

MIGRATION CRISIS IN THE EUROPEAN UNION – CAUSES AND MEASURES TO OVERCOME IT

MIGRAČNÁ KRÍZA V EURÓPSKEJ ÚNII - PRÍČINY A OPATRENIA NA JEJ PREKONANIE

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SUMMARY:

The aim of this article was to characterize the migratory crisis of 2015, which cannot be effectively dealt with by the European Union. The migration phenomenon has been identified as a result of globalization, with the simultaneous characteristics of its advantages, disadvantages and potential negative impact on the level of security. The performed analysis covered the European Union's preparation to accept the excessive number of immigrants, pursuant to the applicable legal acts, and response to the migration crisis as well as proposals for further action with the evaluation of their effectiveness at the same time.

KEYWORDS: migration, security, emigrant, immigrant, refugee, globalization, the European Union

INTRODUCTION

A human strives for the highest possible standard of living. It is also associated with the sphere of safety regarding the absence of risks to health and life as a vital goal as well as ensuring a fair standard of living. Unfortunately, it is not possible in every society. In fact, some countries are mired in armed conflicts directly threatening the lives of citizens, and others that do not create the possibility of life at the appropriate financial level (which is associated with, for instance, with the high level of unemployment). Thus, these factors often force people to leave their current places of living and seek better conditions elsewhere. This phenomenon is called migrations. Migrations have accompanied people practically since the dawn of humanity. However, the crisis in the European Union (EU) has revealed the considerable security threat that may arise from migrations in case of the loss of administrative control over them as a result of the excessive amount of moving people.

1. MIGRATIONS AS DERIVATIVES OF GLOBALIZATION

Migrations are associated with the phenomenon of globalization. According to

Słownik z zakresu bezpieczeństwa narodowego Akademii Obrony Narodowej (Dictionary of National Security by National Defense Academy), globalization is '...a generalized process of comprehensive development of respective fields of social and economic life in their mutual connection and dependence, perceived at a global scale...' . However, more broadly it also refers to progressively more integrated and interdependent entities that operate at three levels: social, political and economic . Globalization, therefore, determines the growth of relations among countries, societies and enterprises around the world, which results in their tight integration and interrelation.

Four dimensions of globalization can be distinguished on the basis of the literature review:

- economic,
- technical,
- political,
- socio-cultural.

The economic dimension of globalization allows for the growing integration in the production and trade of goods all over the world. This results in a significant increase in trade and production revenues, and, thus, the

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enlargement of availability of some previously less accessible products. Furthermore, the globalization of the world markets also results in fiercer competition, the negative consequence of which is the domination of the markets by large international corporations that prevent the development of local small and medium-sized enterprises. Therefore, due to strict interconnections, the economic crisis in a given part of the globe can evolve and be felt in other regions, or even acquire a global character. Its most vivid example is the global economic crisis that has unfolded since 2007 as a result of the financial failure of the US banking sector, the lending activities which constitute the basis for the entire world economy.

Nevertheless, the economic dimension of globalization has also positive aspects. The most significant one is undoubtedly the emergence of many international commercial organizations, whose main idea is the cooperation in terms of the facilitation of trade in goods and services. These organizations have both a global (e.g. WTO – World Trade Organization) and regional reach (e.g. EFTA – European Free Trade Association). The effects of these organizations' activities include the removal of trade barriers among their members (e.g. customs duties), which fosters tangible economic benefits.

In technical terms, the globalization growth comprises primarily the development of means of transport (land, water and air) and communication technology, enabling members of the public to contact with each other. These include radio, TV and – dominant in this aspect in the twenty-first century – the Internet. An example of such a global impact is social protests related to the so-called Arab Spring, when through communication via the social media (planning protest actions) the citizens of particular states (Tunisia, Egypt, Libya) could ultimately change the regime in their countries. At the same time, the Internet can serve negative purposes – primarily cyber-attacks (e.g. on government websites) and the activities related to propaganda and recruitment for terrorist organizations.

The political dimension of globalization mainly refers to the formation of international organizations, which are treated as the main field of realization of individual countries' interests, even at the cost of depriving themselves of part of their sovereignty².

2 When joining an international organization any member state agrees to donate a part of their sovereignty when it comes to making decisions.

Thereby the need for compromising within an organization in order to develop a unified position which is then presented on the international arena. Oftentimes the organization members are forced to accept, for the common good, decisions contrary to their own convictions. A case in point is the migration crisis in Europe, which started in 2015. So far, no unified position on this issue has been reached, since some of the EU members (Western Europe countries – with the leading role of Germany) opt for hosting refugees from Syria, while the countries of the so-called 'new union' (belonging to the so-called Eastern Bloc in times of its existence, gathered around the Soviet Union), among others the members of the Visegrad Group, oppose this. It is therefore difficult to reach a compromise in the case of such extremely divergent positions. An additional element that prevents agreement in the European Union is the threat of imposing economic sanctions on countries that do not agree to accept refugees in the framework of the so-called 'amounts'³. Thus, the main political objective of globalization is to increase the level of security of states (both military and economic) through the closest possible integration.

The cooperation undertakings include bilateral and multilateral agreements and alliances between countries. A manifestation of the political dimension of globalization was evident especially after the World War II and the bipolar division of the world between two powers. The establishment of international organizations is part of the political mainstream, namely - liberalism. This trend is inextricably intertwined with the so-called Western civilization. The tragic consequences of the World War II proved the ineffectiveness of the League of Nations as a global organization, which was supposed to constitute the basis for building international security. These circumstances forced the representatives of the so-called Big Three to search for new, more effective model of ensuring peace, in the hope that a global conflict would never reoccur in the future, in particular in the context of the emergence of nuclear weapons as a means of fight⁴. The

3 According to the decision of the European Commission of 22 September 2015, 5082 refugees residing in Greece and Italy were to arrive in Poland. The full text of the provisions of the Commission: <http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-12098-2015-INIT/en/pdf> [accessed on 12.12.2016].

4 The League of Nations - founded in 1919 at the initiative of the then President of the United States; an international organization of a global character, the aim of which was to ensure international security and

outcome of the consultations, in addition to the new political division of the world, was the creation of the United Nations in 1945 (mainly at the initiative of the USA), in which the main decision-makers became (as permanent members of the Security Council) the United States, the Soviet Union, China, the United Kingdom and France⁵. The values governing this initiative were as follows:

- freedom of speech,
- freedom of religious belief,
- freedom from want,
- prohibition on the use of force against other countries.

These factors are categorized as the so-called *soft power*, which includes the dissemination of democratic values, human rights, etc. The opposite is the so-called *hard power* that manifests itself only in the military and economic field. The representatives of the liberal mainstream consider cooperation as the best way to ensure global security within international relations. Unlike the realists, who treat international politics as a constant rivalry between countries. They also believe that much better results can be achieved through cooperation and in the framework of the creation of international organizations, which should have more of an impact than states.

The last dimension of globalization is the socio-cultural characteristics. In comparison with the period before 1989, it is reflected in the enhanced public access to cultural goods and greater freedom of transportation of persons, services and capital. The mixing of cultures, beside the advantage of the wide accessibility to them (mainly due to the Internet), leads to losing national traditions and identity as well as creating cultural homogeneity based on the Western model. This phenomenon is commonly called the *mcdonaldization*⁶.

peace as well as prevent the outbreak of another global conflict after World War I. Interestingly, the United States never joined the organization which had a significant impact on the lack of its effectiveness. More: P. Żurawski vel Grajewski, *Bezpieczeństwo narodowe: wymiar militarny*, Warsaw 2012.

5 Conferences of the so-called Big Three were the meetings of the leaders of the United States (F. D. Roosevelt and his successor H. Truman), Great Britain (Winston Churchill) and the Soviet Union (Joseph Stalin) in Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam with the aim to determine the post-war political division of the world into spheres of influence. Their consequence was the conventional division of the world into the western (centered around the USA) and eastern zone (centered around the Soviet Union).

6 This name comes from the popular US gastronomic chain McDonald's, which is available virtually

As with the previously analyzed dimensions of globalization, it is obtainable through the global trend towards mutual cooperation, which produces better results than the competition. An example of this is, among others, the Schengen Agreement. This initiative was created in 1986, and its main objective was to increase the freedom of movement of persons, capital and services among its members through the abolition of border controls. This was to maximize economic benefits, but at the same time it increased the risk of cross-border crime, including smuggling of arms and drugs as well as human trafficking. One of the effects of the abolition of border barriers is also the phenomenon of migration – also of illegal nature.

2. REASONS FOR MIGRATION CRISIS IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

Migrations are legal or illegal movements of people with the aim to improve their living conditions⁷. Despite the significant increase in this phenomenon in the second decade of the twenty-first century, it has been known almost from the beginnings of human civilization, because already primitive people changed places of residence. The common denominator of population movements, regardless of the historical period, remains unchanged – it is always the motivation to improve the living standards. Other elements motivating people to change their permanent residence are constant as well. These include the following factors:

- economic,
- political,
- social⁸.

The dominant cause of migration has changed over the years. The most common of these is the economic motivation, which has a bilateral character. Migrations are divided into emigration (leaving one's own country to reside in another) and immigration (coming from another country to settle). Similarly, immigrants (people leaving the current place of residence) and immigrants (people arriving in a region) can be distinguished among migrants (migrating people). Within this division, economic migrations cover economic

anywhere in the world with almost the same menu. The creator of the term - George Ritzer compared the activities of McDonald's with the global cultural uniformity, which is dominated by Western culture.

7 B. Zdrodowski (ed.), *Op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.

8 G. Przekoła, *Gospodarka województwa zachodniopomorskiego wobec otwarcia unijnego rynku pracy*, Koszalin 2011, p. 5.

emigration (resulting from poverty, unemployment and low wages) and economic immigration (from the point of view of the countries where potential employees arrive due to more favorable conditions than in their previous place of residence). However, the reason for political migrations is mostly armed conflicts, against which citizens flee the countries stricken by violence. They are directly associated with movements against the social background, that are caused by discrimination against people on religious and ethnic grounds, often as the result of ongoing armed conflicts⁹.

Migrations as derivatives of globalization, in addition to the obvious benefits for the international community (the possibility of relatively free movement in order to improve the level of existence), also constitute a threat to security when practiced in an illegal and uncontrolled way as for the number of potential persons crossing the border. Undoubtedly, the migration crisis in the European Union, which peaked in the summer of 2015, is an example of such a threat and at the same time a challenge for the regional community.

The statement of reasons of the uncontrolled mass influx of people into the EU can be traced to the political tensions in the Muslim countries of the Middle East and in North Africa at the beginning of the second decade of the twenty-first century. At the turn of 2010 and 2011 the so-called Arab Spring took place. It was launched in Tunisia, where the power changed as a result of mass social protests and violence on the part of the state apparatus. The event was a kind of precedent, because it allowed the society of other countries to realize that citizens were able to make internal political revolution and seized this opportunity to carry out similar activities in their countries. Further internal turmoil, with much more tragic consequence, took place in Egypt (where long-time President Hosni Mubarak was overthrown and sentenced to life imprisonment) and Libya (where the dictator Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi, who had been governing for 42 years, died in the revolution). Nonetheless, these changes only led to an apparent improvement, since radical Islamic political groups associated with the self-appointed Islamic State (ISIS), currently

representing the greatest threat of international terrorism, took power.

Syria was another country where citizens have attempted to overthrow the current government. In this case, in contrast to the previously mentioned countries, it became an open war, because not only the opposition but also ISIS is interested in taking power from President Bashar al-Assad. In effect, three mutually warring parties in the conflict (the action from outside Syria – i.e. of the Russian Federation and the USA must be added to this) led to the total destruction of the country and a mass exodus of the local population to Europe. As seen above, the main sources of migration to Europe are Middle East countries (with the dominant role of Syria) and North African ones (Tunisia, Egypt, Libya). The main European stop-overs for migrants from Africa are the Mediterranean islands, for example the Italian Lampedusa and the Greek Lesbos, while for comers from the Middle East these are Hungary, constituting an external border of the European Union (with Serbia).

The failure on the part of European countries to receive such a significant number of refugees resulted in the chaos, which caused that together with them also citizens of countries such as Eritrea, Afghanistan and others, arrive into the EU for purely economic reasons. Therefore, the fundamental legal differences between the terms refugee and immigrant must be defined. In accordance with the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951, a refugee is a person who has been forced to flee their current place of residence due to the danger to life caused by the armed conflict ongoing there¹⁰. Such a person can apply for refugee status in the country of nationality or in the country to which they have come¹¹. Whereas an immigrant is a person that has decided to change their place of residence because of economic reasons. Such people are trying, under the pretext of threat to life, use conflicts – e.g. in Syria – to immigrate for labor purposes to European countries that offer extensive welfare arrangements (mainly Germany).

9 More about other divisions of migration factors due to the accepted criteria in: P. Olbrycht, *Migracje zarobkowe Polaków – przeszłość i teraźniejszość*, [in:] Bodziany M. (ed.), „Zeszyty Naukowe Ruchu Studenckiego”, No. 2, Wrocław 2014. Also available at: http://www.wso.wroc.pl/images/ZNRS/znrs_2014/nr_2/6_Pawel_Olbrycht.pdf [accessed on 12.12.2016].

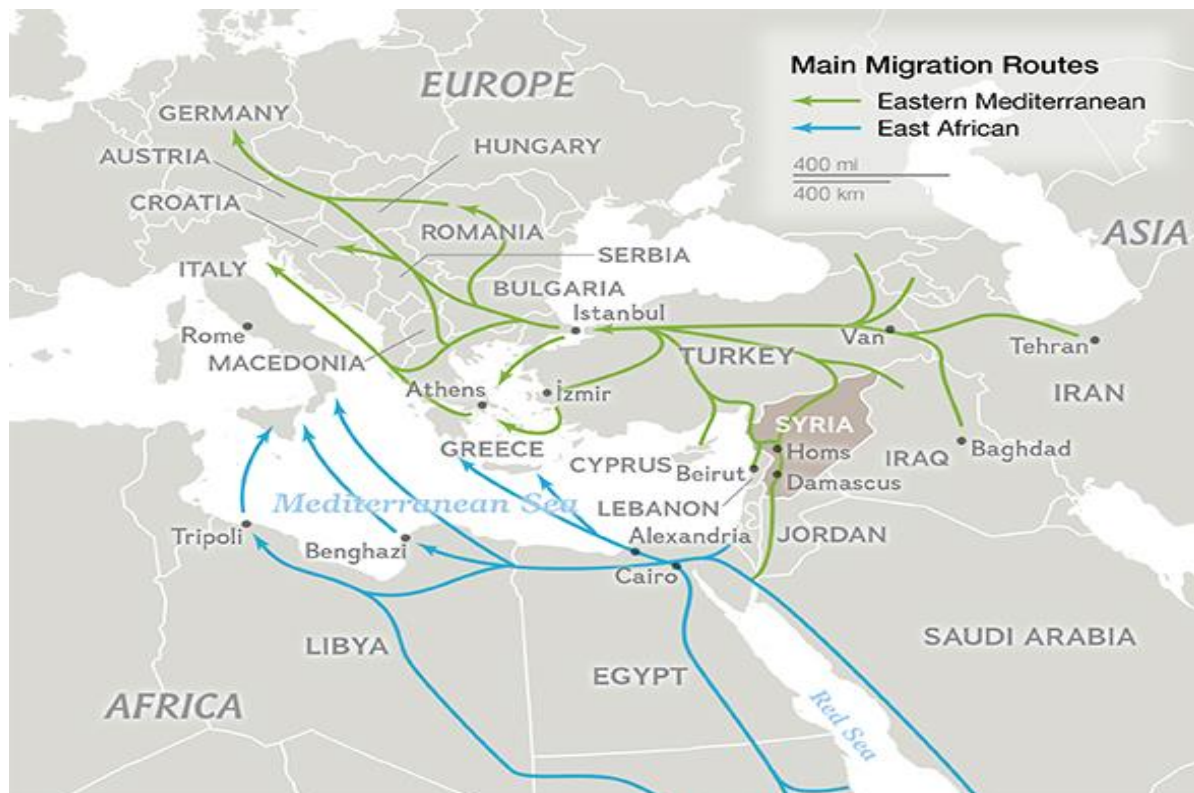
10 The full text of the Convention is available at: http://www.unhcr_centraleurope.org/_assets/files/content/resources/pdf_pl/refugee_convention/konwencja_ge newska.pdf [accessed on 12.12.2016].

11 The Convention (...) Art. 12.

3. THE EUROPEAN UNION ACTIVITY IN THE FACE OF THE MIGRATION CRISIS

In 2015 the influx of people fleeing threats to life in Syria reached the apogee. As already

mentioned, Germany has been the main target direction due to Europe's largest social benefits. The two main migration routes within the EU and the main sources of migration are shown in Figure 1.



Source: <http://news.nationalgeographic.com/2015/09/150919-data-points-refugees-migrants-maps-human-migrations-syria-world/> [accessed on: 15.12.2016].

Fig. 1. Main migration routes from Africa and the Middle East to Europe

The loss of control over the movement of persons into the EU territory is caused by a kind of a snowball effect. The EU countries took too liberal approach and overestimated their capabilities with respect to the issue of migrants, accepting virtually all the willing people. This, in turn, led to the increased motivation of other people who wanted to make a similar move of getting into the EU. In 2013 the European Union adopted the Dublin III Regulation. This document is the latest EU legal act (the earlier ones were Dublin Convention of 1990 and Dublin II Regulation of 2003), regulating the Union's capabilities regarding the asylum procedures. Pursuant to the Regulation, a state to which an asylum seeker comes has to consider the person's application for asylum¹². This mechanism was

intended, however, to apply to individuals, not to 1.8 million people as it was in 2015¹³. As a result of riots, e.g. on the Hungarian-Serbian border, (which is the EU border), and Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban's announcement of taking radical actions (erecting a wall and the use of the armed forces to protect the border) in September of the same year, the European Commission proposed a distribution of 120 thousand immigrants residing in Greece, Italy and Hungary among the other EU members, according to their economic possibilities. Under

12 The full text of the Dublin Regulation III available in English at http://eur_lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri

=OJ:L:2013:180:0031:0059:EN:PDF [accessed on 15.12.2016].

13 The statistics cited by the report of Frontex - the European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union. Current reports on trends and the number of people arriving in the territory of the European Union are available on the website of the Agency: <http://frontex.europa.eu/trends-and-routes/migratory-routes-map/> [accessed on 15.12.2016].

this proposal Poland would take the total of up to 9287 refugees¹⁴. This proposal aroused great controversy, because, as already mentioned, in this case the EU is clearly divided into Western countries ('the old EU'), which advocate the reception of refugees and their relocation, and Central European countries ('the new EU', with the dominant position of Poland) being skeptical on this issue. This would in fact involve the imposition of large fines on countries unwilling to host refugees. Those skeptical of relocation think that political decisions are thrust upon them by stronger states, and even that, in accordance with human rights, no one can be compelled to move to another place against their will¹⁵.

Similarly, the bilateral agreement between the European Union and Turkey (having aspirations of accession to the EU) on the relocation of part of refugees from Greece into its territory, proved insufficient. Also in this case (mainly due to Turkey), the desired effect in the form of locating the expected number of people there failed to be achieved.

Currently, the migration crisis has been stabilized, but not through working out a compromise by the EU, but mainly due to the introduction of more radical policies by individual countries, the effect of which is the reinforcement of the protection of the EU external borders and the temporary reintroduction of internal border controls in the Schengen area. It can be concluded that the problem has been temporarily stabilized, but not resolved. This, therefore, requires the EU Member States to continue searching for a compromise and attempts to develop a fairly consistent position, which would then be presented at the global level.

CONCLUSION

The phenomenon of migration - movement of people from the current place of residence in order to improve the quality of their lives has accompanied societies since the beginning of mankind. Over the years, however, the dominant incentives have evolved. The most common of these were certainly economic and political issues. They are also among today's predominant factors of potential migrants' motivation, as exemplified by the massive

outflow of population from war-torn Syria, and extremely poor African countries.

Due to the phenomenon of globalization, contemporary migrations have different, more complex nature than the ones in the past. The unification of the world in accordance with one dominant (Western) model makes the movement of people a process of such a common character that it has become an integral, 'normal' part of reality. Owing to globalization, the international community has greatly facilitated the possibility to move through the increasingly blurred traditional national boundaries, as exemplified by initiatives like the Schengen Agreement. This gave many people the opportunity to move more freely and the chance to improve their social status. In addition to the obvious advantages, globalization also involves serious threats to international security. From the point of view of the cultural aspects of security, it is the loss of traditional values and cultures. In terms of crime, the liberalization of the issue of border security can exacerbate the practice of cross-border smuggling and human trafficking.

The migration crisis in the European Union of 2015 has shown how serious danger to security the population movements may be at a time when they exceed a controlled scale. More than 2 million refugees came to Europe in a short period of time thereby causing chaos and revealing the unsatisfactory preparation of the EU structures to such events. It seems that now, following the overly optimistic forecasts concerning the possibility of accepting virtually all interested persons and riots with their involvement (mainly in the refugee camps in the French Calais, in Germany and on the Hungarian-Serbian border), individual EU countries have tightened internal migration policy. They did so for instance by limiting the number of immigrants hosted and the temporary reintroduction of border controls within the Schengen zone. Moreover, these steps were made by Germany, even though at the end of 2015 it opted for a liberal model of receiving refugees and their relocation throughout the EU.¹⁶

It can therefore be assumed that after the initial opportunism, the strongest EU countries will turn towards more skeptical migration policy proposed by the Central and Eastern Europe countries (such as Poland or Hungary).

14 The European Commission press release available at: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-15-5596_pl.htm [accessed on 15.12.2016].

15 An example of this is the escape of Syrian refugees from Poland, which is not their final destination, to Germany.

16 HOFREITER, L.: *Krízy z preľudnenia*. . In: *Krízový manažment*, roč. 12, č. 1, s. 5– 11.

When providing assistance, the European Union cannot pose a potential threat to the security of its own citizens. A great number of instances were identified where persons with the aim of reaping the social benefits of the richest countries as well as members of terrorist organizations (e.g. the self-proclaimed Islamic State) arrived in the EU along with people whose real goal was the emigration caused by a threat to life and the desire to improve the standard of living through honest work. People with forged identity cards, or

even without any such documents, find it easier to get into the EU.

It is certain that the European Union will not cope with the migration crisis unless it reaches an agreement on a common position in this matter and develops effective legal tools to enforce it. It is also of crucial importance to draw appropriate conclusions from the current state to prevent such situations from arising in the future as they primarily threaten the security of citizens of the European Union.

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