesbos) during the first months of 2016. The situation changed somewhat after the closing of borders along the so-called Balkan Route, and later with the agreement between the EU and Turkey regarding the management of refugee and migration flows.

Table 2: Irregular migrants in Greece 2011–2015 (top five nationalities per year)

2011		2012		2013		2014		2015	
Afghanistan	28,528	Afghanistan	16,584	Albania	15,389	Syria	32,520	Syria	499,495
Pakistan	19,975	Pakistan	11,136	Syria	8,517	Albania	16,751	Afghanistan	213,267
Albania	11,733	Albania	10,602	Afghanistan	6,412	Afghanistan	12,901	Iraq	91,769
Bangladesh	5,416	Syria	7,927	Pakistan	3,982	Pakistan	6,184	Pakistan	27,261
Algeria	5,398	Bangladesh	7,863	Bangladesh	1,524	Somalia	3,621	Albania	16,910
TOTAL	71,050	TOTAL	54,112	TOTAL	35,824	TOTAL	71,977	TOTAL	848,702

Source: Ministry of Citizen Protection (MoCP) 2016

In examining the nationalities of the migrants arriving in Greece, it is clear that Syrians emerge as by far the largest group in 2015 (accounting for 65 % of all registered undocumented arrivals). Afghans were already an important group in 2014, but their numbers increased dramatically in 2015 to over 186,500 (close to 20 % of the total), a number that had not been registered even in the crisis years between 2009 and 2011. Pakistanis – who had declined in absolute numbers from nearly 20,000 in 2011 to only 3,600 in 2014 – picked up again with over 23,318 in 2015. A similar pattern is evident for Iraqis, who currently constitute the third-largest group.

Greece and the current refugee and migration crisis

As one of the principal gateways for irregular migrants and asylum-seekers coming to Europe, Greece has struggled for the past decade to develop a sustainable asylum policy that would allow it to receive persons in need of international protection while protecting the EU's external borders. In the past two years, the political turmoil in the Middle East and Africa (combined with the financial crisis) have added new pressures, rendering increasingly urgent the need for a revision of Greece's asylum-policy approach and the introduction of integration schemes (e. g., in the labor market). Greece itself received the lion's share of new irregular arrivals as the recent crisis intensified. Over the first six months of 2015, the number of migrants arriving on Greek shores increased by 408 percent compared with the same period of the previous year, as part of a trend that continued for the entire year (2015). In combination with fractured national politics, the crisis produced particularly complex challenges for Greek policymakers. Hit hard by a five-year debt crisis and successive rounds of

Escaping the Escape – A Résumé

Stefani Weiss

Refugee and migration flows are not new phenomena; indeed, they have been a constant throughout human history. As far back in time as we can see, people have left their homelands in order to secure a better future and often even survival for themselves, their families, their clans, their tribes or their whole peoples. Very few have set off on their way wholly voluntarily. In the past, as now, economic, religious, ethnic and political upheavals have played a decisive role in these refugee and migration movements.

In late antiquity, land shortages, climatic changes, poor harvests and especially the invasion of the Huns in Europe led virtually all Germanic tribes in the third century A.D. to leave their traditional territories in northern, central and eastern Europe, largely to seek new means of subsistence in the areas of the Roman Empire. The conflicts of interest that these migrations triggered between the local Roman population and the Goths, Burgundians, Vandals, Lombards, Suebi, and Angles and Saxons differ from those today with regard to the degree of readiness to resort to violence, as well as the actual use of force, although this remains in some senses a preliminary assessment. However, the anxieties and prejudices prevailing in the destination countries were certainly comparable with those of today. Indeed, they have been transmitted in the way this era came to be named. In southern Europe, the former destination for migrants, this period went into the history books as the "invasion of the barbarians." The more neutral term "migration of peoples" (Völkerwanderung), by contrast, is used only by the inhabitants of northern and central Europe from whose regions the migrants originated.

In the Age of Discovery and the subsequent founding of colonial empires overseas, the development of new revenue sources and Europe's growing population led to major waves of emigration from Europe. These emigrants were drawn by more than the simple prospect of economic success. Many of them from this period (e.g., in France, Germany and Spain) had been subjected to political and religious persecution, or sought to escape from being forcibly recruited into the militaries of the era's absolutist rulers. To these ends, whole village communities moved and re-established themselves in North or South America or in southern Africa, often retaining the names of their villages and cities back home. However, little consideration was given to the indigenous peoples, who were either enslaved or swiftly eradicated.

Today, Eritrea is a country that effectively forces the mass exodus of its own population. A tyrannical government that can readily be compared with that of North Korea relentlessly pursues the militarization of all sectors of society. There, every woman and man between the ages of 18 and 50 is conscripted into mandatory military or other labor services for an indefinite period of time. The life of the individual counts for nothing. Terror and violence are facts of daily life. In addition, due to the

military-service requirement, the supply of basic foodstuffs is precarious, as farmers cannot find the time to cultivate their land. Many people are starving.

Numerous factors drive people to emigrate, including arbitrary state action, lawlessness, and the oppression and exploitation of minorities (e.g., in Sudan). However, the converse can also hold true, with a majority being oppressed and exploited by a powerful elite that makes up only a small portion of the population, as was long the case in Iraq and still is in Syria. When the tensions that have consequently built up erupt into violence, mass efforts to flee become a regular affair. At first, this is to avoid abuse and attacks. But later, as the level of destruction increases, it is to avoid starvation.

This story has remained the same across history. For centuries, wars, population explosions, social immiseration and famines have been key drivers of refugee movements and emigration. World War II triggered the largest mass migration in history. As many as 40 million people lost their homelands in Europe alone, whether through forced deportation, evacuation or expulsion. Many fell victim to ethnic cleansing and ended up in the extermination camps of Auschwitz or Treblinka. During the Great Famine (1845–1852), 2 million of Ireland's total population of 8 million emigrated to Australia, Canada or the United States. Likewise, during the Industrial Age period between 1880 and 1920, 20 million Europeans emigrated to the United States in response to growing social tensions.

As today, this crossing was expensive. The poorest could afford it only if they put themselves under obligation as indentured workers to someone who paid for their journey. Today, we would probably refer to these individuals as human traffickers. After the abolition of the slave trade at the end of the 19th century, this "economic sector" experienced a renaissance in the course of refugee crises. Today, this societal coarsening has once again progressed far enough that criminal syndicates, such as those in Nigeria, sell their own compatriots as slave labor. Estimates hold that, between 1997 and 2003 alone, 300,000 Nigerian women were displaced to Europe, Saudi Arabia or the Gulf States – with a growing number of them ending up in forced prostitution.

Nevertheless, even today, it is not predominantly the poorest of the poor who leave their homelands. Rather, it is members of the urban, better-educated population who seek opportunities outside their country – whether as seasonal workers or more permanent emigrants. Rural populations, by contrast, tend to escape adversity and persecution by moving within their countries and regions. In Nigeria, Somalia and South Sudan, for example, most people continue to flee to adjacent countries. According to U.N. statistics, nine out of 10 refugees in 2015 worldwide could be found in countries deemed less economically developed (UNHCR 2015). The additional socioeconomic burden for these host countries is correspondingly large. Without international assistance, none of these countries would be able to meet these challenges. For example, 400,000 refugees from Somalia alone live at the world's largest refugee camp in Dadaab, in northeastern Kenya (UNDESA 2015). Many people have now been born there. It is thus no accident that, following the EU-Turkey

agreement on the return of refugees, the Kenyan government publicly began to mull a closure of the camp. As is currently happening in Europe, developing countries with high shares of refugees are intensifying efforts to expel and deport migrants, with considerable negative consequences for those affected. As the contributions in this book underscore, the current situation in Lebanon and Jordan is particularly tense. Both countries have received a very large number of war refugees from Syria even though both of them are struggling with major economic problems themselves and extremely unstable in political terms.

Past patterns of refugee and migration behavior are beginning to change. In Afghanistan, it used to be primarily the middle class that emigrated to Europe and the United States. Today, an increasing number of young, poorly educated Afghans are trying their luck in Europe. One reason for this has been the waves of repatriations from Pakistan and Iran that have resulted in the deportation of increasing numbers of Afghans. In Egypt, too, a growing number of young men from the rural lower classes are leaving. While this population used to seek work primarily in the Gulf States, an increasing number of them are now heading for Europe. Much the same is evident across the entire Maghreb region, which is itself coming under increasing pressure as the number of refugees from West Africa rises, thus exacerbating social tensions.

In contrast to the refugee and migrant waves of previous centuries, the focus of refugee movements today lies on Africa, the Middle East and Central Asia. Moreover, at any given time these days, many more people are affected by disruptive conditions, whether this be war, drought or other natural catastrophes. Finally, today's global population has reached more than 7 billion people. This figure, which has tripled in the period since 1950 alone, is currently growing at an annual rate of 75 million. This growth is driven in part by Africa, whose share of the world's population will nearly quadruple by 2100, up from about 16 percent today. At that point, Africa will have 4.4 billion inhabitants and replace Asia as the most populous continent. Pivotal in this regard is a continuously rising life expectancy and especially rising birthrates in an increasingly younger population. Indeed, 41 percent of Africa's population is already younger than 15 years old, and an additional 19 percent is under 24 years old (ibid.). This applies to North Africa, as well. By 2025, 60 percent of people there will be younger than 25 years old, while this share will drop below 20 percent in Europe. As a result, the high unemployment rate among young people weighs particularly heavily, and exceeds 60 percent in some of the countries examined in this volume (ibid.). Thus, an entire generation is already faced with ruin. What's more, this lack of prospects feeds upon itself, as difficulties with being able to rent an apartment on one's own or to start a family promotes a willingness to engage in violence (particularly among young men in the Arabic-speaking world) and renders them susceptible to every brand of extremism. Daesh as well as other Islamist terrorist organizations find their young recruits among this population.

These figures and the associated lack of opportunities allow one to intuit the challenges that Europe will face if the political and economic situation in Africa does

not fundamentally change for the better in the coming decade. Absent such change, the demographic imbalances – combined with the prevailing political instability, the deterioration in security conditions, and the resulting high-unemployment economic stagnation – will swiftly result in exponentially higher migration figures.

With the population explosion, conditions are becoming cramped on our planet. Even as recently as the turn of the 20th century, open areas in which emigrants could settle and newly establish themselves have no longer been available. Since that time, the whole world has been claimed by states that protect their territories with borders. Even if many of these states have only low levels of precarious stateness, they see their primary task as securing and protecting the interests of their own population. Both the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol, which expanded protection obligations to non-European refugees, have been signed by 145 nations around the world. However, these do provide either a right to asylum or the obligation to grant the right to entry to those persecuted on grounds of race, religion, nationality, membership of certain social groups, or political convictions.

Legal paths for refugees and migrants are largely closed. Refugees and migrants from the Middle East or Africa seeking future prospects for themselves and for the maintenance of their families in their countries of origin can thus enter Europe only irregularly after traveling across the Mediterranean. As is described in this volume, thousands die in the course of this flight. Indeed, at the time of this writing (November 2016), the UNHCR (2016a) estimates the current number of people dead or missing in the Mediterranean at 4,646. For those not directly fleeing from war, the chances of obtaining asylum or a residence permit are low. After completion of the asylum procedure, most are threatened with deportation. If they want to avoid this, illegality and a life on the margins of society remains their only choice. Though grim, this discourages exceedingly few.

Migrants' remittances to their home countries are a key factor here. In Ukraine, migrant workers are the most significant investors in the country. The sum of their remittances are greater than the total of all foreign direct investment. This is also true – indeed, even more so – for Nigeria, where the sum of remittances, totaling in excess of $20 billion in 2015, is nearly seven times greater than that of FDI (foreign direct investment). In Tunisia, remittances exceeded $2 billion in 2015, a sum twice as high as FDI inflows to the country (World Bank 2016a, 2016b).

In addition, the world has gotten smaller in the digital age. The internet and cellphone markets are booming in Africa. Much information also flows through the steadily growing diaspora communities. Europe has long ceased to be terra incognita. Rather, as potential migrants consider their own desperate situation, it appears to offer the great promise of a better life with regard to work, security and prosperity. Many who emigrate hold an unrealistic idea of their prospects or are taken in by false information deliberately circulated by traffickers.

During antiquity and the Middle Ages, the globe was home to only about 300 million people, with an estimated 75 million in the Roman Empire at the time of its

greatest extent. Today, the number of people fleeing from war, conflicts and persecution alone almost matches this population. At the end of 2015, 65.3 million people worldwide were refugees (UNHCR 2016b). Indeed, the number of people who have been forced to leave their homes has nearly doubled in the past 10 years. The massive increase is mainly due to the war in Syria. With 4.9 million refugees, Syria is currently the country with the most refugees. Trailing it are Afghanistan (2.7 million), Somalia (1.12 million), South Sudan (0.77 million), Sudan (0.62 million) and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (0.54 million). These figures include only those refugees who have been able to leave their countries. Syria alone is home to another 6.6 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) – which means nearly half of Syria's residents have fled their homes. IDP figures are also high in Sudan (3.2 million), Yemen (2.5 million), Nigeria (2.2 million), South Sudan (1.8 million), the Democratic Republic of the Congo (1.6 million), Afghanistan (1.1 million) and Somalia (1.1 million). Ukraine was home to an estimated 1.8 million IDPs in 2016 (UNCHR 2016c). Especially in Africa, with its many ethnic conflicts, there are population groups, such as those in Sudan and South Sudan, that have already led lives only as refugees for decades, moving from one part of the country to another to escape violence.

Due to the war in Syria, Lebanon currently hosts the largest number of refugees (1.1 million) as a share of its own population. That means a total of 183 refugees for every 1,000 residents. The situation in Jordan is similarly tense. Turkey has taken in 2.5 million refugees, which is the greatest number worldwide, followed by Pakistan at 1.6 million. Iran (0.97 million) and Ethiopia (0.73 million) round out the top six largest refugee-host countries. The figures for Europe are rather low in comparison. Measured against the population of each EU member state, in 2015, Hungary replaced Sweden as the top host country, with 17.7 asylum applicants per 1,000 residents. Germany is only in sixth place, with 5.4 refugees per 1,000 residents (Eurostat 2016).

Contextual heterogeneity among source, transit and destination countries

Each of the countries subject to analysis here are so-called source countries for migrants and refugees. However, many of them also receive large numbers of war refugees, as is the case, for example, with countries in the eastern Mediterranean (e. g., Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey). In addition, several of them are also destination countries for those seeking work and the opportunity to lead a better, more dignified life (e. g., Algeria, Iran, Morocco, Turkey). Above all, however, they are also countries of transit for those ultimately aiming to reach Europe.

These countries belong to three very different regions of the world and are spread across three continents: Africa, Asia and Europe. Each of these countries features not only a distinct history and culture, but also a unique economic and political relationship to Europe. Generally speaking, the closer in geographical proximity to Europe, the more intense and elaborate the relationship a country has with Europe.

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