



Chapter 4

Migrations





Migrations



Migration flows constitute an obvious global issue

Because they:

- are (by definition) international
- create interdependencies between nations
- disseminate cultures across borders
- sometimes generate tensions between natives and migrants
- often generate political issues (regulations, refugees problems, etc)

Most migrations occur within countries (e.g. rural-urban migrations)

Here, we'll focus on international migrations

An international migrant is a person who is living in a country other than his or her country of birth.



Migrations



1. Key facts
2. Causes of migrations
2. Political issues
 - Impact on destination country:
 - On the labor market
 - On political stability
 - Impact on origin country
3. The Refugee crisis



Key facts

#1. Migration flows are growing

In 2015: 244 million people are migrants = 3.3% of World population

In 2000: 173 million people are migrants = 2.8% of World population

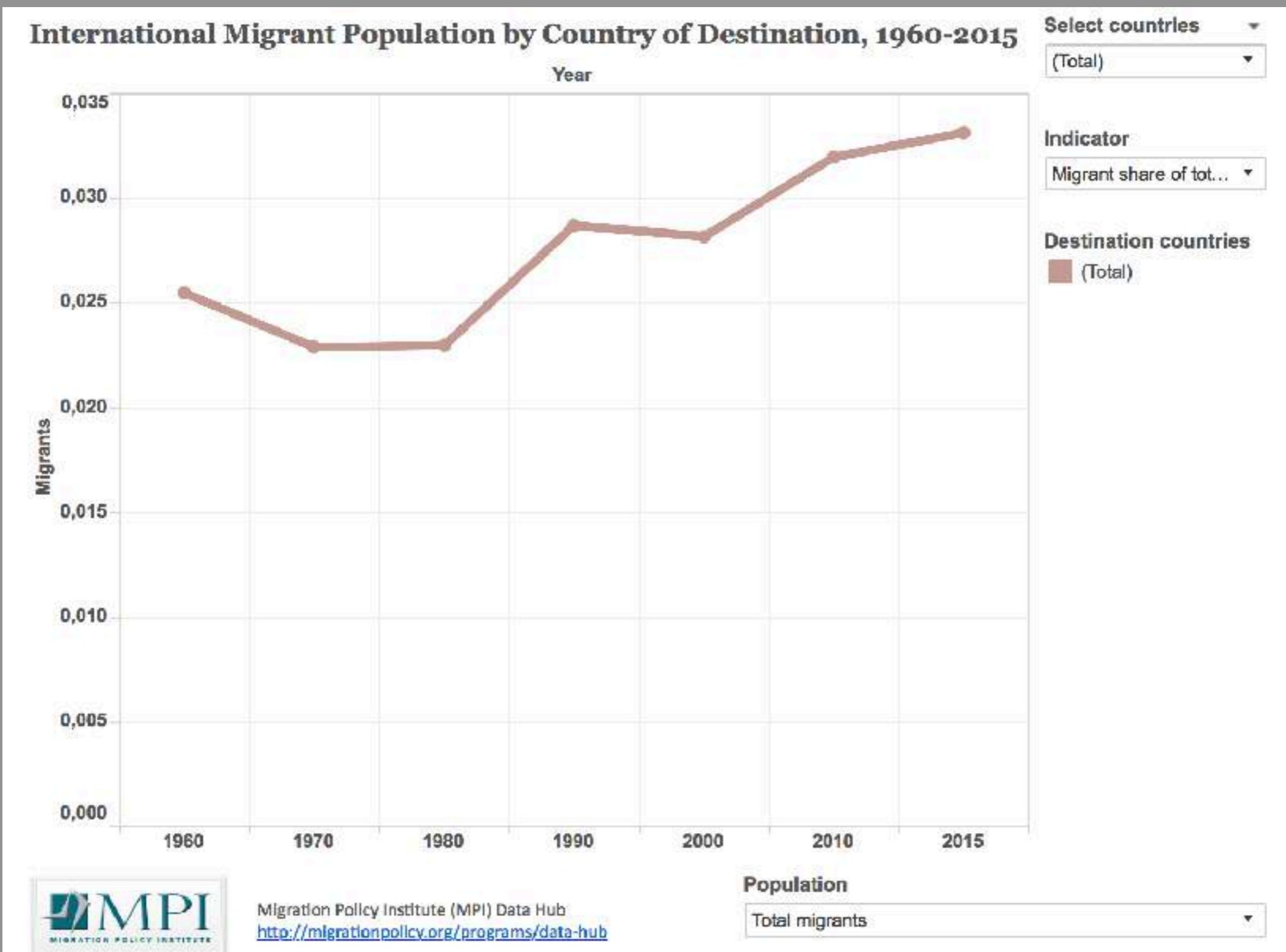
In 1980: 102 million people are migrants = 2.3% of World population

In 1960: 77 million people are migrants = 2.6% of World population

Most figures in this section are from UN international migration report, 2015



Key facts





Key facts

#2. Migration are highly concentrated on a limited number of destinations

In 2015, two thirds (67 per cent) of international migrants were living in twenty countries.

Top 4 destinations:

USA: 47 million (=19% of total migrants)

Germany: 12 million

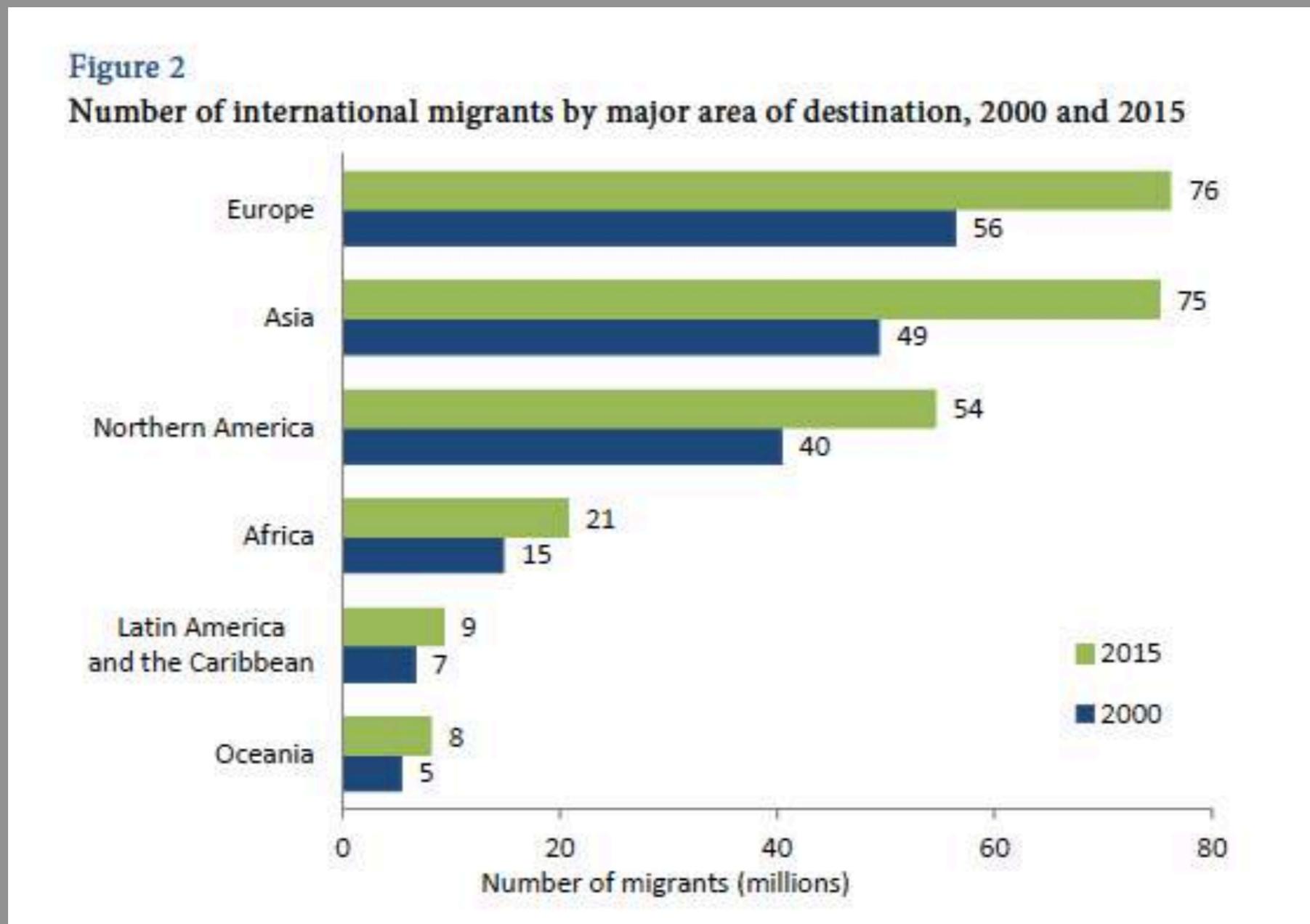
Russian Federation: 12 million

Saudi Arabia:10 million



Key facts

#3. Migrants go mostly high income countries





Key facts

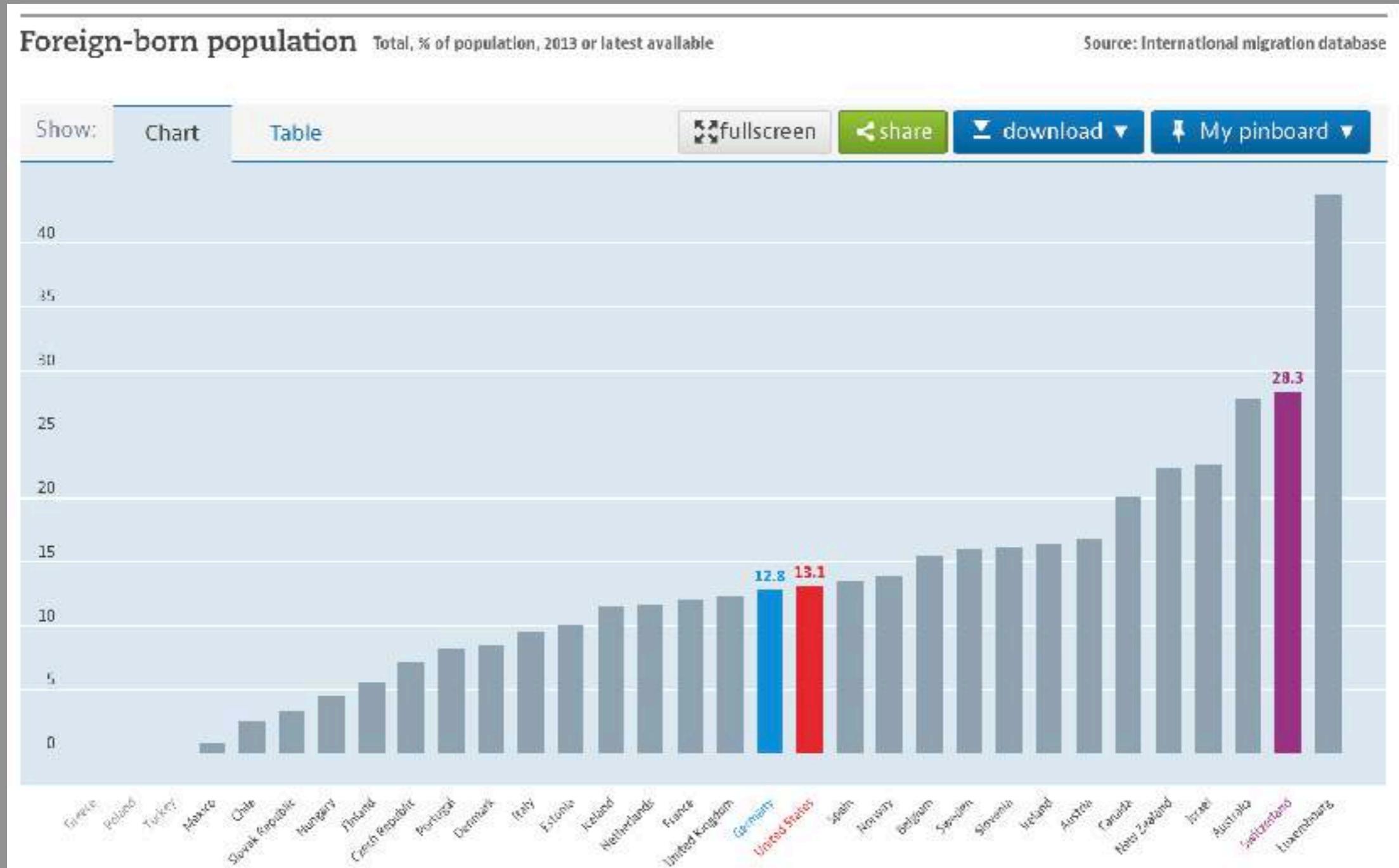
#3. Migrants go mostly high income countries

Country or area	Number of international migrants (thousands)		International migrants as a percentage of total population		Females among international migrants (percentage)		Median age of international migrants (years)	
	2000	2015	2000	2015	2000	2015	2000	2015
WORLD	172 703.3	243 700.2	3	3	49	48	38	39
High-income countries	115 379.0	172 608.1	9	13	49	48	39	40
OECD countries	84 060.6	123 864.4	9	12	51	52	39	42
Non-OECD countries	31 318.3	48 743.7	12	16	45	40	38	37
Middle-income countries	49 230.5	61 359.6	1	1	49	48	36	36
Low-income countries	7 616.9	9 193.1	2	1	51	51	26	25



Key facts

#4. Share of foreign-born population varies greatly across countries

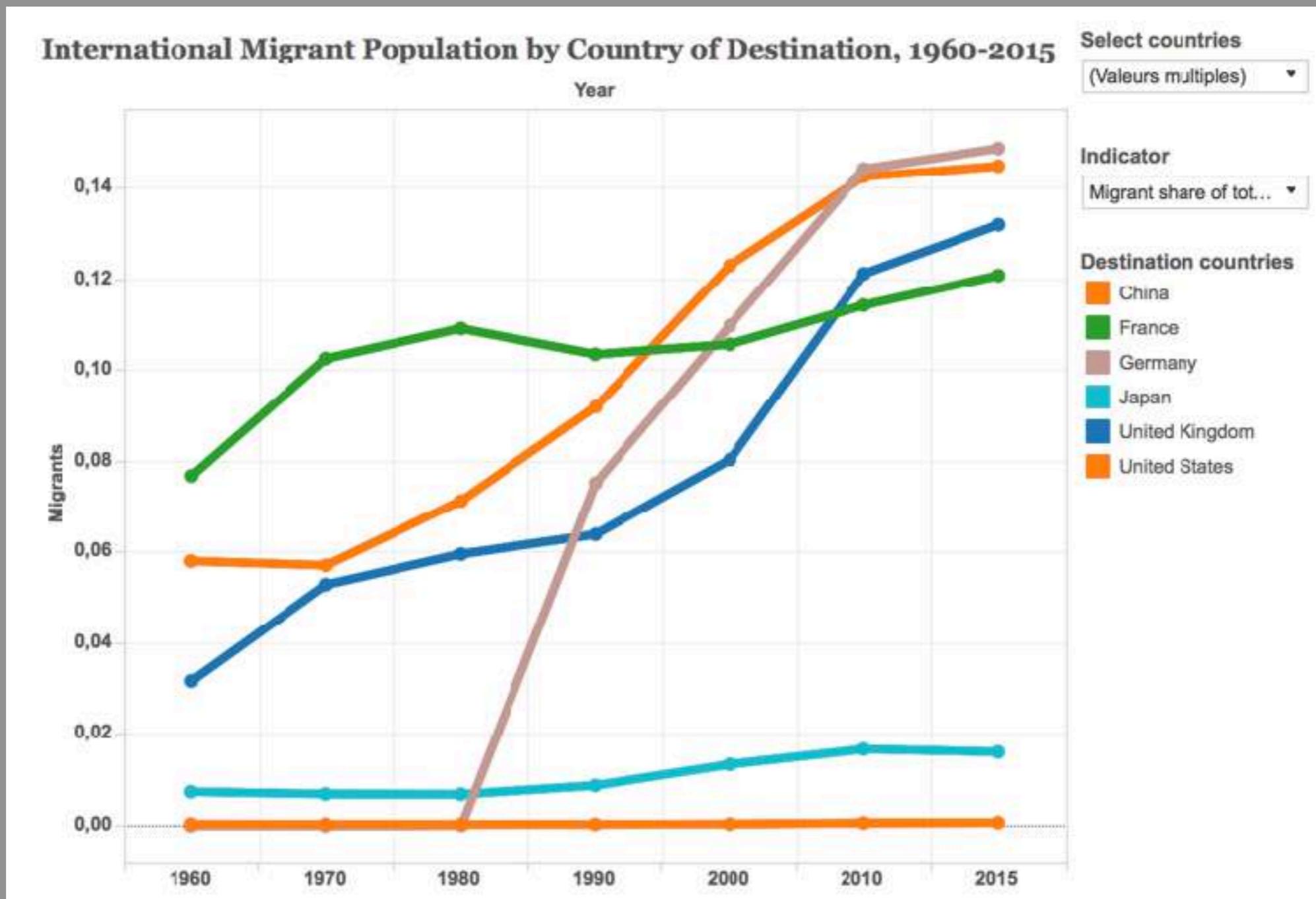


39% in HK



Key facts

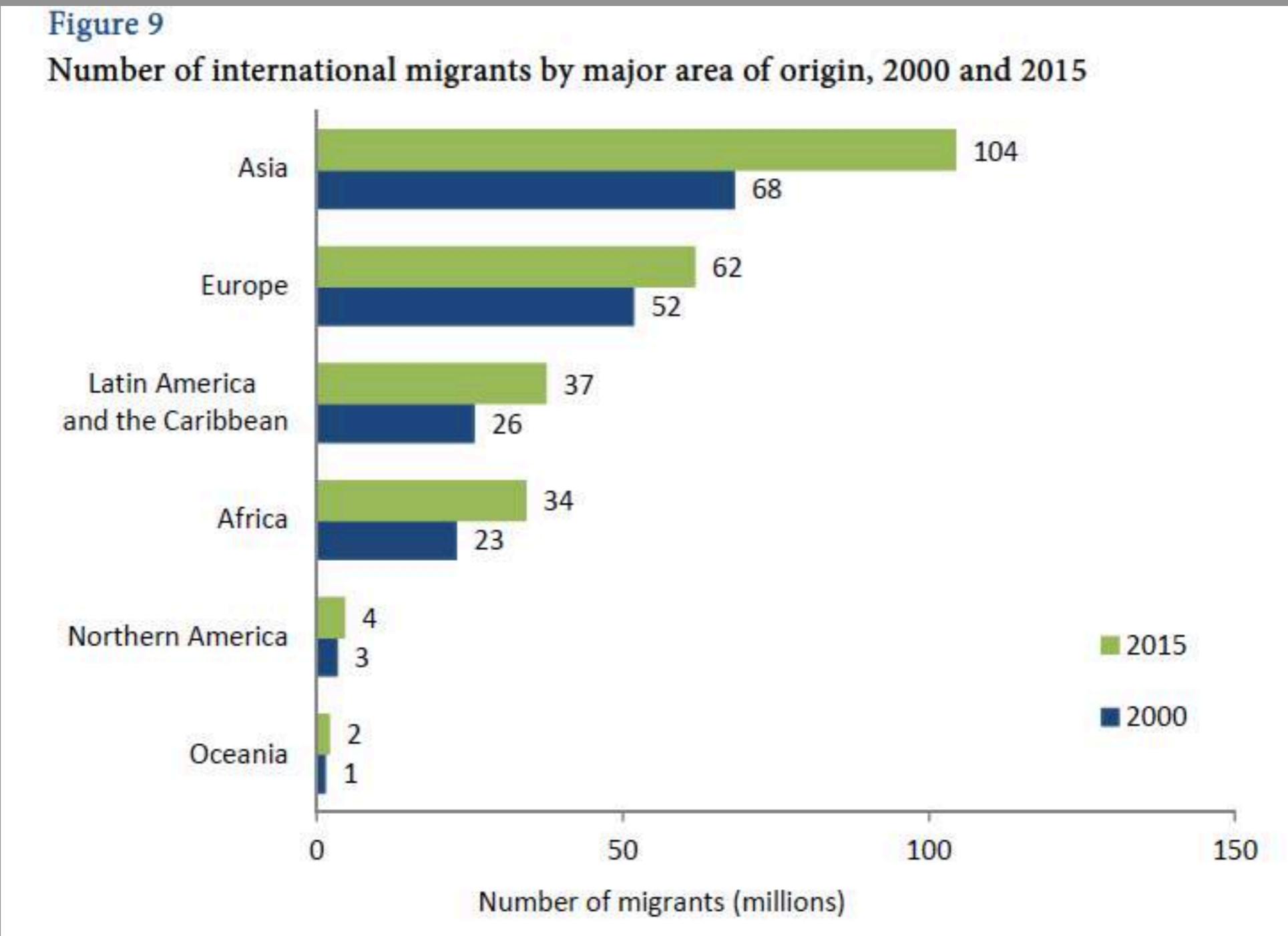
#5. In some countries, the share of foreign-born population increased rapidly





Key facts

#6. Most migrants come from Asia and Europe



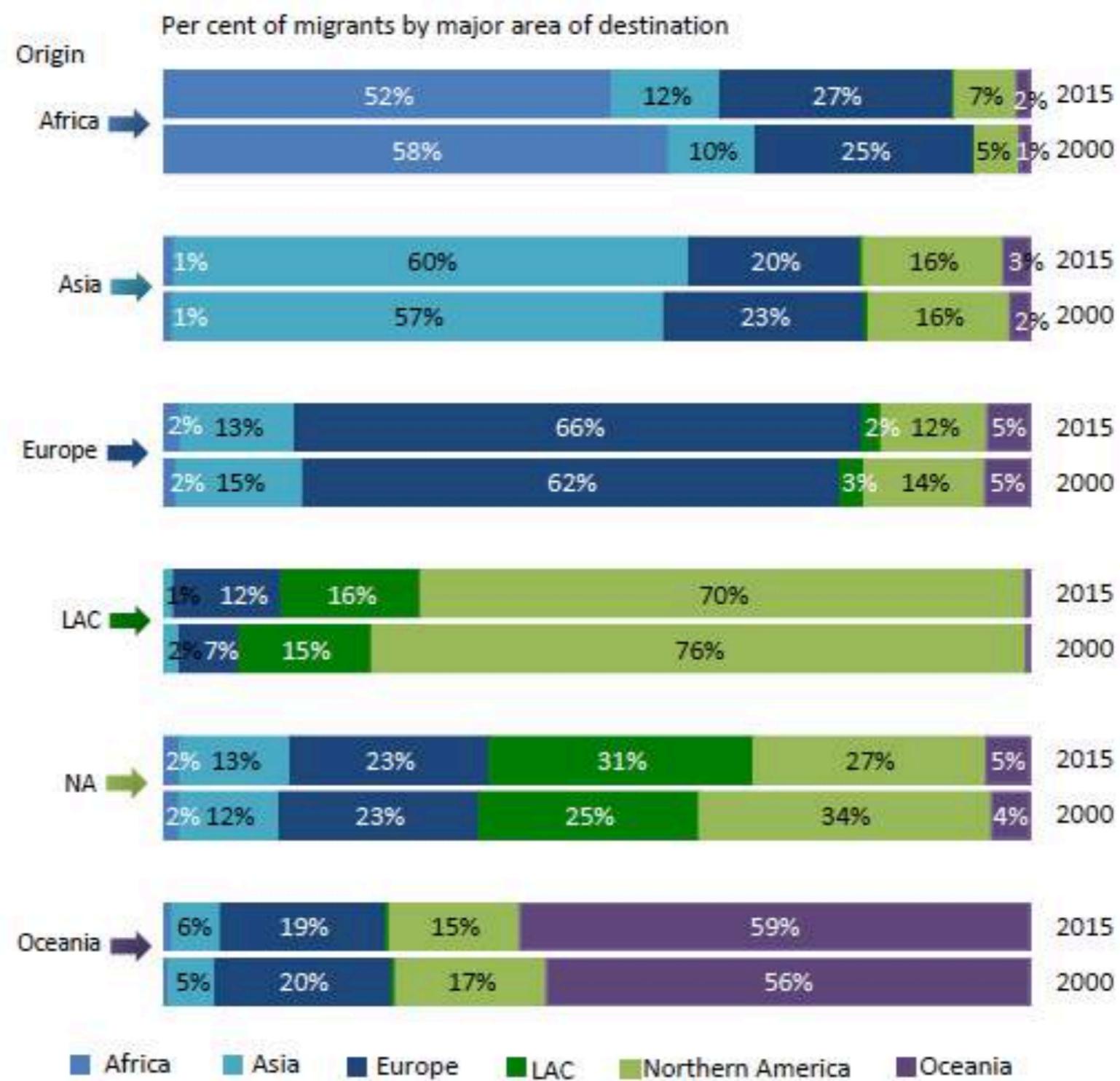


Key facts

#7. Most migrations are intra-regional flows

Figure 11

Percentage distribution of international migrants by major area of destination, for major areas of origin, 2000 and 2015





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Causes of migrations: Push factors

3 types of push factors:

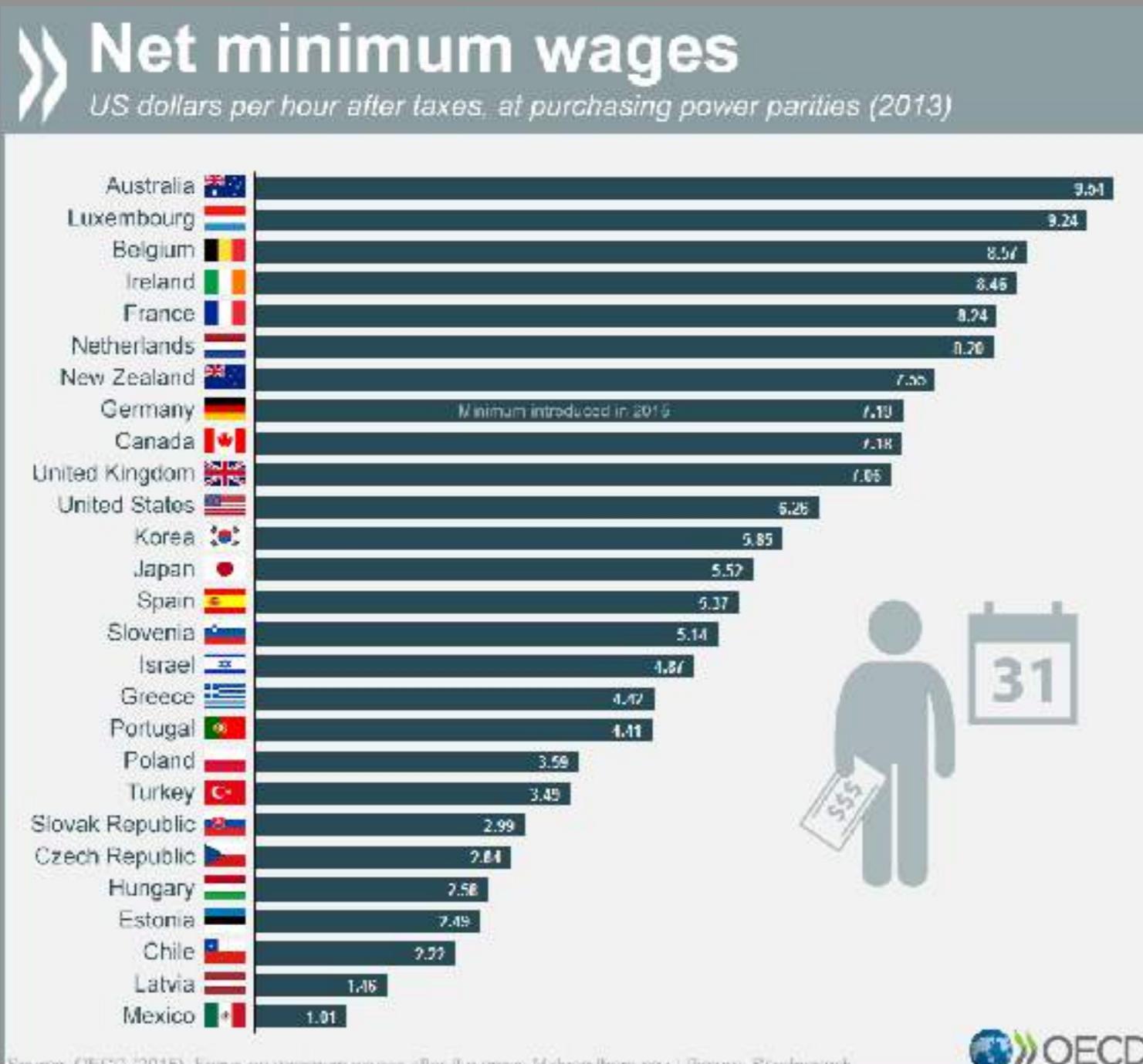
- Economic
- Political
- Environmental





Causes of migrations: Push factors

Higher wages and better job opportunities are obvious push factors





Causes of migrations: Push factors

Higher wages and better job opportunities are obvious push factors



But wage differential is not the only thing that matters:

- 1) Relative well being is also important: Even if driving a taxi in New York pays more than being engineer in a developing country, the two positions offer different social status





Causes of migrations: Push factors

Higher wages and better job opportunities are obvious push factors



But wage differential is not the only thing that matters:

2) Even in absence of wage differential, migration can be a wise strategy family living in risky environment

Migration of some members of the family reduces risk through diversification



Causes of migrations: Push factors

Political motivations



People can flee a difficult political situations

Wars

Discriminations

Forced resettlement programs and expulsions

- **To achieve cultural homogeneity ("ethnic cleansing")**

Spain expelled the Jews in the XVth century

Christian of orient in territories occupied by ISIS

Rohingya people in Myanmar

- **To evict political opponents**

A million of Cubans flee Castro's regime. This has been (partly) organized by the government: Sept. 1965, Castro announced that Cuban wishing to migrate could do so from the port of Camarioca. The U.S. government discussed with Cuba to organize the human flow



Causes of migrations: Push factors

Environmental motivations



The United Environment program anticipates that climate change will affect migration flows in 3 ways:

- Global warming will gradually reduce agricultural productivity in some areas
- Increase in extreme weather events (floods, storms...) may result in mass displacement
- Sea-level rise will permanently destroy low-lying coastal areas

Stern Review on the Economics of Climate Change
(Stern, 2007):

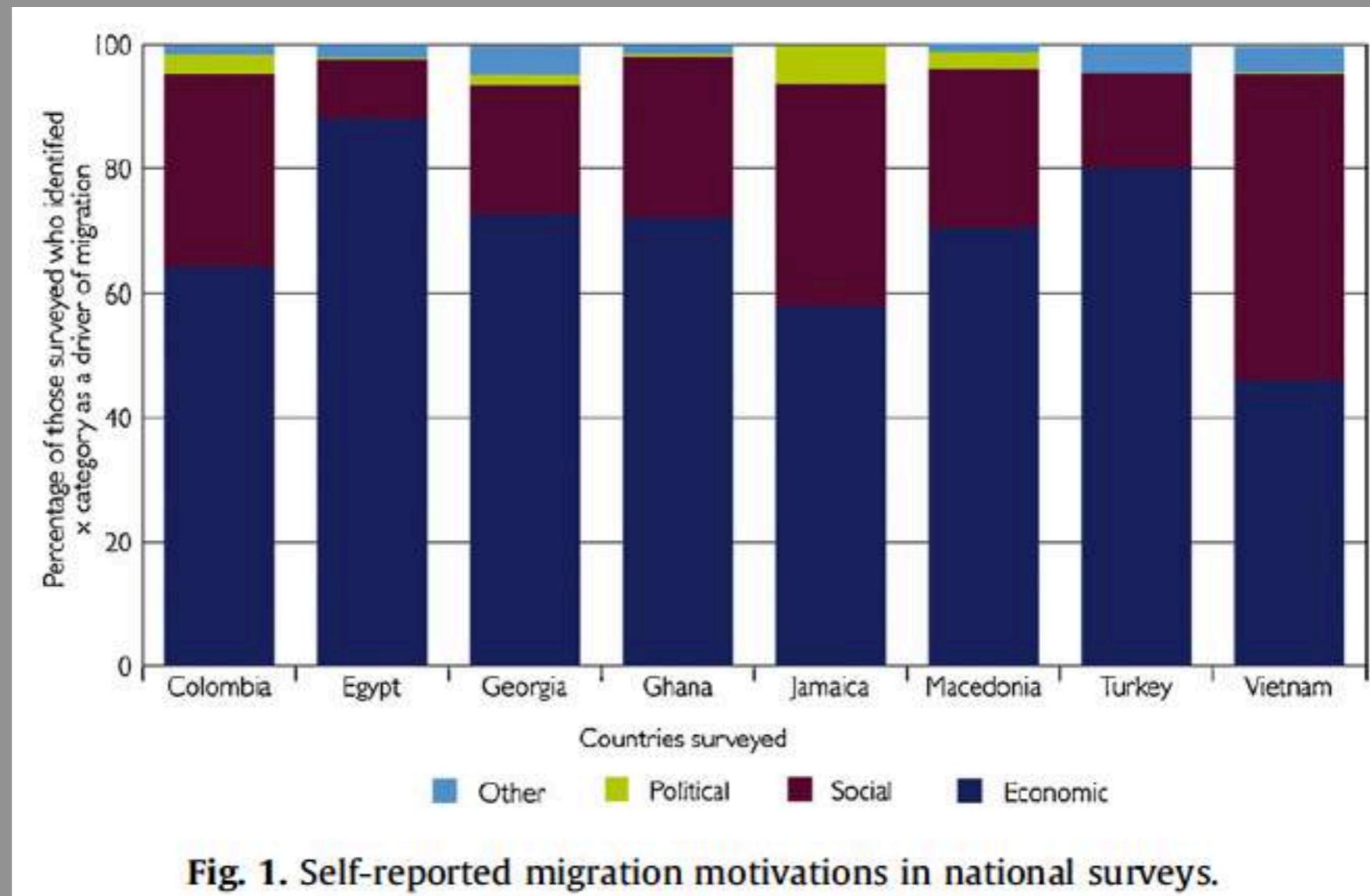
In 1995, there were approximately 25 million people displaced as a consequence of environmental change. It is projected that by 2050 this number would rise to approximately 200 million, taking into account demographic change and deteriorating environmental conditions.





Causes of migrations: Push factors

Motivation to migrating to the UK (Black et al. 2011)





Causes of migrations: Pull factors

Besides better economic opportunities and higher level of security and civil liberties factors that encourage migrations are:

- Family reunification and cultural ties. In many cases, one family member migrates and, once economically secured, will encourage other family members to join him/her = **chain migration**



Causes of migrations: Pull factors

Besides better economic opportunities and higher level of security and civil liberties factors that encourage migrations are:

- Family reunification and cultural ties. In many cases, one family member migrates and, once economically secured, will encourage other family members to join him/her = **chain migration**
- Globalization. Globalization enable poor people to see property in rich countries, disseminates human right principles and offers opportunities to flee persecutions, etc.
- Rise of global cities enable migrants to blend into the population, find jobs, and keep links with their culture through local branches of their diasporas



Causes of migrations: Pull factors

Some "Chinatowns" around the world



Sydney



Mexico



Sao Paulo



London



Paris



Havana



Causes of migrations: Pull factors

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- Specific attraction policies: For workers with specific skills, for students, etc.



Causes of migrations: Pull factors

Migrants' attraction policies

More than 3 million German residents have a parent from Turkey

Why?

In the mid-twentieth century West Germany experienced an economic boom ("Wirtschaftswunder"), increasing demand for industrial workers.

The construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961 exacerbated West Germany's labour crisis by restricting the flow of immigrants from East Germany.

In the same year, the West German government signed a labour recruitment agreement ("Gastarbeiter" = "guest worker") with the Republic of Turkey, and officially invited the Turkish people to emigrate to the country. By 1961-62 German employers played a crucial role in pressuring the State to end the two-year limitation clause of the("guest worker") agreement so that Turkish workers could stay in West Germany for longer.

The Netherlands, Belgium, Italy, Sweden, Denmark Norway had similar programs





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Labor market impact of immigrations

Migrants are a ressource for the destination country

They bring they workforce, their skill, their creativity, etc...

Many success stories illustrate these benefits



Labor market impact of immigrations



Zinedine Zidan
Born in France
Algerian parents



Zlatan Ibrahimović
Born in Sweden
Yugoslavian parents



Miroslav Klose
Top scorer of all time for Germany
Born in Poland



Labor market impact of immigrations



Marie Curie
Nobel prize(s !) laureate
French born in Poland



Of the 314 laureates who won their Nobel prize while working in the U.S., 102 (or 32%) were foreign born, including 15 Germans, 12 Canadians, 10 British, six Russians and six Chinese (twice as many as have received the award while working in China).



Labor market impact of immigrations



Sundar Pichai Google CEO
Born in India



Sergey Brin Google co-founder
Born in Russia



Andrew Grove Intel co-founder
Born in Hungary



Pierre Omidyar E-Bay founder
Born in France (Iranian parents)



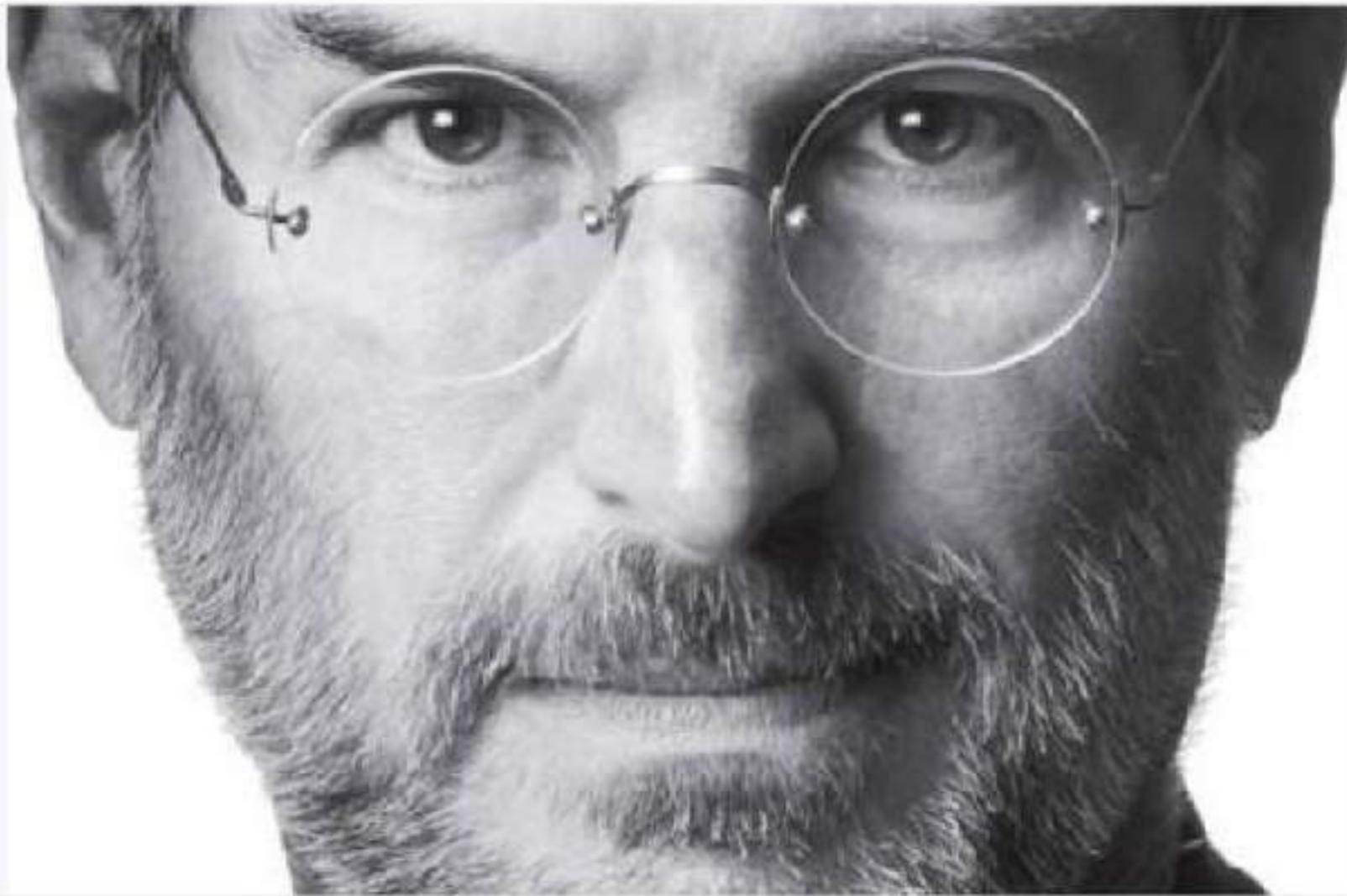
Elon Musk - Tesla founder
Born in South Africa



Jerry Yang - Yahoo co-founder
Born in Taiwan



Labor market impact of immigrations



David Galbraith

@daveg

Follow

A Syrian migrants' child.

4:05 PM - 2 Sep 2015



13,204



6,998



Labor market impact of immigrations



Are migrants taking away jobs from locals'?



**26 million people
in Europe are
looking for work.**

**And whose jobs
are they after?**

**TAKE BACK
CONTROL OF
OUR COUNTRY**

UKIP

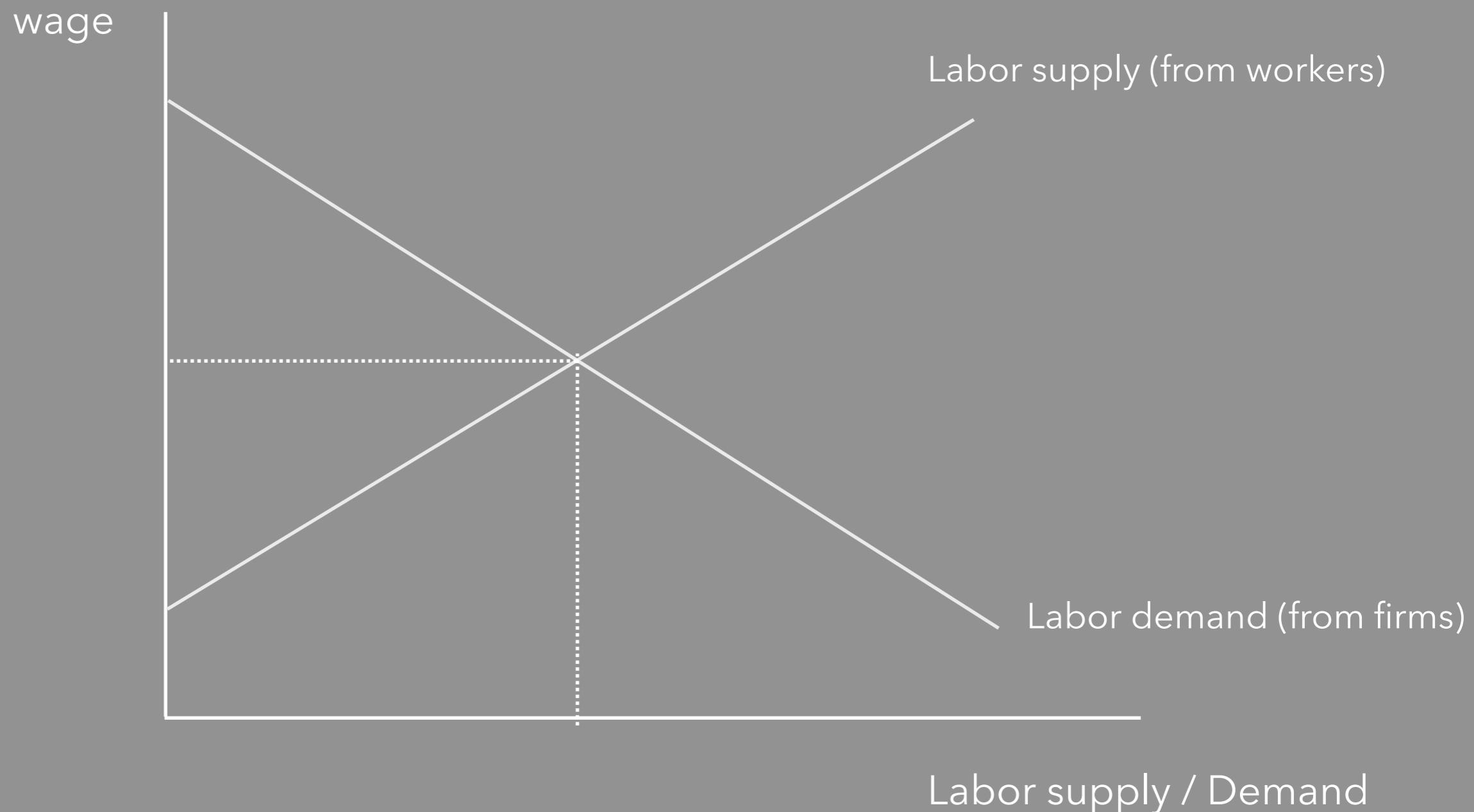
**VOTE UKIP
22ND MAY**

ukip.org



Labor market impact of immigrations

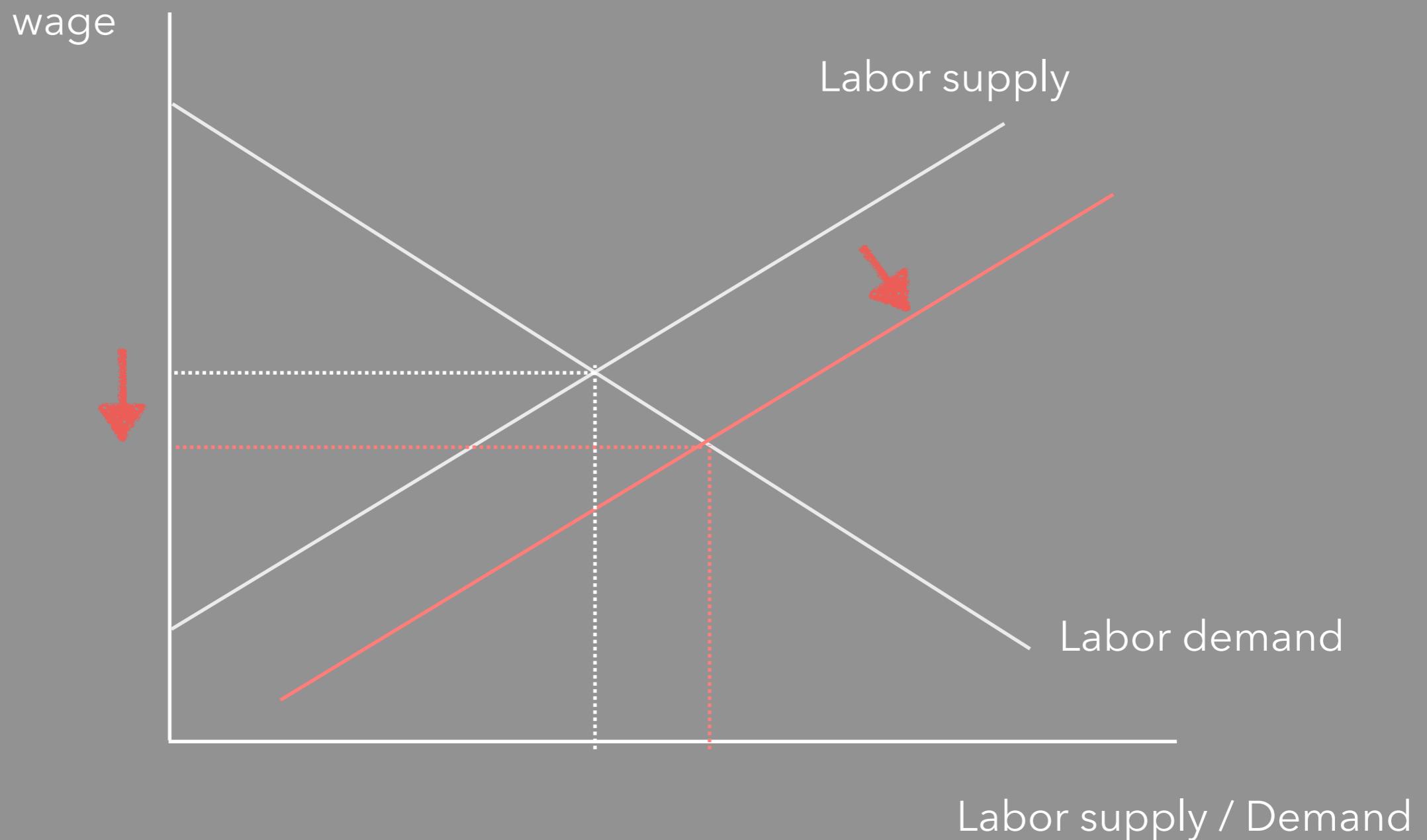
Simple elements of theory





Labor market impact of immigrations

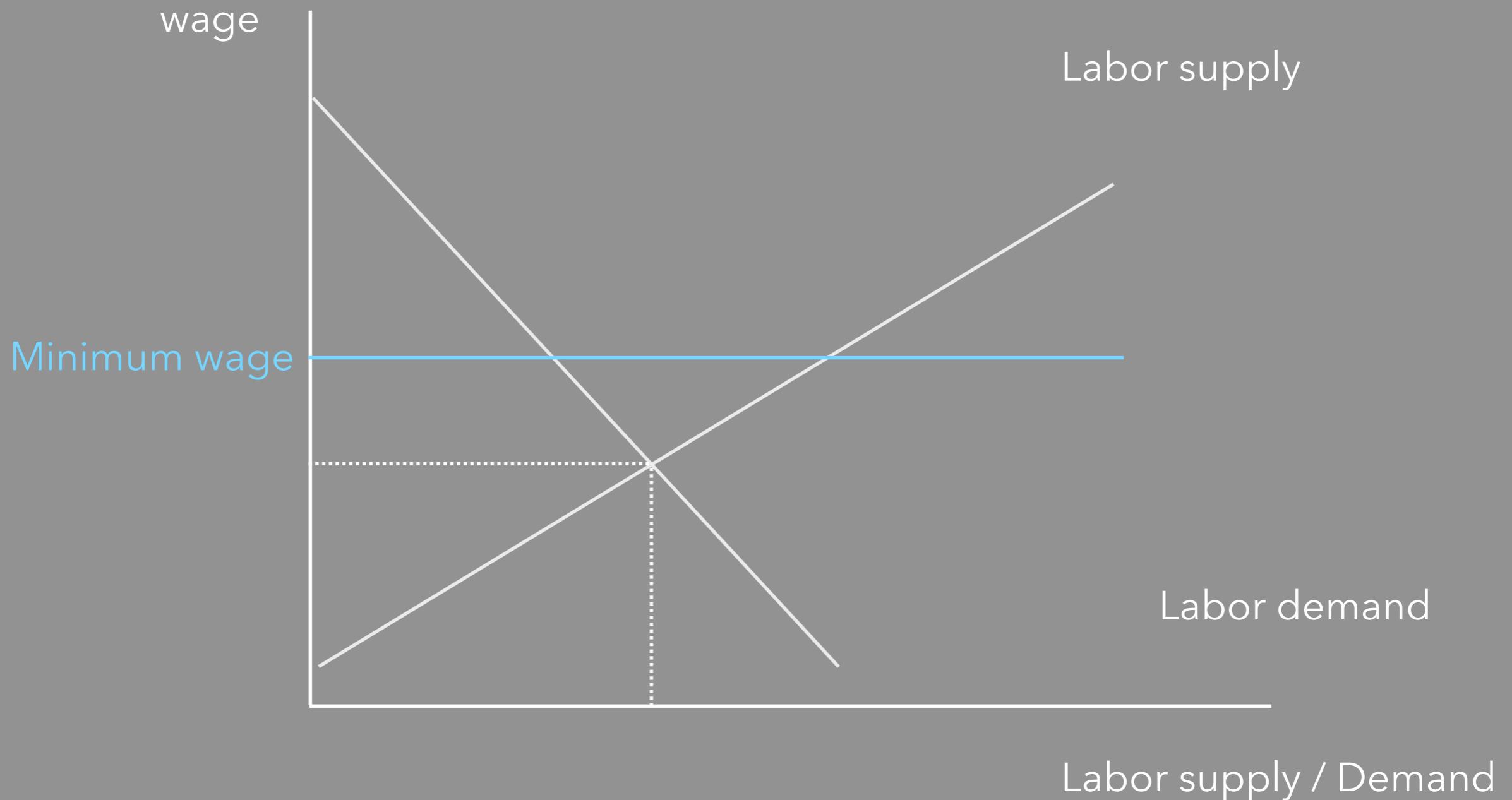
Migration inflow rises employment level (therefore production and GDP)
but reduces wages





Labor market impact of immigrations

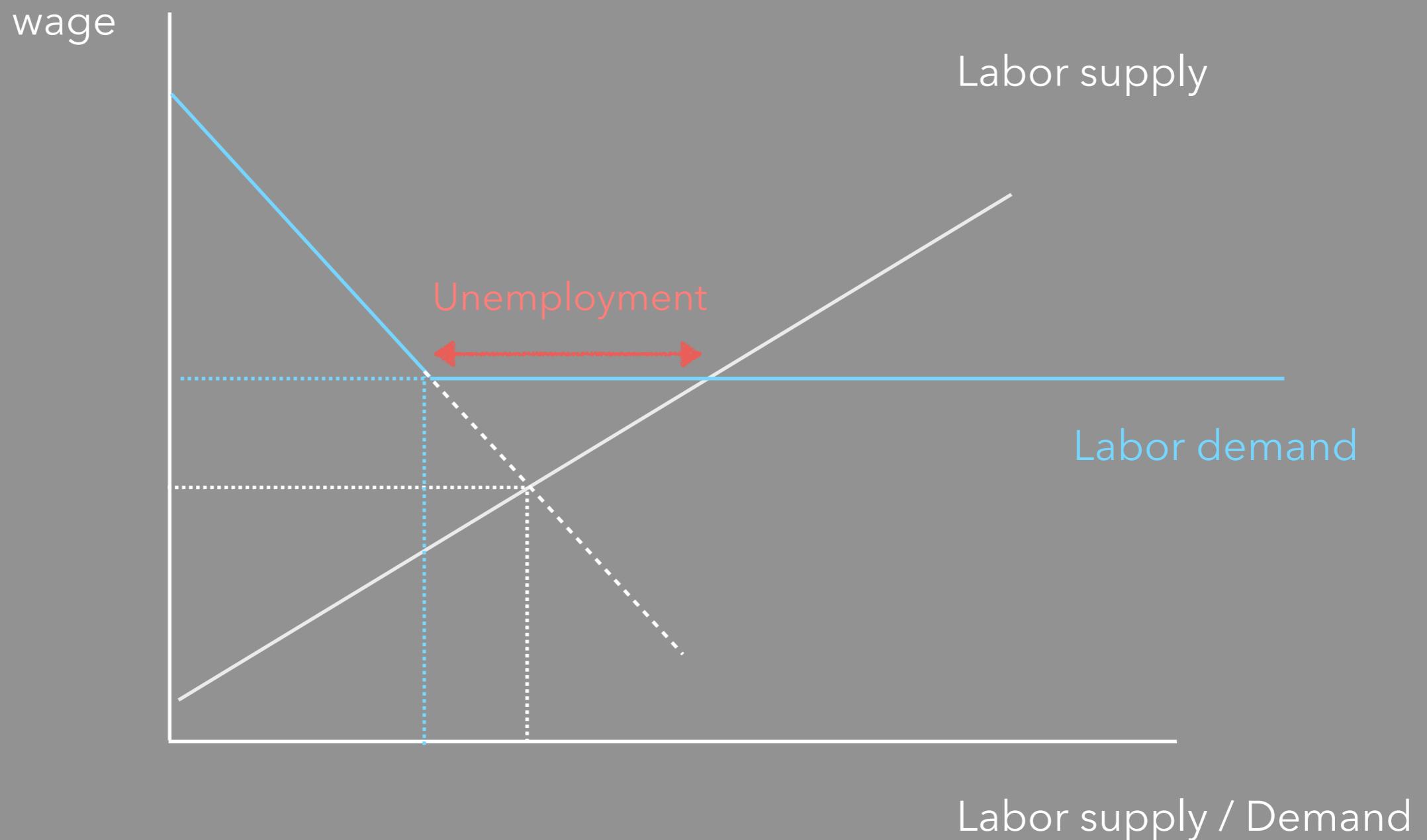
With structural unemployment? - Imagine the case of a minimum wage





Labor market impact of immigrations

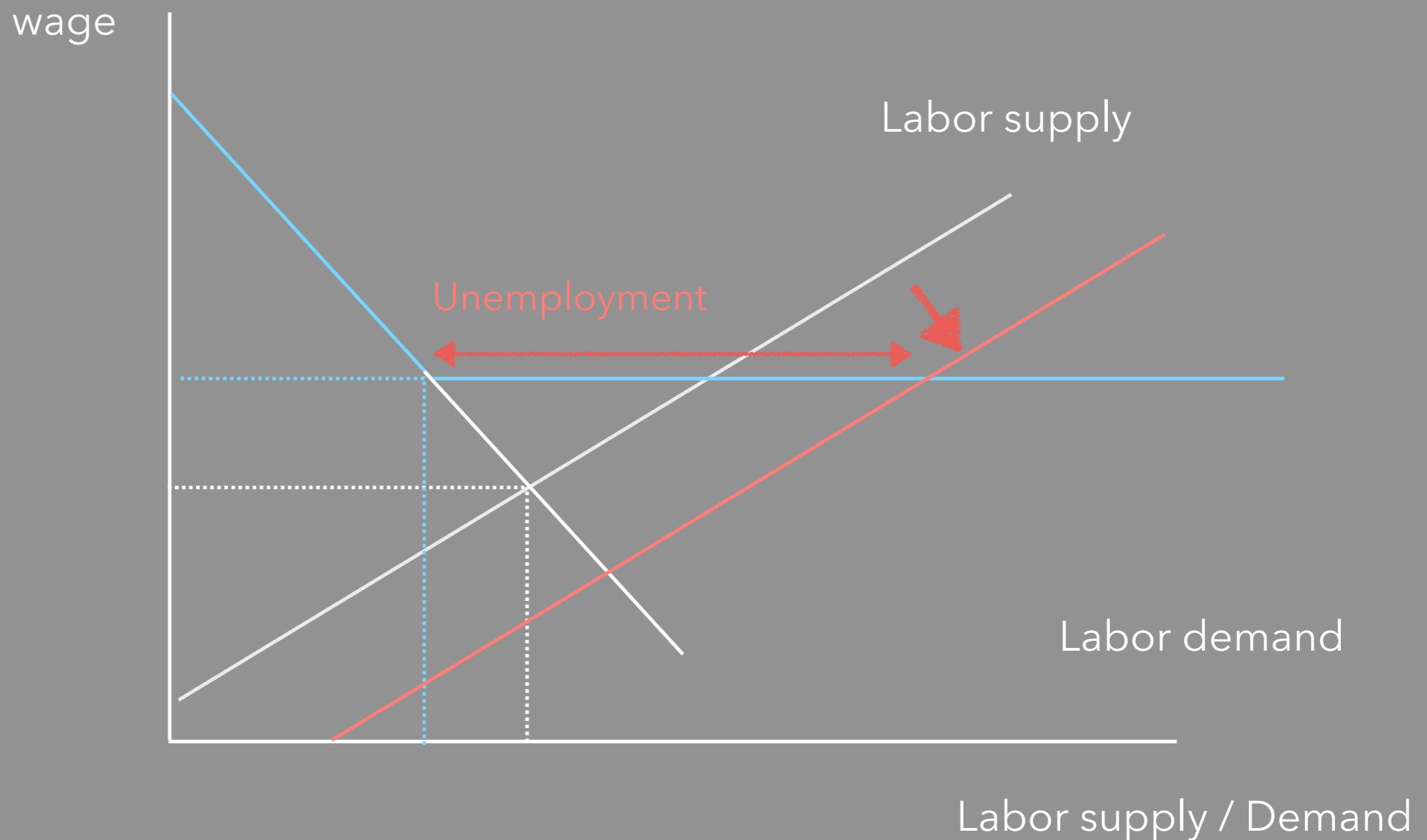
With a minimum wage, more people want to work, but firms hire less





Labor market impact of immigrations

Everything else equal, increase in workforce simply increases unemployment





Labor market impact of immigrations

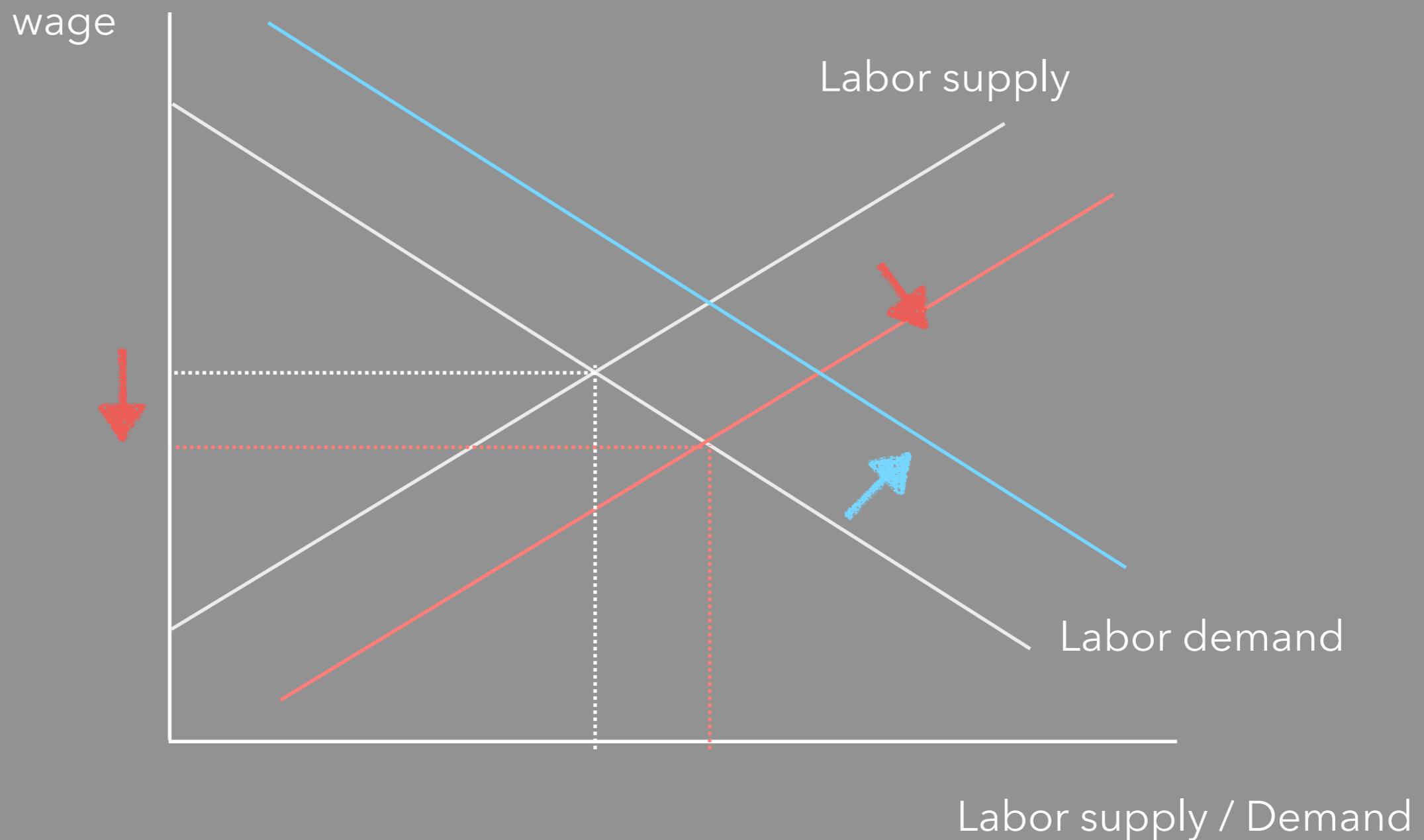
But things are not that simple.

- 1) Migrants also consume \Rightarrow Migration inflow boosts demand and therefore labor supply



Labor market impact of immigrations

Migration inflow rises employment level (therefore production and GDP)



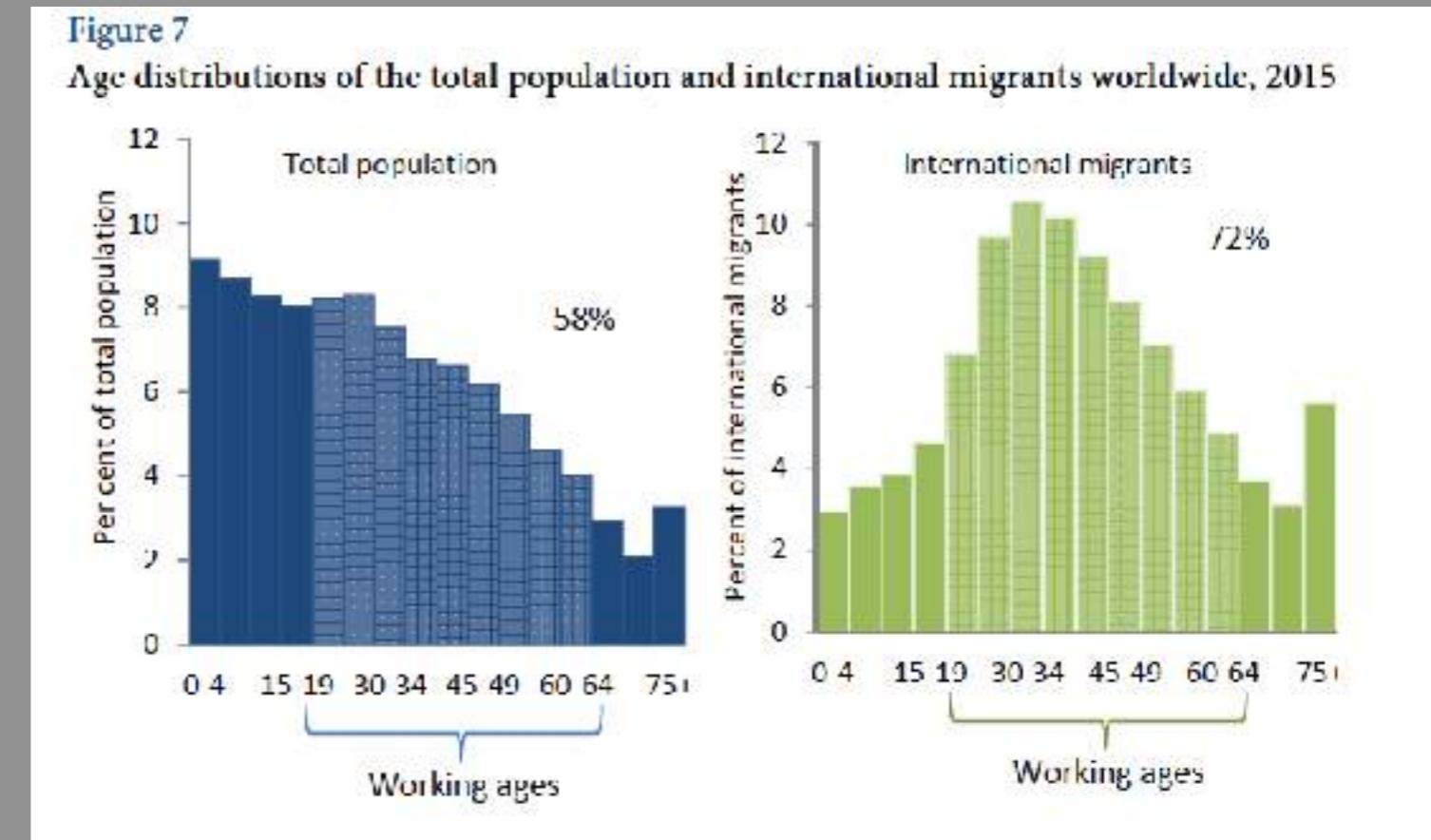


Labor market impact of immigrations

But things are not that simple.

- 1) Migrants also consume ⇒ Migration inflow boosts demand and therefore labor supply

Note that most of those who claim that immigration reduces wages and increase unemployment, do not claim that natalist policies have negative impacts on labor markets... while an inflow of working-age people is certainly better for the economy than an inflow of inactive children





Labor market impact of immigrations

But things are not that simple.

- 1) Migrants also consume ⇒ Migration inflow boosts demand and therefore labor supply
- 2) Migrants and local workers are not directly substitutes. In many cases, they complement each other.





Labor market impact of immigrations

See *The Economist "Wage War"*

Basic ideas:

- 1) Labor markets are segmented across skills (education levels) and occupation (jobs)
Strong substitutability may exist between workers in a given segment
But complementaries may dominate between segments

Migrants and natives do not have the same skills and occupations ⇒ migration has positive impact on most native workers and the negative impact is essentially limited to... already established immigrants

- 2) Natives are better access to credit, lifelong training and have better networks. When hurt by immigrants, they can rebound and move to better jobs

Ottaviano and Peri (2011):

Between 1990 and 2006 immigration in the U.S.A. had a small positive effect on the wages of unskilled American-born workers, but reduced the wages of previous generations of migrants by 6.7%



Brain Waste

Report: Untapped talent (*New American Economy*)

FIGURE 3: SHARE OF HIGH-SKILLED IMMIGRANTS WHO WERE UNDEREMPLOYED OR UNEMPLOYED, BY GENDER AND PLACE OF EDUCATION, 2009-13



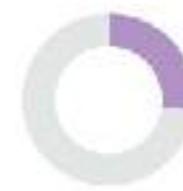
21%
U.S.-Educated
Men



21%
U.S.-Educated
Women



27%
Foreign-Educated
Men



32%
Foreign-Educated
Women



Brain Waste

Often, destination countries do not grab all the benefits of immigration

Migrants are less likely to find a job matching their qualifications because:

- Weaker connections (network) on the labor market
- Uncertainty on curriculums and the quality of education
- Low level of local language proficiency and social norms
- Discrimination

= "Brain waste"

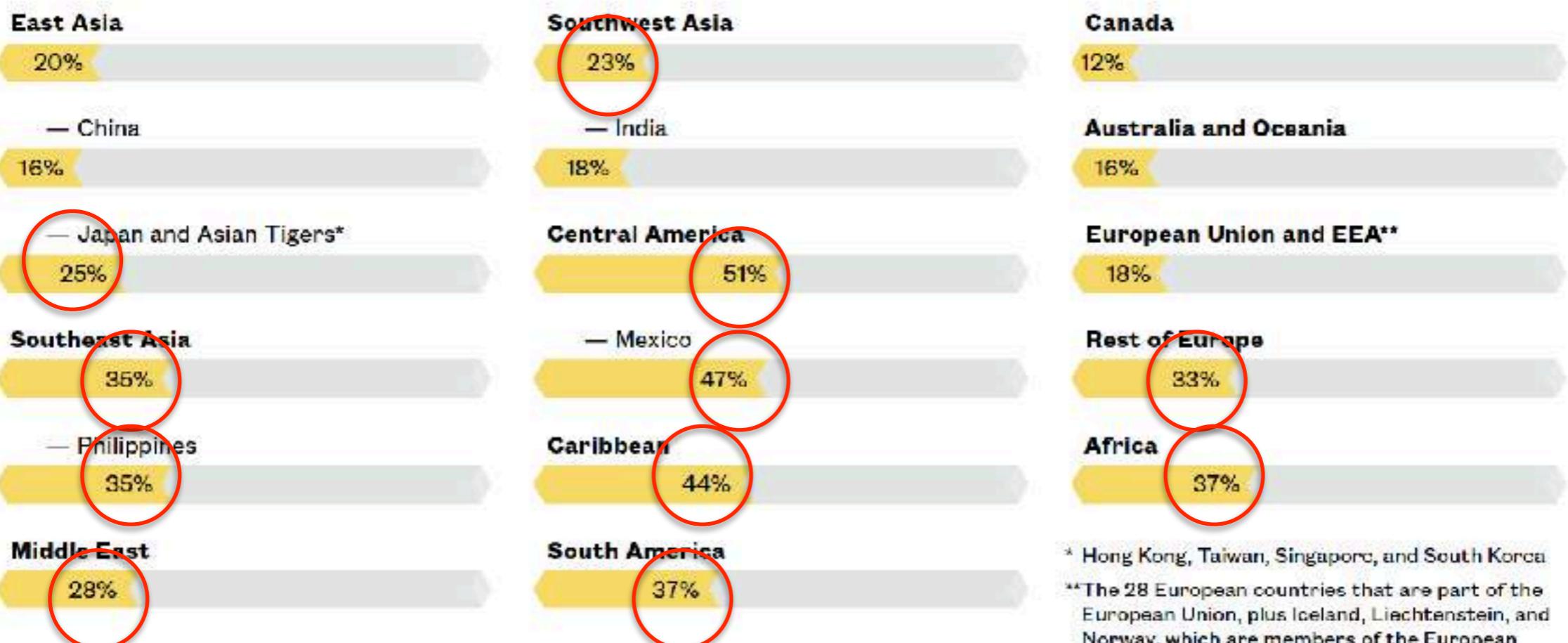
= Loss for the destination country + reduces pull factors



Brain Waste

Brain waste varies a lot across origin countries

FIGURE 1: SHARE OF FOREIGN-EDUCATED HIGH-SKILLED IMMIGRANTS WHO WERE UNDEREMPLOYED OR UNEMPLOYED, 2009-13





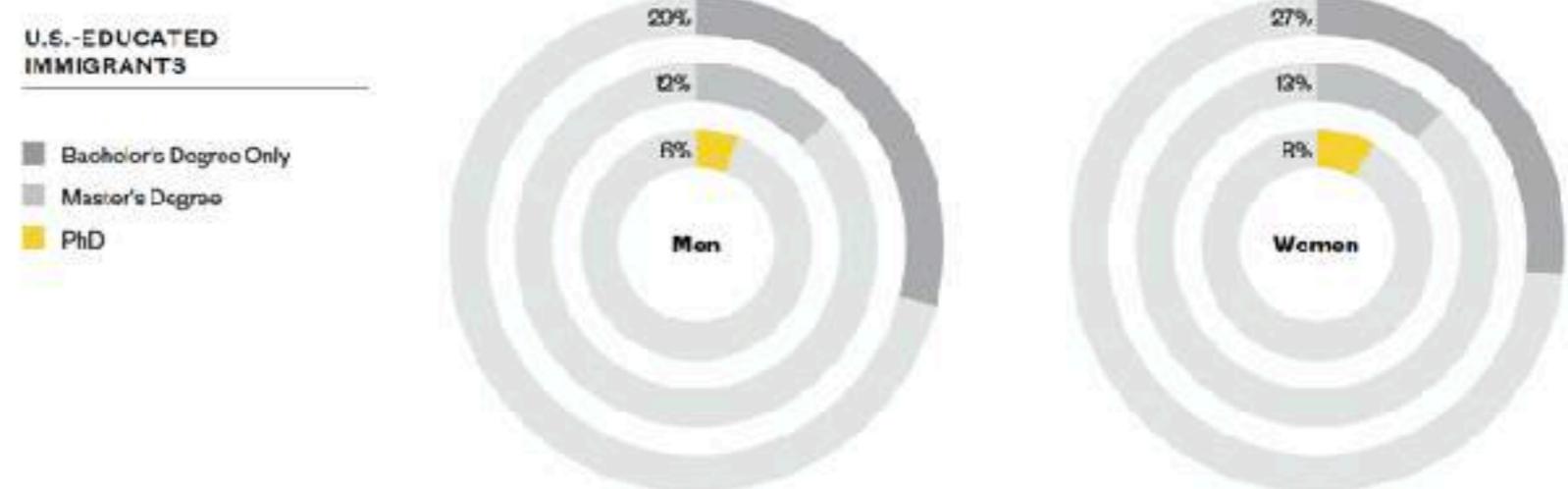
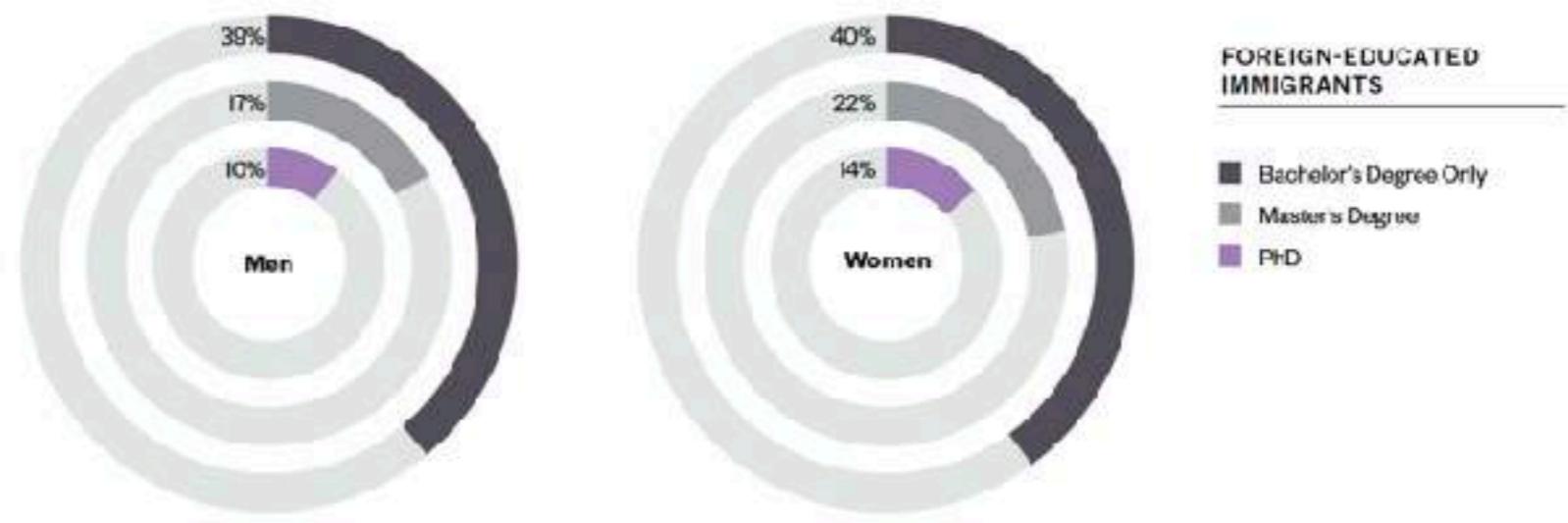
Brain Waste

More brain waste for women

Less brain waste for very highly educated immigrants

Less brain waste for U.S. educated migrants

FIGURE 4: SHARE OF HIGH-SKILLED IMMIGRANTS WHO WERE UNDEREMPLOYED OR UNEMPLOYED, BY DEGREE, LEVEL, AND PLACE OF EDUCATION, 2009-13



¹¹ Sources for Figures 3 and 4: MPI analysis of 2009-13 ACS and 2008 SIPP data from the U.S. Census Bureau, with legal status assignments by Bachmeier and Van Hook.



Brain Waste

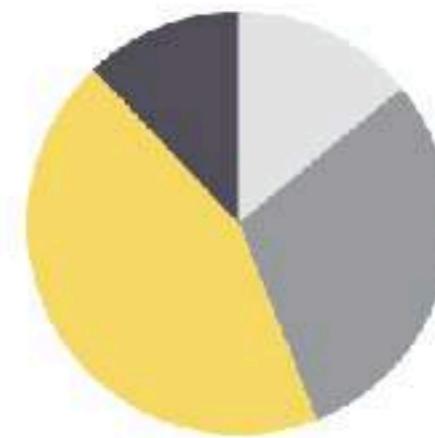
Much higher brain waste for illegal migrants

FIGURE 5: SHARE OF HIGH-SKILLED IMMIGRANTS WHO WERE UNDER-EMPLOYED OR UNEMPLOYED, BY LEGAL STATUS AND PLACE OF EDUCATION, 2009-13

FOREIGN-EDUCATED IMMIGRANTS

DISTRIBUTION BY LEGAL STATUS

- Unauthorized - 14%
- Legal Permanent Resident - 30%
- Naturalized Citizen - 44%
- Temporary Visa Holder - 12%



SHARE WHO ARE UNDEREMPLOYED OR UNEMPLOYED

Unauthorized Immigrant

43%

Legal Permanent Resident

33%

Naturalized Citizen

27%

Temporary Visa Holder

10%



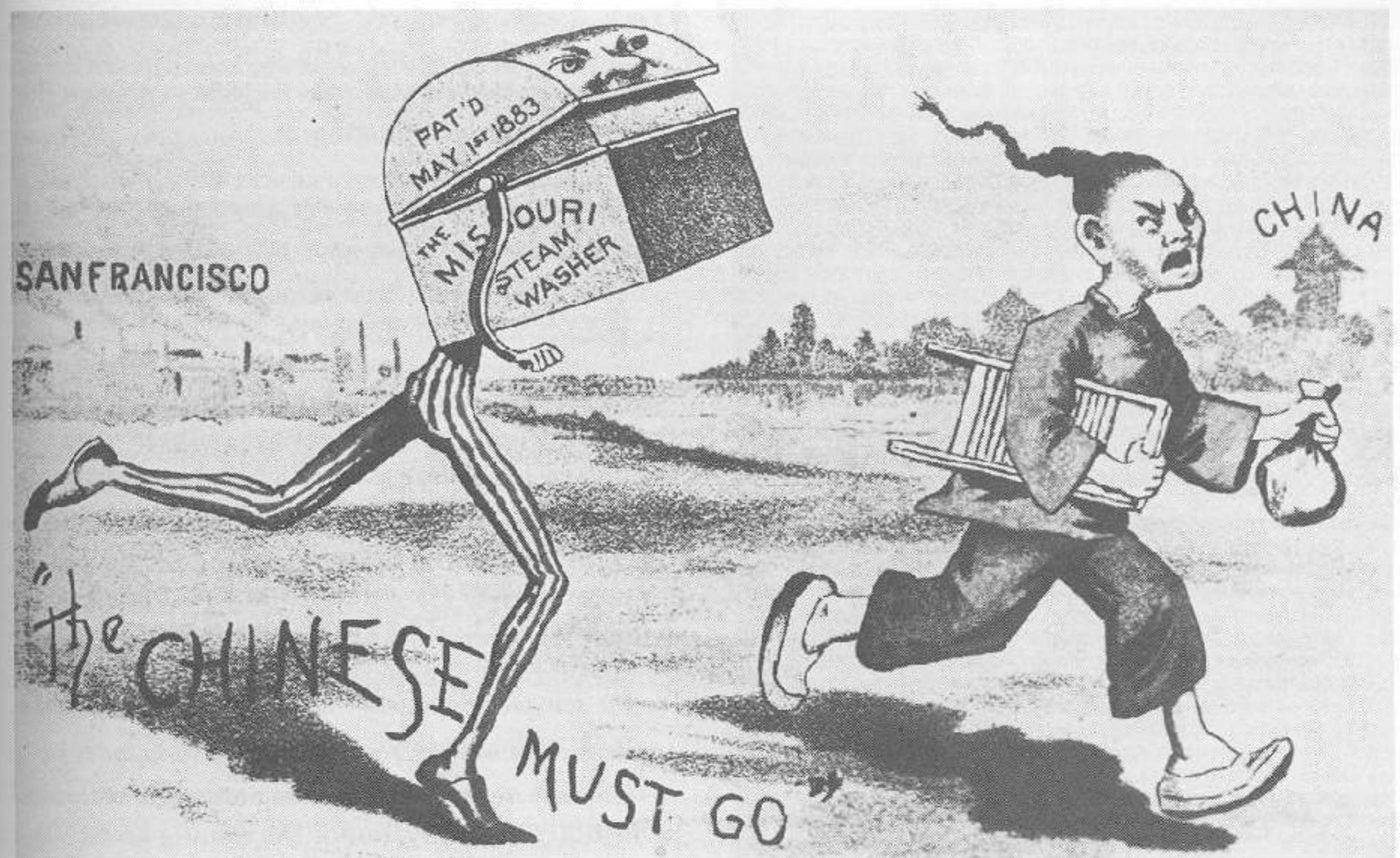
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Immigration: Political issues



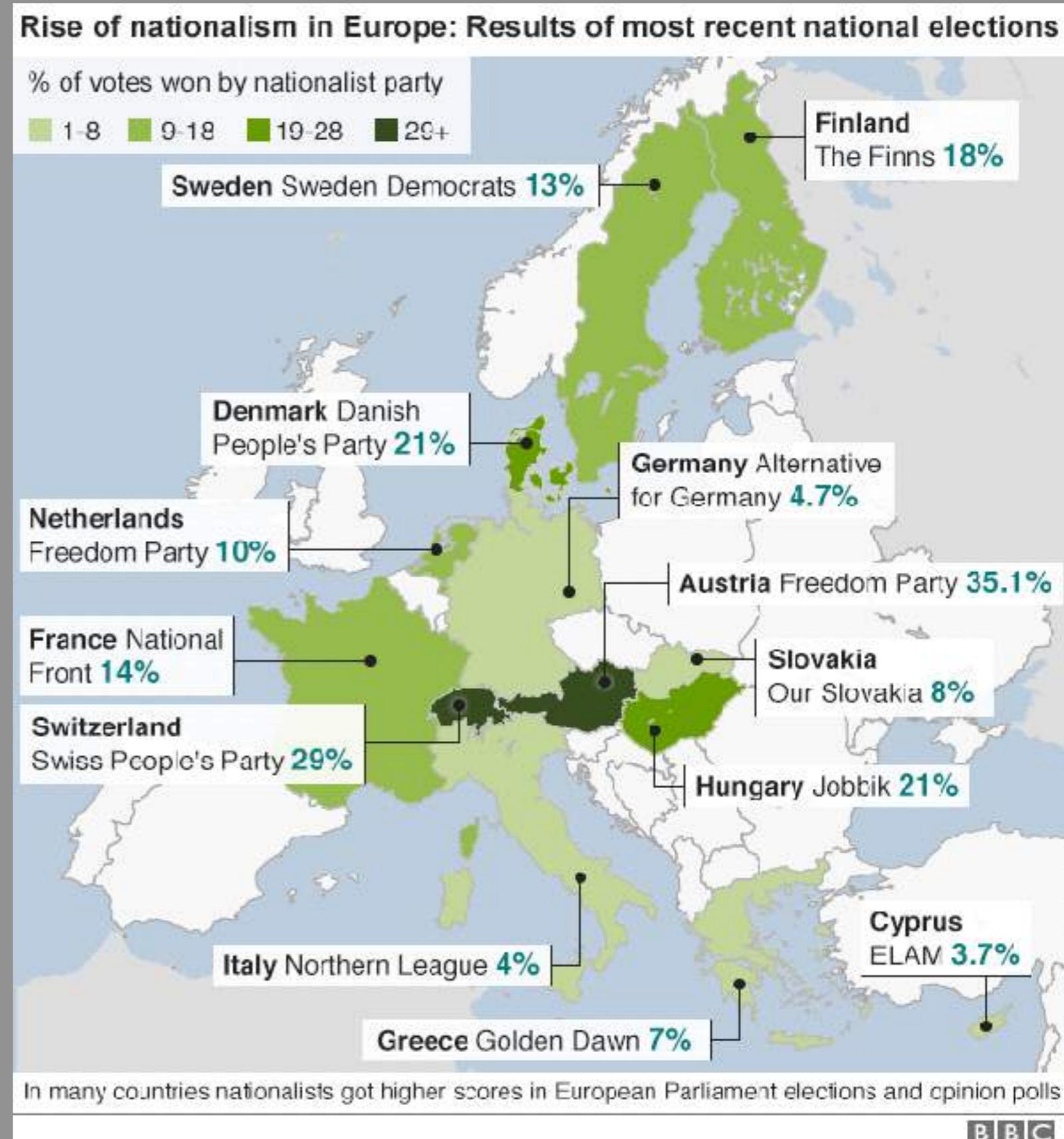
The anti-Chinese movement spread across the United States in the 1870s and 1880s.
(Library of Congress)



Immigration: Political issues

Far right is gaining ground in most European countries

Expression of anti-immigration sentiments





Immigration: Political issues



Victor Orbán, Prime Minister Hungary

"every single migrant poses a public security and terror risk".

"For us migration is not a solution but a problem ... not medicine but a poison, we don't need it and won't swallow it"



"When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. [...] They're sending people that have lots of problems, and they're bringing those problems with us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people."

"Donald J. Trump is calling for a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States until our country's representatives can figure out what is going on."



Ukip poster campaign



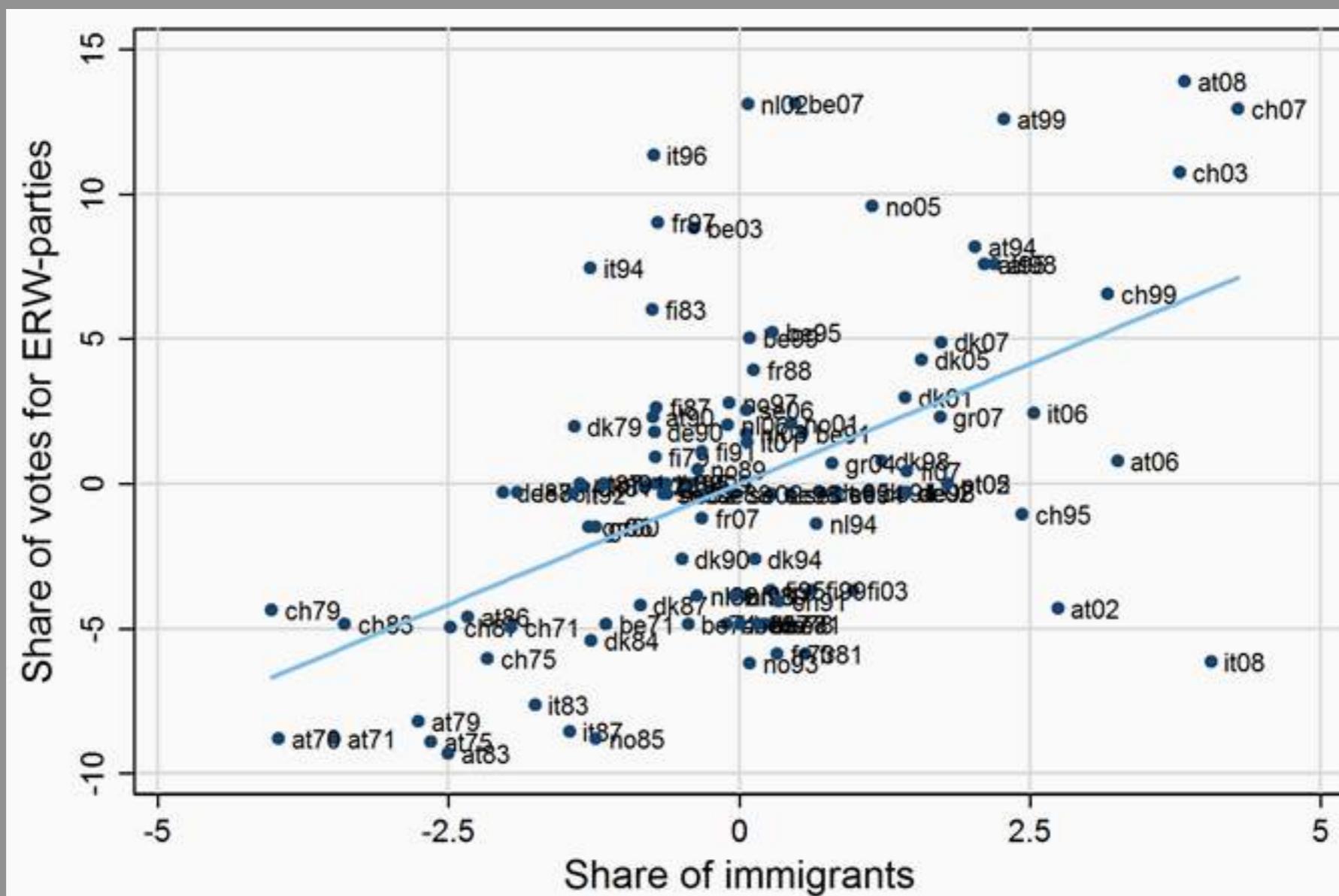
Marine Le Pen

The progressive Islamisation of our country and the increase in political-religious demands are calling into question the survival of our civilisation

The immigrationist religion is an insult for human beings, whose integrity is always bound to one national community, one language, one culture.

Immigration: Political issues

There is a clear correlation between presence of immigrants and share of voters for Extreme-Right-Wing parties in Europe

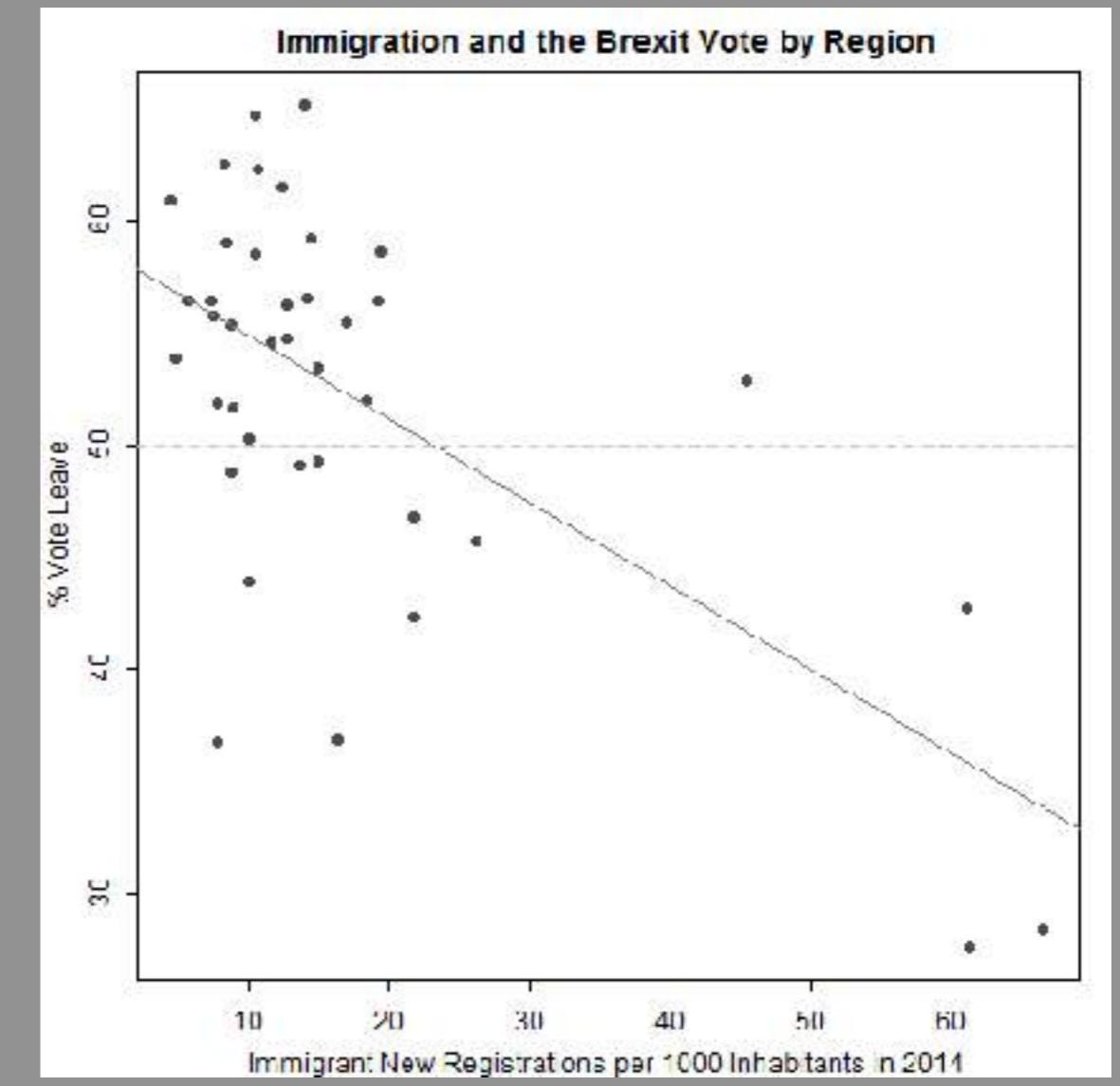
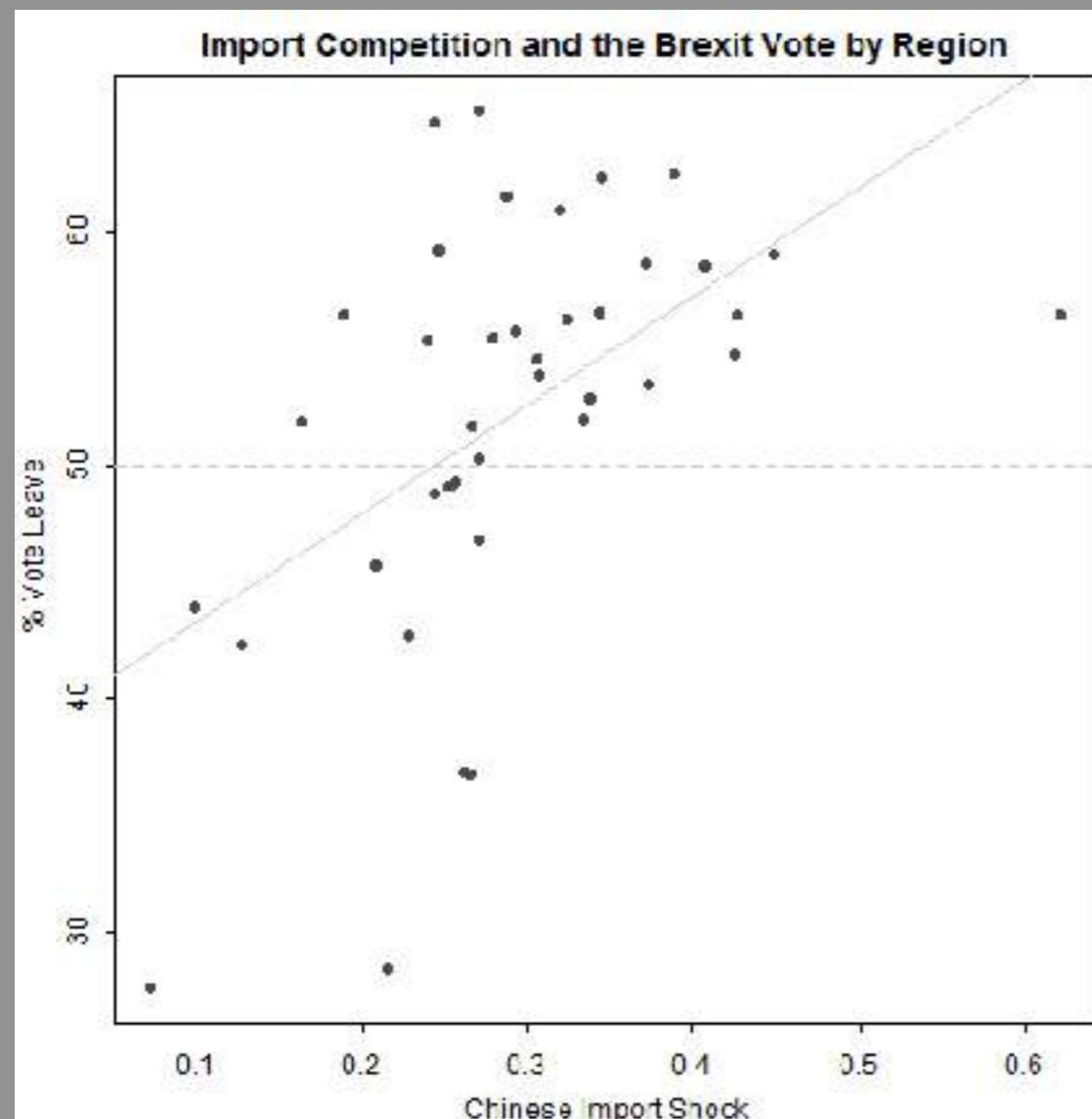




Brexit: Immigration or globalization?

Italo Colantone and Piero Stanig

https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/07/07/the-real-reason-the-u-k-voted-for-brexit-economics-not-identity/?utm_term=.41b2e907ed1f





Brexit: Immigration or globalization?

It seems that most support to far-right (and anti-globalization) parties comes from relatively deprived regions.

Populations that are the most threatened by exposure to imports from low wage countries have provided increasing support for protectionists and/or extreme-right populist parties.

"It's economic globalization, not immigration. Displaced British manufacturing correlates far more strongly with a pro-Brexit vote than immigration does, no matter what voters say after the fact. They might not realize it, but voters may actually want to leave the World Trade Organization or the global economy more than they want to leave the E.U.

As Gordon Brown suggests, governments' inability to compensate globalization's losers seems to have pushed voters toward political entrepreneurs who cast themselves as isolationist and nationalist, and who blame immigrants for woes that probably have little, if anything, to do with immigration."

Italo Colantone and Piero Stanig (Washington Post)



Immigration: Political issues

Multiple fears:

- Simple xenophobia / racism
- Economic (see above)
- Cultural:
 - Fear of dilution / disappearance of national values
 - Fear from majority to loose their dominant position
- Fear of loss of sovereignty
- Fear of greater fragmentation of the Nation

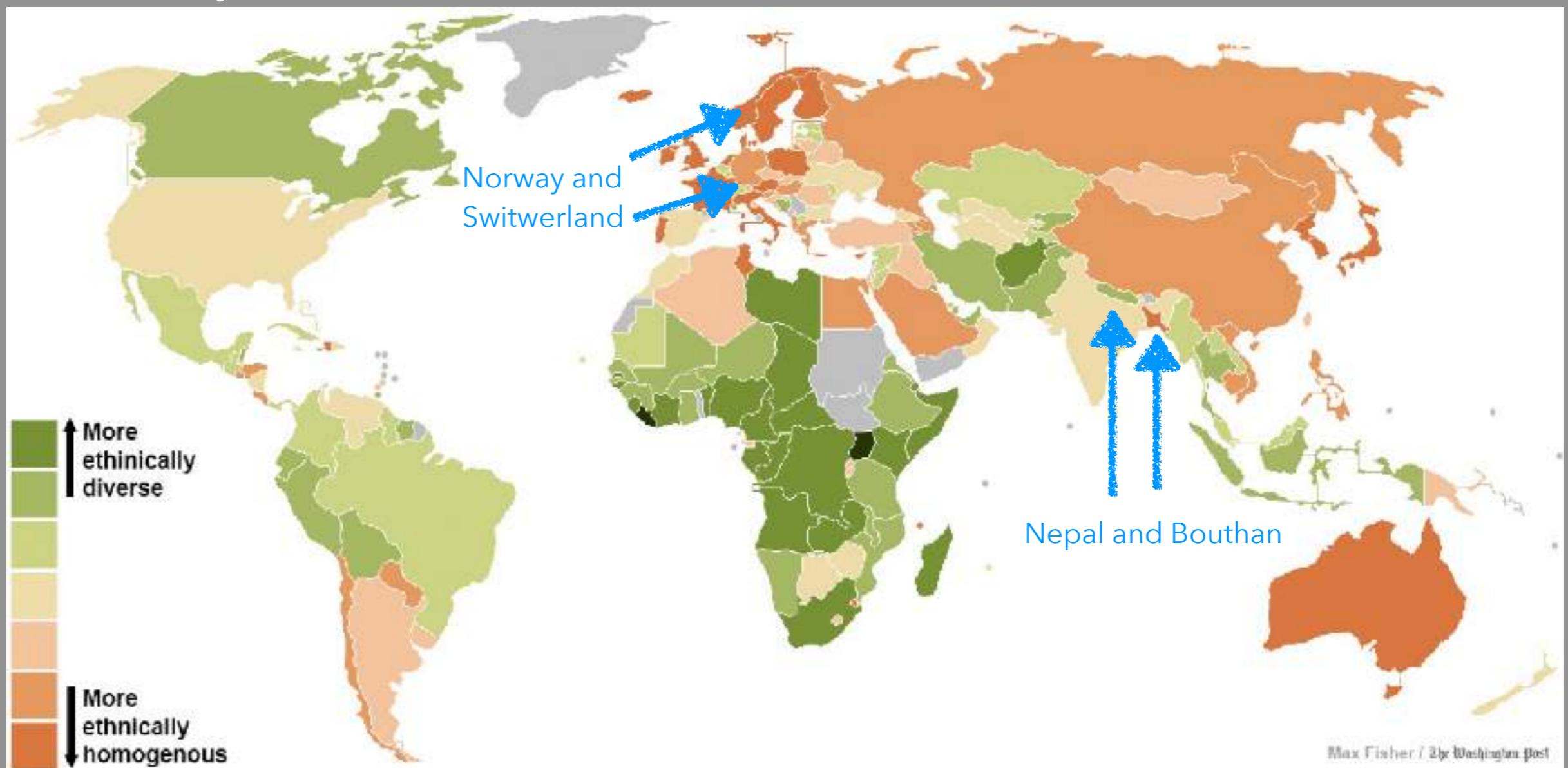
Is it true that migration weaken the cohesion of the Nations?
What's the consequence of ethnic fragmentation?



Consequence of ethnic fragmentation

Quite strong evidence that Ethnic fragmentation is negatively correlated with economic performances

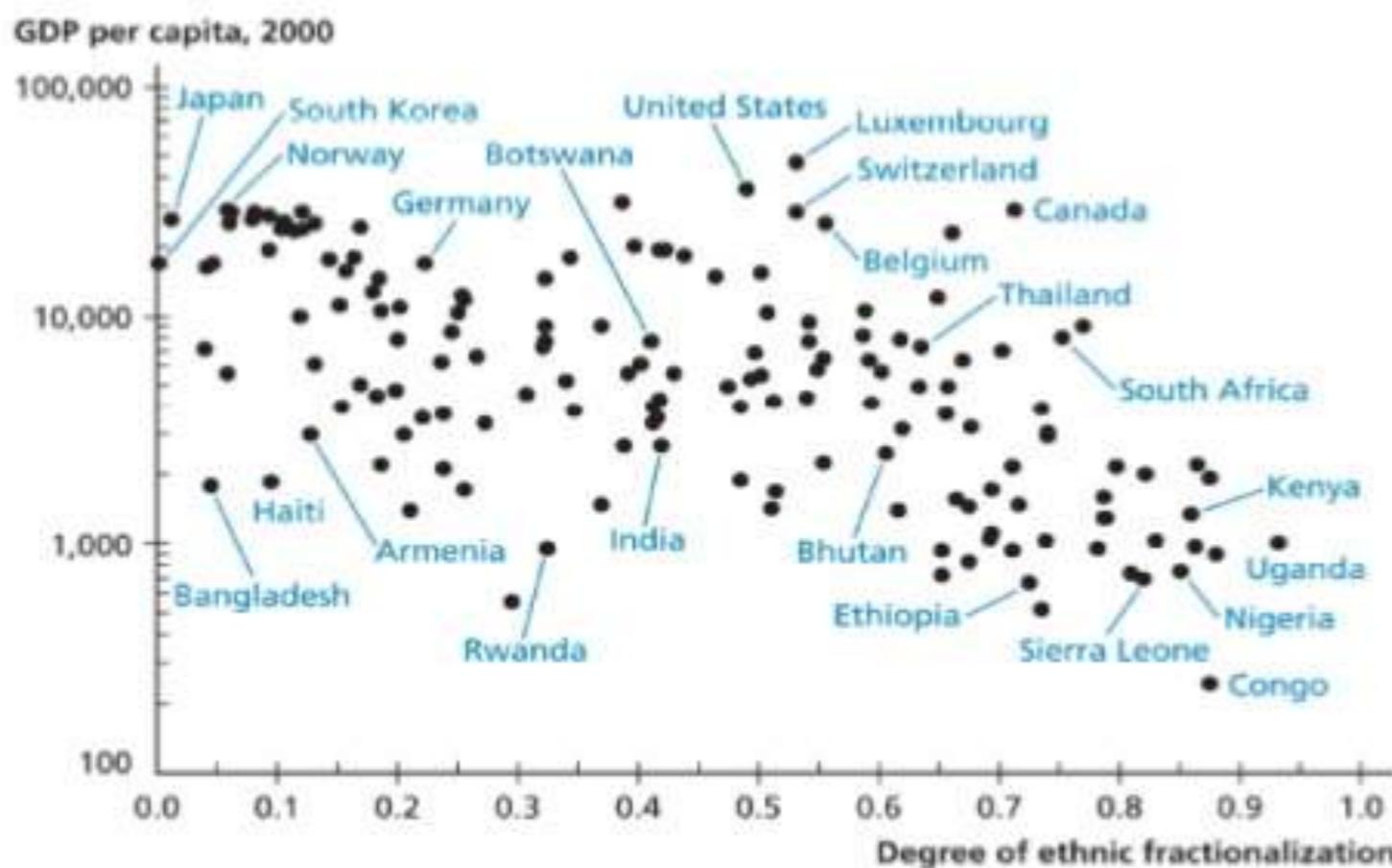
With many outliers





Consequence of ethnic fragmentation

Ethnic Fractionalization vs GDP Per Capita

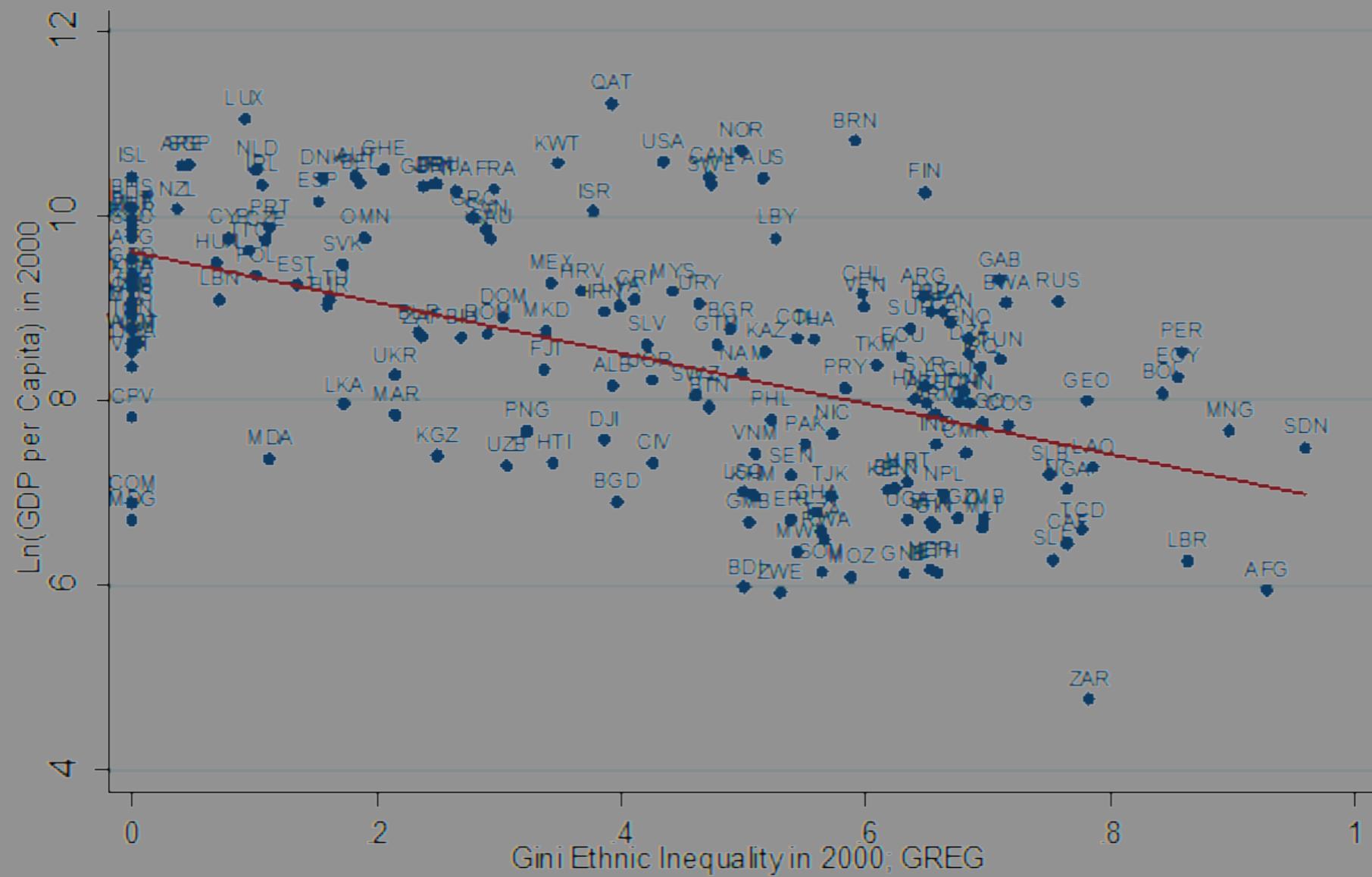


Source: Alesina et. al (2003)



Consequence of ethnic fragmentation

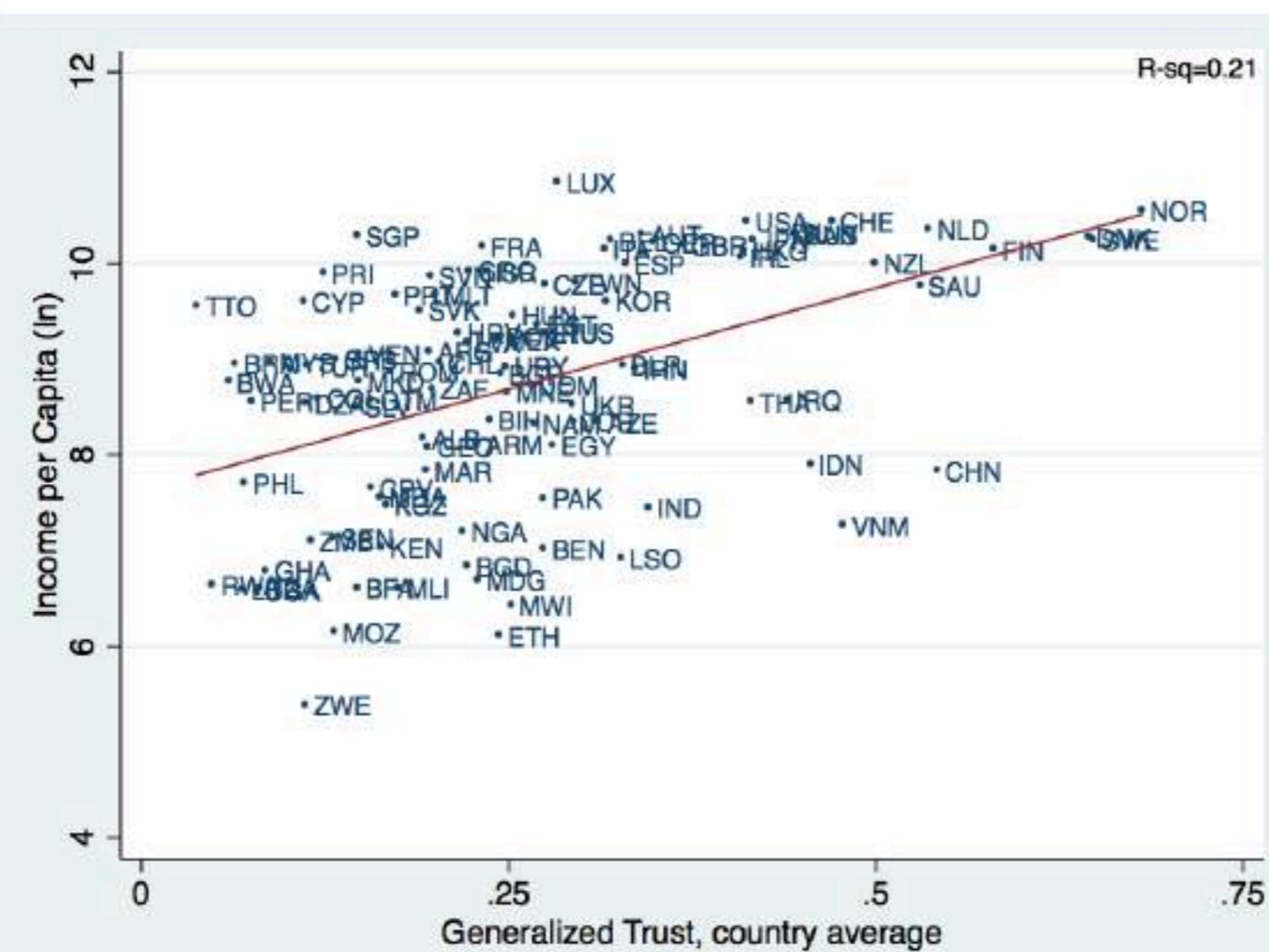
However, it seems that what really matters is not ethnic or cultural fragmentation but the ability to integrate all into a single national project





Consequence of ethnic fragmentation

Figure 5: Cross-Country Correlation between average (ln)-Income per capita and Trust

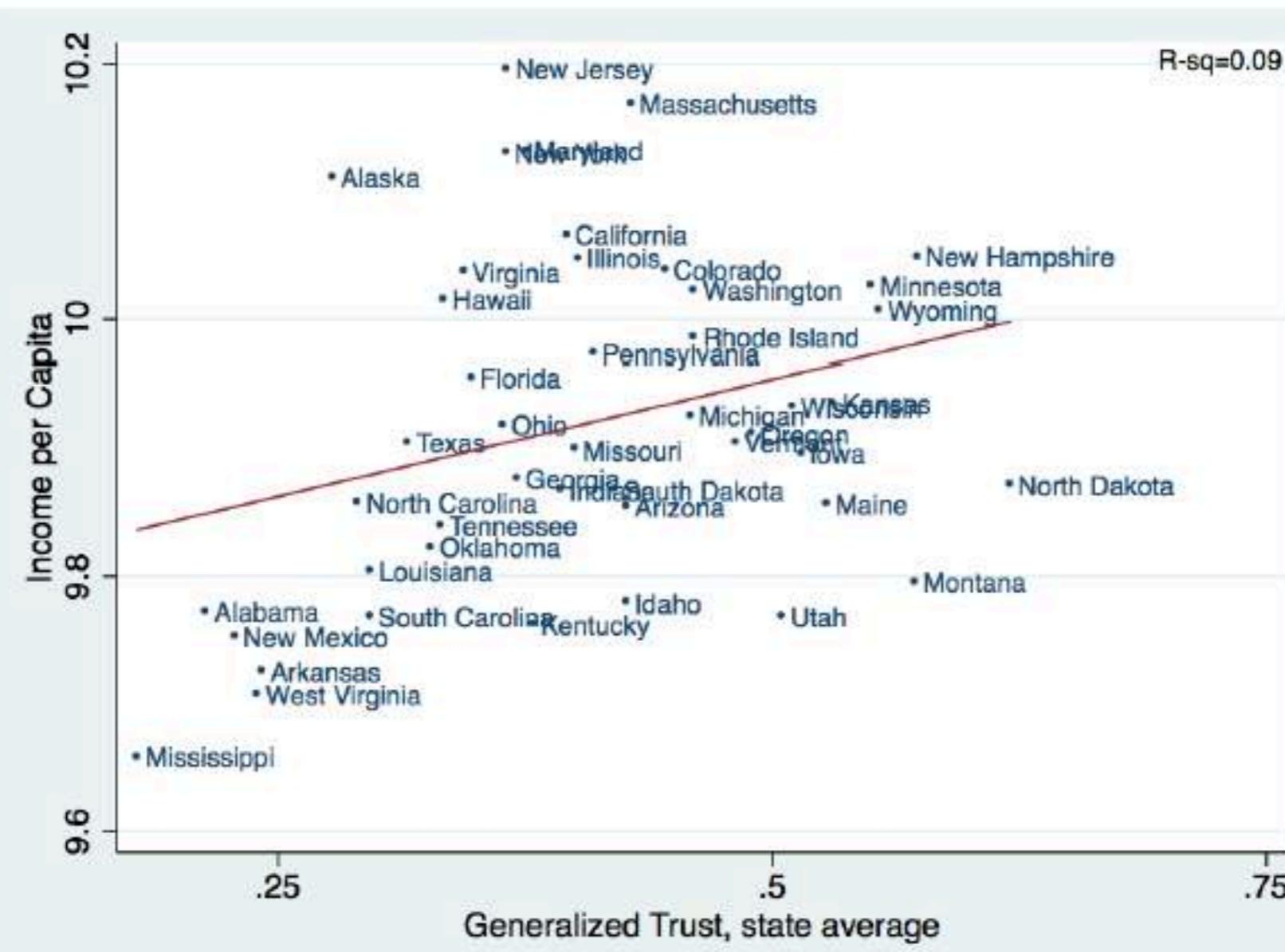


Sources: Average income per capita (1980-2009) has been obtained from the Penn World Tables 7.0. Trust is computed as the country average from responses to the trust question in the five waves of the World Values Survey (1981-2008), the four waves of the European Values Survey (1981-2008) and the third wave of the Afrobarometer (2005). The question asks "Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people?" Trust is equal to 1 if the respondent answers "Most people can be trusted" and 0 otherwise.



Consequence of ethnic fragmentation

Figure 7: Income per capita (ln) and Generalized Trust in 49 U.S. States



Sources: Income data is taken from the U.S. Census Bureau and averaged for the years 1972-2011. The proportion of people that trust is taken from the General Social Survey (1973-2006). The Trust measure is computed as the state average from responses to the question "Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people?" Trust is equal to 1 if the respondent answers "Most people can be trusted" and 0 otherwise.



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Remittances

A remittance is a transfer of money by a foreign worker to an individual in his or her home country.

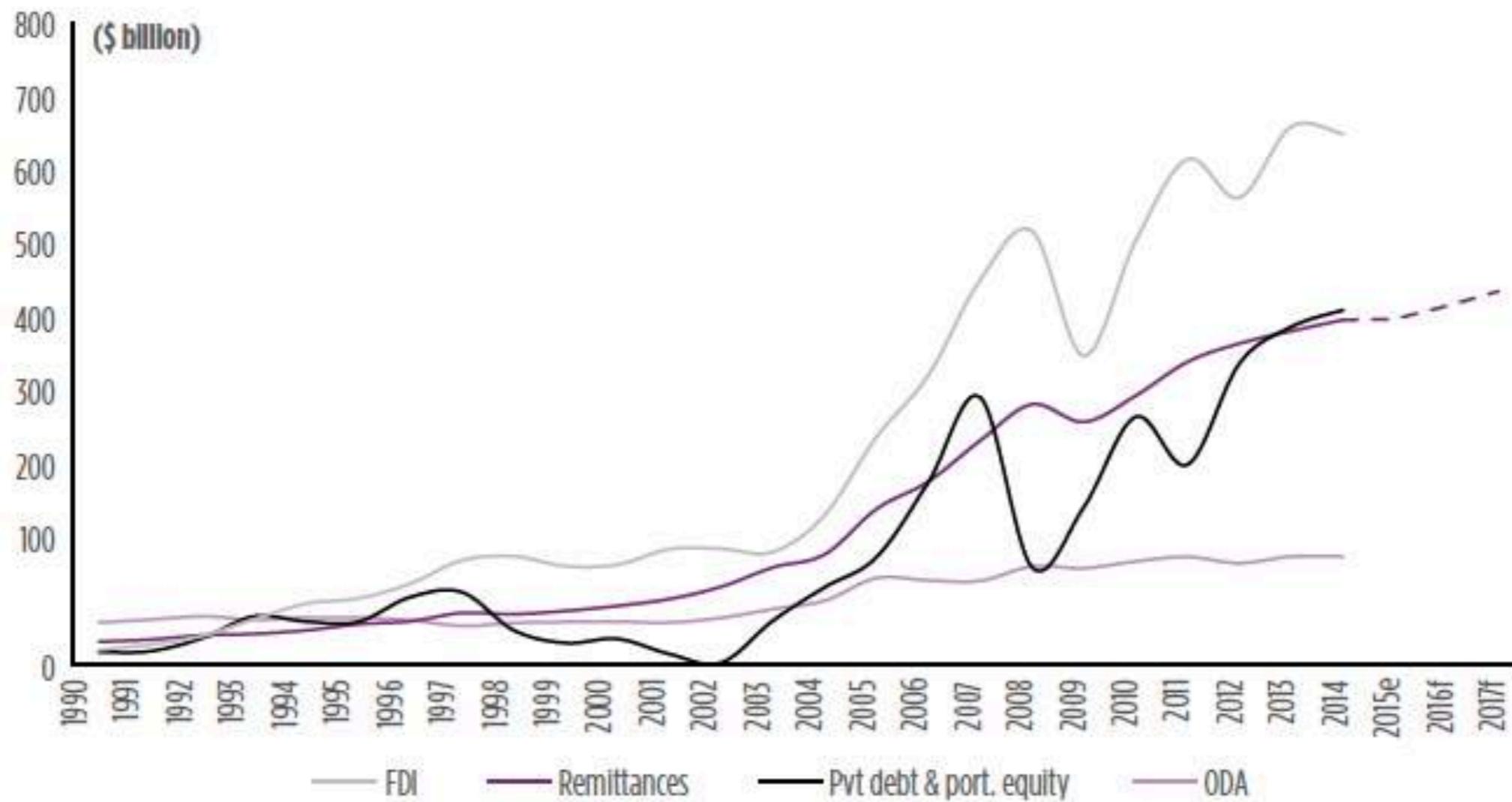




Remittances

Remittances are very big capital inflow in developing countries

FIGURE 5 ■ Remittance Flows Are Larger than Official Development Assistance (ODA), and More Stable than Private Capital Flows

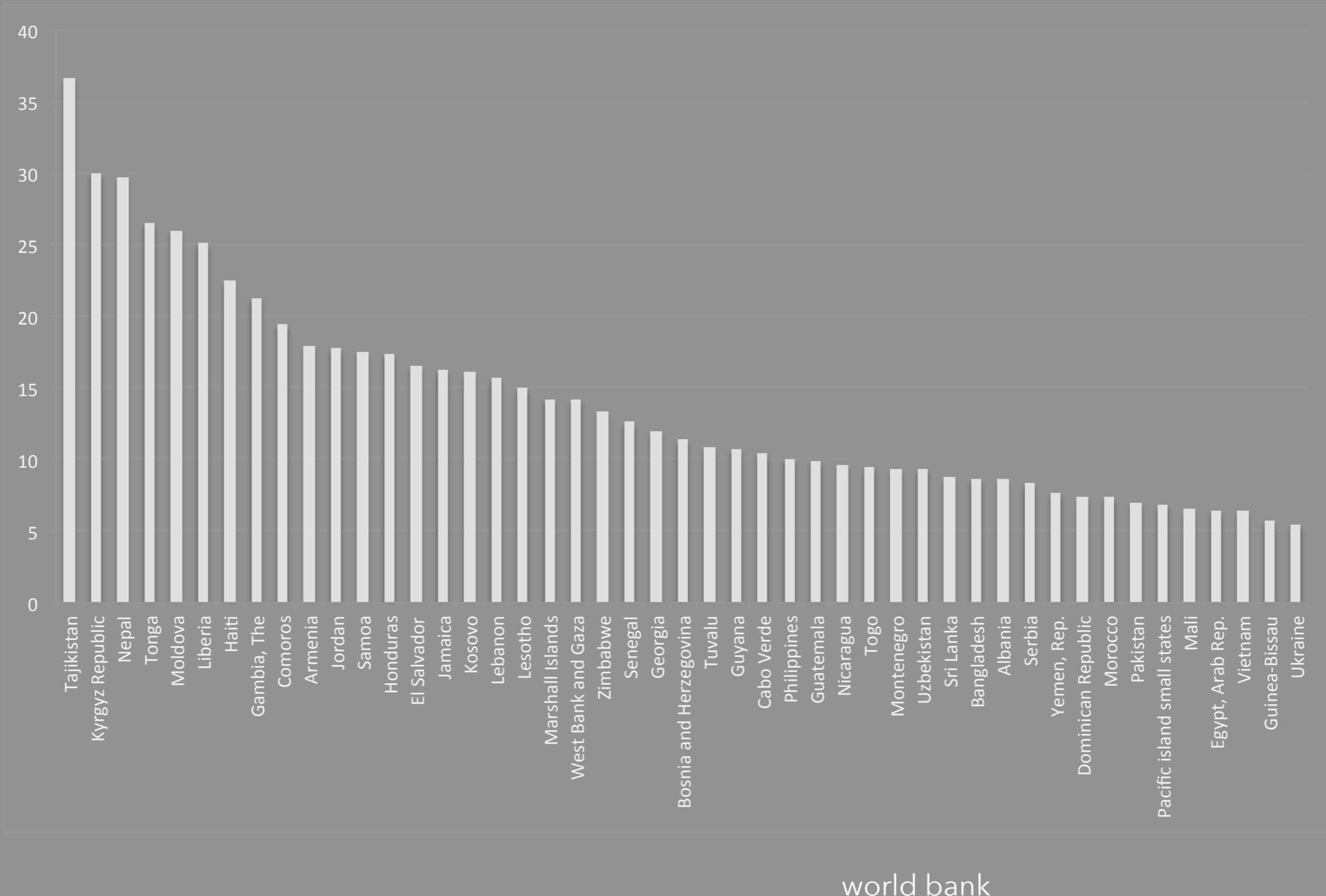


Sources: World Bank Staff calculations, World Development Indicators, OECD. Private debt includes international bonds and borrowing through commercial banks.



Remittances

For some countries, these resources represent very big share of GDP





Remittances

Pros

- ⊕ Remittances can increase the well-being of receiving households by smoothing consumption and improving living conditions.
- ⊕ Remittances can facilitate the accumulation of human capital by making possible improved sanitary conditions, healthier life styles, proper healthcare, and greater educational attainment.
- ⊕ Remittances can ease the credit constraints of unbanked households in poor rural areas, facilitate asset accumulation and business investments, promote financial literacy, and reduce poverty.

Cons

- ⊖ Remittances can reduce labor supply and create a culture of dependency that inhibits economic growth.
- ⊖ Remittances can increase the consumption of nontradable goods, raise their prices, appreciate the real exchange rate, and decrease exports, thus damaging the receiving country's competitiveness in world markets.
- ⊖ Remittances can be curtailed, along with international migration, by escalating anti-immigrant sentiment and tougher enforcement practices in host countries, including the US and many in Europe and the Gulf region.



Brain drain

Skilled workers are encouraged to migrate:

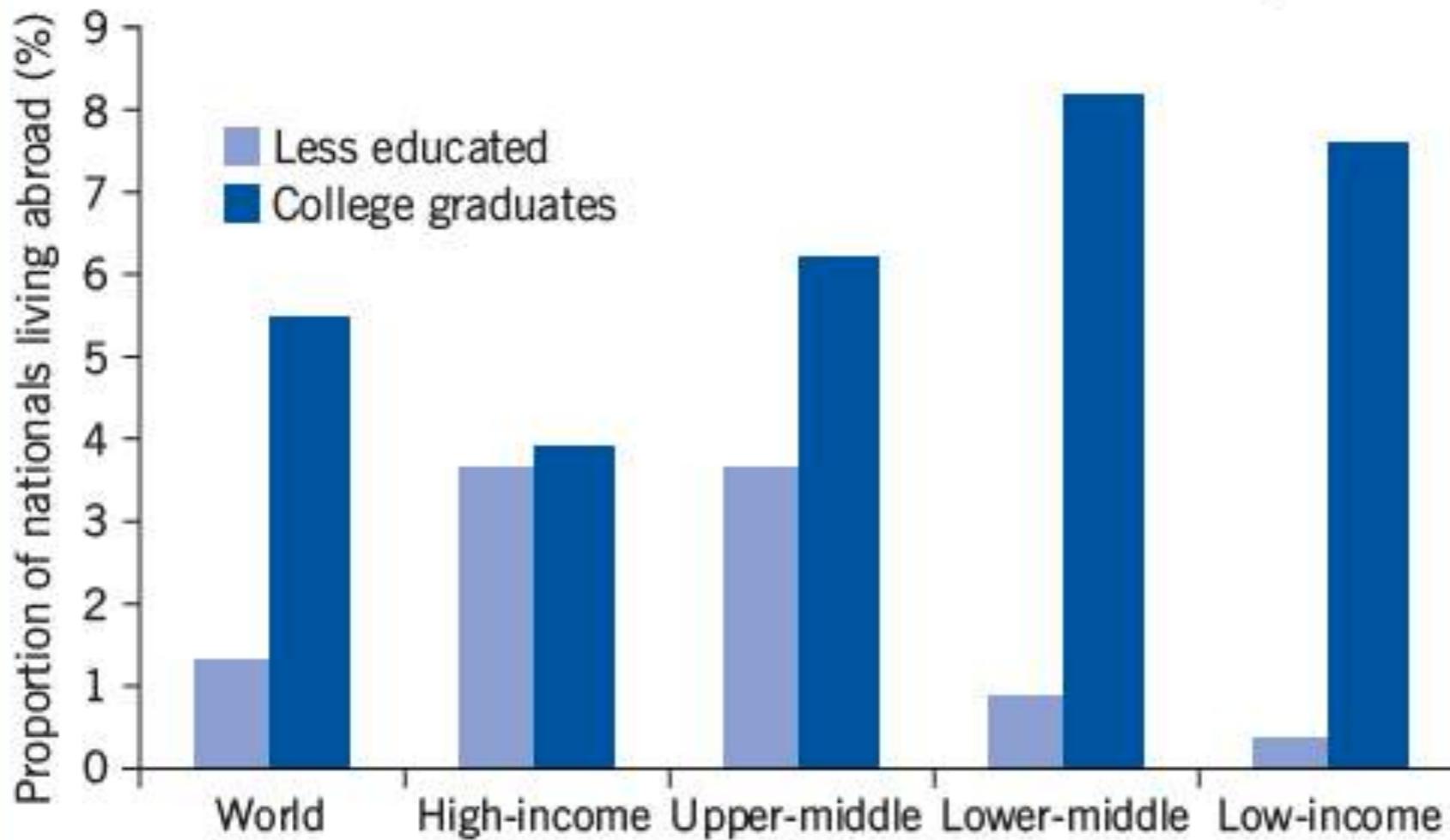
- Migration is costly: only relatively rich people can afford it
- Skilled workers have better opportunities abroad: Better chance to obtain a visa and a job





Brain drain

Brain drain rates decrease with economic development

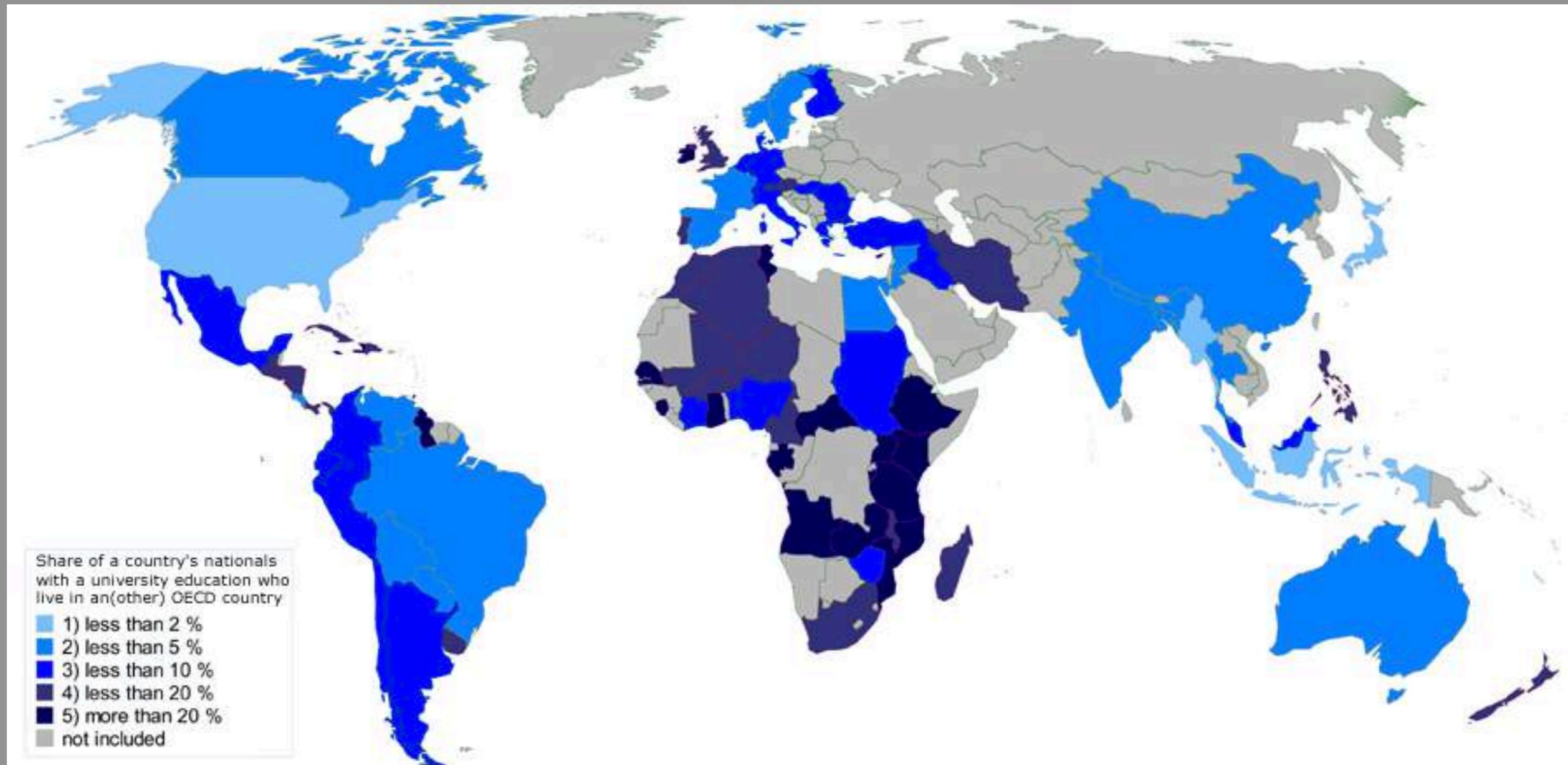


Source: [1].

IZA
World of Labor



Brain drain





Brain drain or Brain gain?

Emigration of skilled workers:

- deprives countries of skilled labor... a very scarce ressource
- is a simple loss of national investment in education

- encourages education
- generates greater remittances
- generate technological transfers (with circular migrations)



Brain drain or Brain gain?

Bottom line

Pros

- ⊕ The income-maximizing level of a brain drain is usually positive in developing countries, meaning that some emigration of the more skilled is beneficial.
- ⊕ A brain drain stimulates education, induces remittance flows, reduces international transaction costs, and generates benefits in source countries from both returnees and the diaspora abroad.
- ⊕ Appropriate policy adjustments, which depend on the characteristics and policy objectives of the source country, can help to maximize the gains or minimize the costs of the brain drain.

Cons

- ⊖ The effective brain drain exceeds the income-maximizing level in the vast majority of developing countries, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, Central America, and small countries.
- ⊖ A brain drain may cause fiscal losses.
- ⊖ Above a certain level, brain drain reduces the stock of human capital and induces occupational distortions.



Migrations



1. Key facts
2. Causes of migrations
2. **Political issues**
 - Impact on destination country:
 - On the labor market
 - On political stability
 - Impact on origin country
3. **The Refugee crisis**



Arab spring

Demonstrations and protests started in Tunisia on December 2010.

Claims for better living conditions + freedom + less corruption

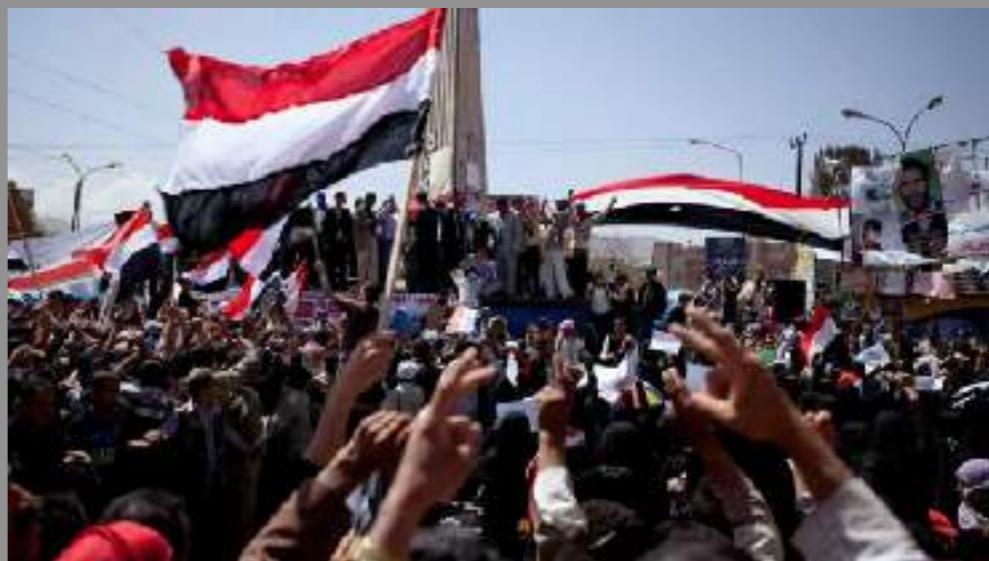


Arab spring

Tunisia



Yemen



Egypt



Bahrain



Libya



Syria





Arab spring

Tunisia



Ben Ali forced to flee to Saudi Arabia in 2011

Pacific transition (honored by a Peace Nobel Prize)



Arab spring

Egypt



Hosni Moubarak was removed

Democratic transition: Islamist party (Mohamed Morsi) elected in 2012

Removed in 2013 by a military coup d'état (Abdel El-Sisi)



Arab spring

Demonstrations were severely repressed and the conflict degenerated into civil war.

Gaddafi killed in 2011

Now, civil war between several warlords.

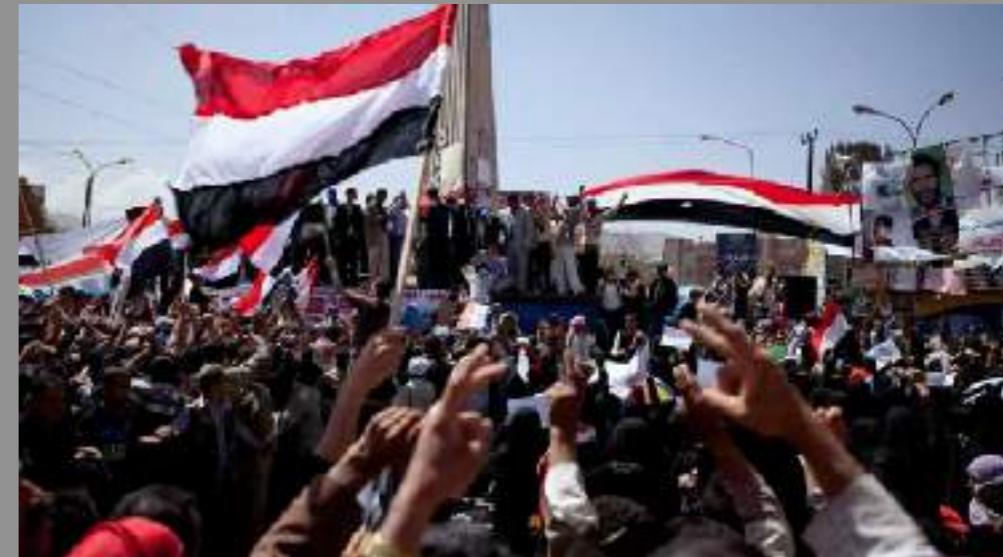
Libya





Arab spring

Yemen



After a long series of protests, president Saleh resigned in 2012

The replacement government was overthrown by rebels on January 2015 and started the Yemeni civil war



Arab spring

Brutal response, back to normal

Bahrain





Arab spring

Brutal military response by Bashar Al-Assad

Civil war

Syria





Arab spring

Tunisia



Yemen



Egypt



Bahrain



Libya



Syria





Arab spring

Double consequences on migrations and refugees

- 1) Chaos in Libya abolished migration controls of Africans (from sub-Saharan, Somalia, Sudan, Eritrea) who try to reach Europe
= Mediterranean migrants crisis





Arab spring

Double consequences on migrations and refugees

- 1) Chaos in Libya abolished migration controls of Africans (from sub-Saharan, Somalia, Sudan, Eritrea) who try to reach Europe
= Mediterranean migrants crisis

Year	Nb. dies in the Mediterranean	
2011	2300	Mostly Libyans
2012	500	
2013	700	
2014	3419	Increase due to conflicts in Syria and Eritrea
2015	3771	
2016	3800	



The Refugees crisis

Double consequences on migrations and refugees

- 1) Chaos in Libya abolished migration controls of Africans (from sub-Saharan, Somalia, Sudan, Eritrea) who try to reach Europe

= Mediterranean migrants crisis

- 2) Extreme violence of the Syrian generated a massive migration
About 11.5 million Syrians have fled their homes since the outbreak of the civil war in 2011

6.6 million are internally displaced within Syria
UNHCR reports 4.9 million registered Syrian refugees



The Refugees crisis

This refugee crisis had very strong impact on European public opinions because of:

The violence of the conflict

The incapacity of the West (and the UE) to find a way to stop the killing

The importance of the migration wave

The risk incurred by the migrants



The Refugees crisis

This refugee crisis had very strong impact on European public opinions because of:

The violence of the conflict



Aleppo



The Refugees crisis

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The Refugees crisis

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The Refugees crisis





The Refugees

Aylan Kurdi

THURSDAY SEPTEMBER 3, 2015 60P

THE NATIONAL

THE NEWSPAPER THAT SUPPORTS AN INDEPENDENT SCOTLAND

The reality
Why Europe must act now

'This tragic image of a little boy who's lost his life fleeing Syria is shocking and is a reminder of the dangers children and families are taking in search of a better life. This child's plight should concentrate minds and force the EU to come together and agree to a plan to tackle the refugee crisis'

Justin Forsyth, CEO of Save the Children



The Refugees crisis

This refugee crisis had very strong impact on European public opinions because of:

The violence of the conflict

The incapacity of the West (and the UE) to find a way to stop the killing

The importance of the migration wave

The risk incurred by the migrants

... and xenophobia and rejection of islam





How big the refugees crisis is?

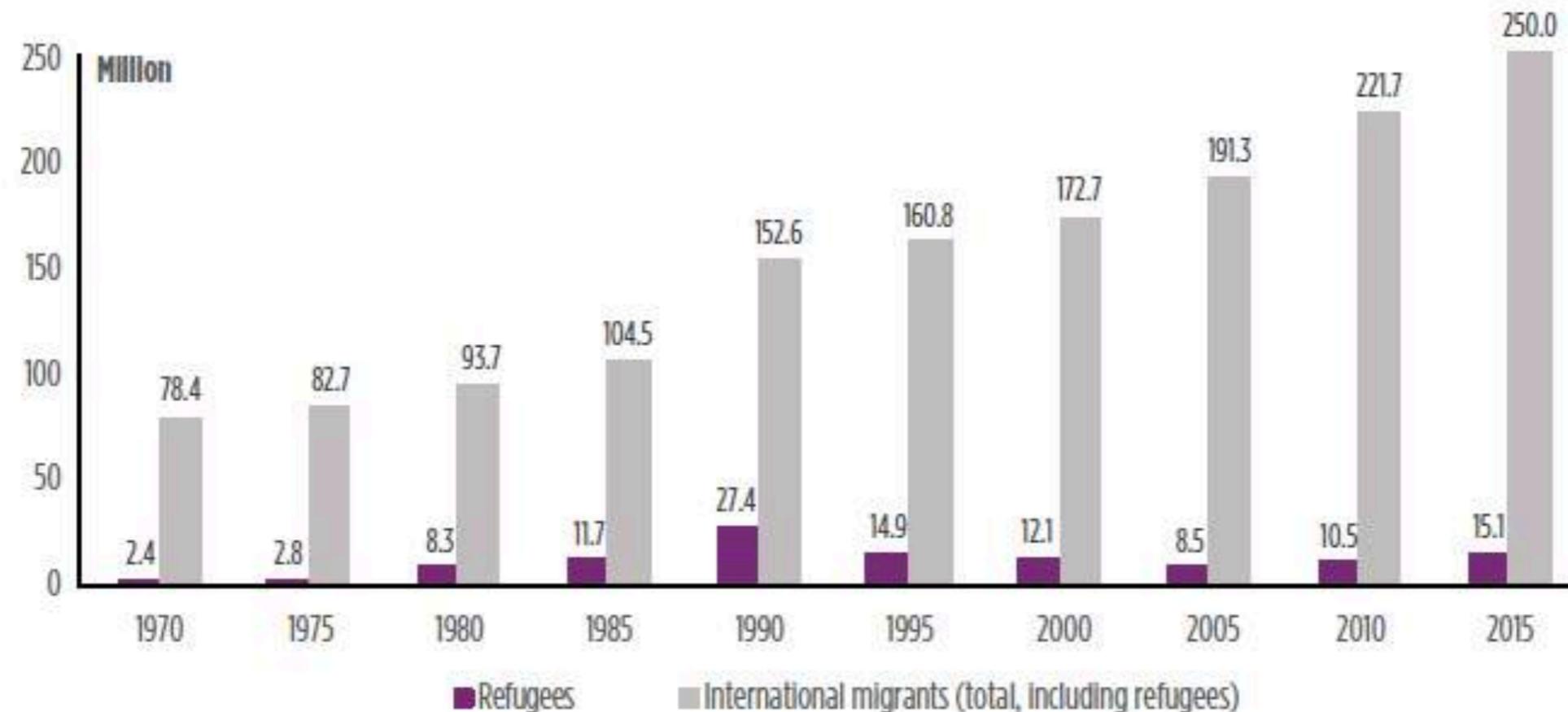
In 2014, the total number of refugees in the world was estimated at 19.5 million. Turkey became the largest refugee-hosting country worldwide, with 1.6 million refugees, followed by Pakistan (1.5 million), Lebanon (1.2 million), and the Islamic Republic of Iran (1.0 million). More than half (53 per cent) of all refugees worldwide came from just three countries: the Syrian Arab Republic (3.9 million), Afghanistan (2.6 million), and Somalia (1.1 million).



How big the refugees crisis is?

Compared to general inflow of migrants, refugees are not important

FIGURE 1 ■ Global Stock of Refugees and International Migrants

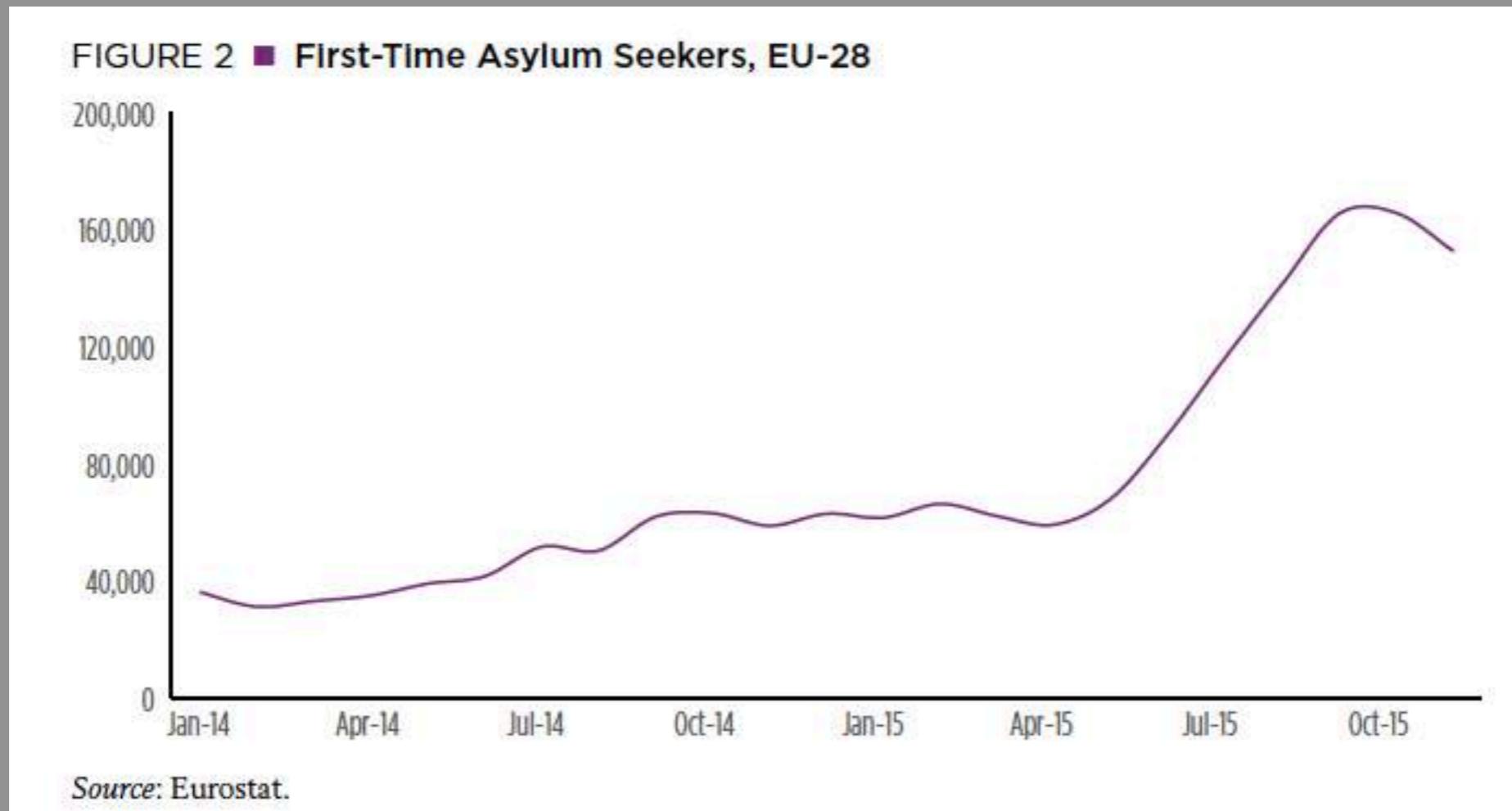


Source: UNPD 2015, World Bank 2015, World Development Indicators, UNHCR. Refugee data are as of June 2015; they exclude Palestinian refugees numbering 5.1 million.



How big the refugees crisis is?

The boom of inflow of refugees in the EU is clearly visible

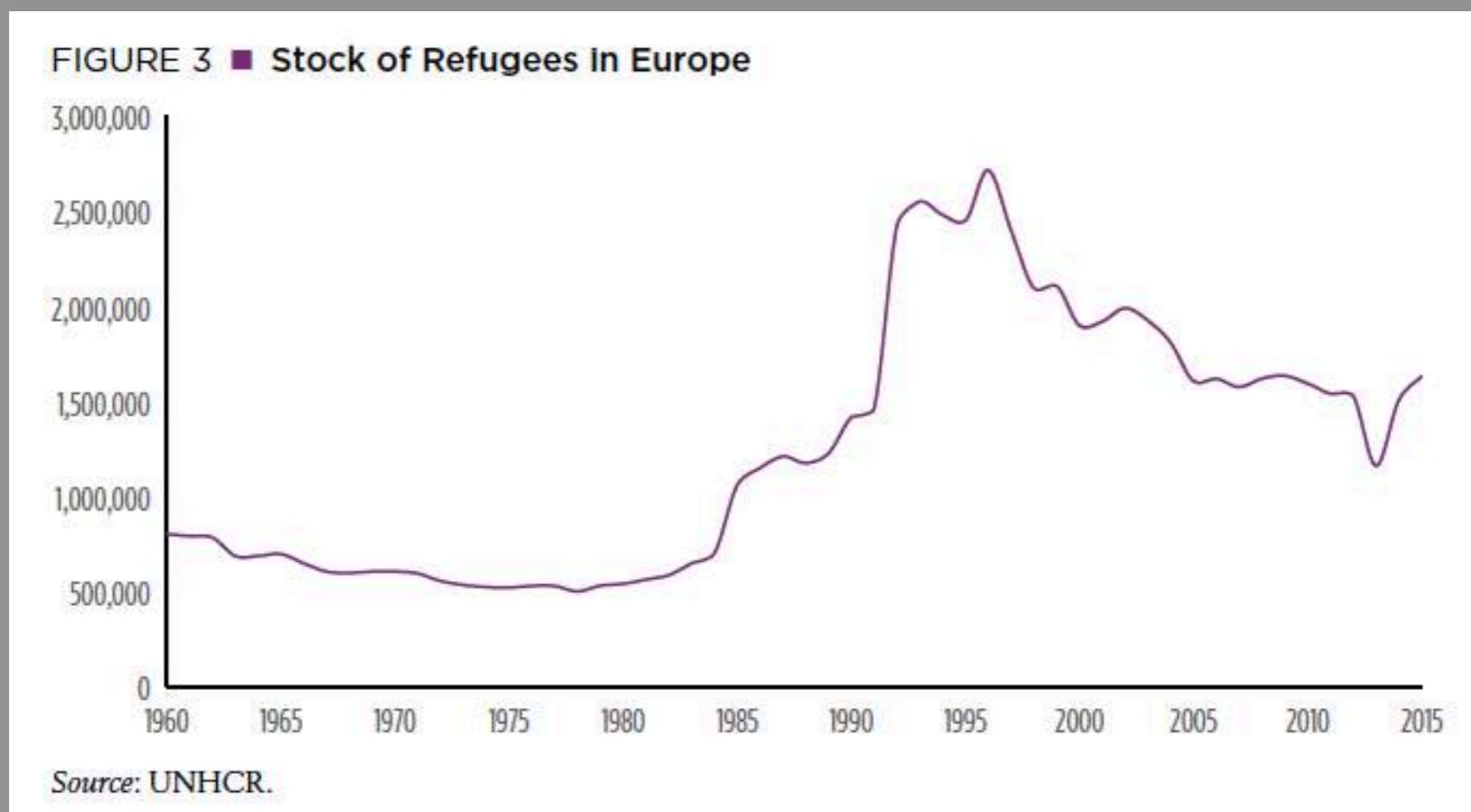


<http://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2016/6/5763b65a4/global-forced-displacement-hits-record-high.html>



How big the refugees crisis is?

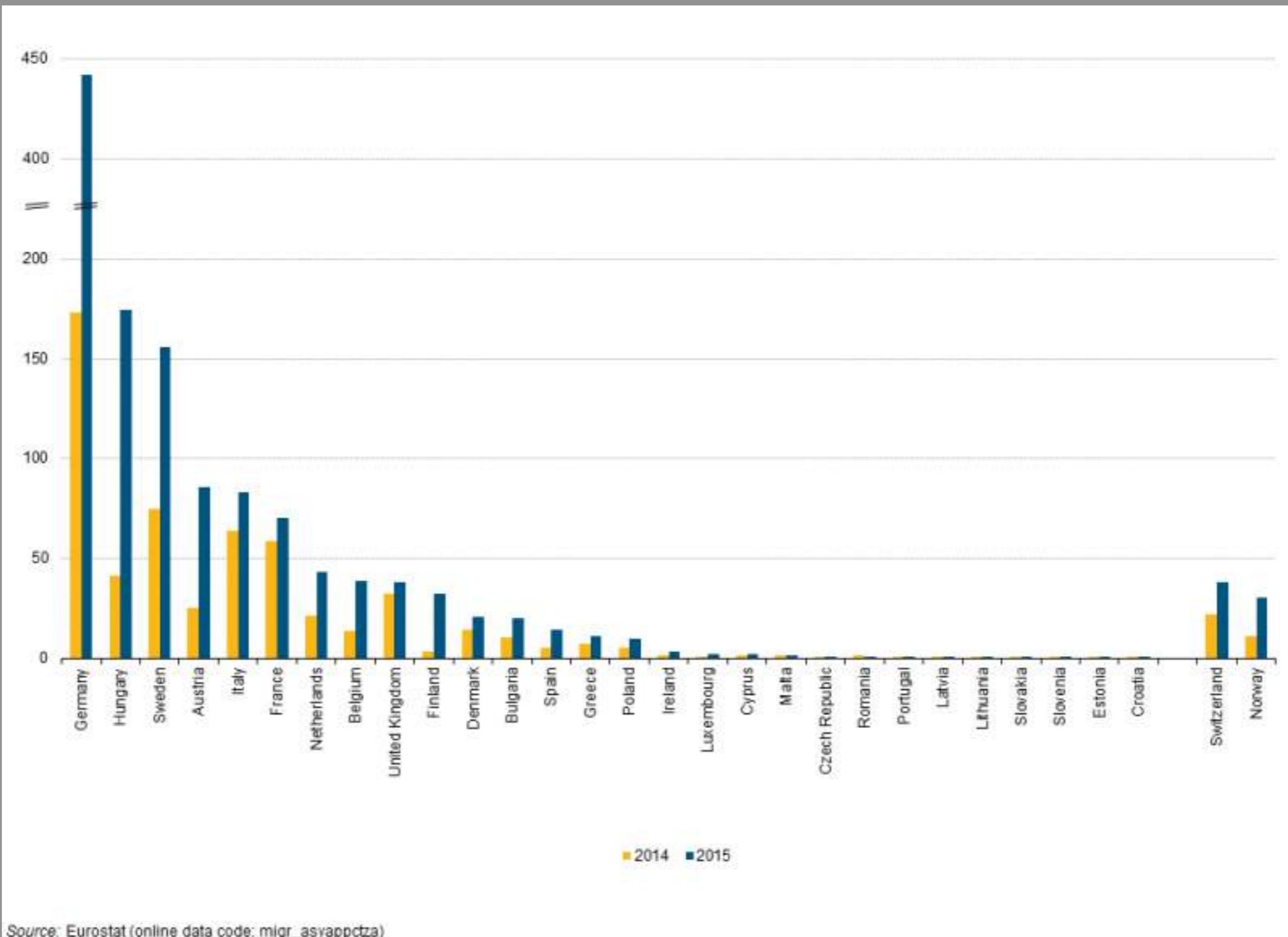
... But it's not the first crisis: Cf. Yugoslavian crisis (1991-1995)





How big the refugees crisis is?

Number of refugees (thousands of first time applicants)



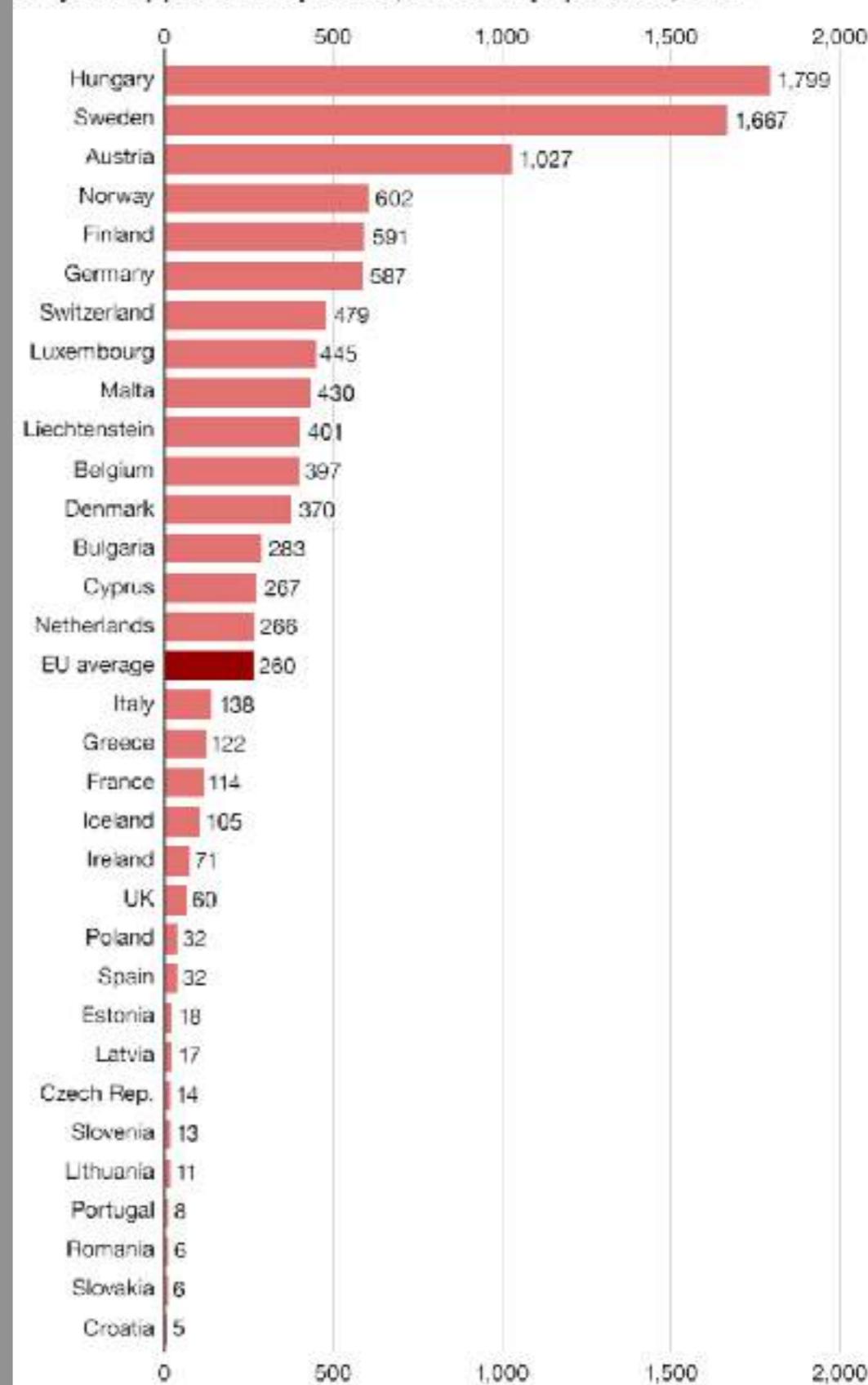


How big the refugees crisis is?

In 2015, in average, UE received 260 refugees for 100,000 inhabitant = 0.0026 per inhabitant

Small, but significant
especially for some small countries

Asylum applications per 100,000 local population, 2015



Source: Eurostat

BBC



What are the problems?

Three major problems

- 1) Welcome the refugees
- 2) Organize the migration and the allocation of migrants
- 3) Migrations used as a threat



What are the problems?

1) Welcome the refugees

Humanist principles versus fear of rise of xenophobic parties

"If Europe fails on the question of refugees, then it won't be the Europe we wished for"

"If we now have to start apologizing for showing a friendly face in response to emergency situation, then that's not my country"



"If we do not control our borders, the people will say: 'Enough with Europe!'"

"Europe cannot welcome more refugees"





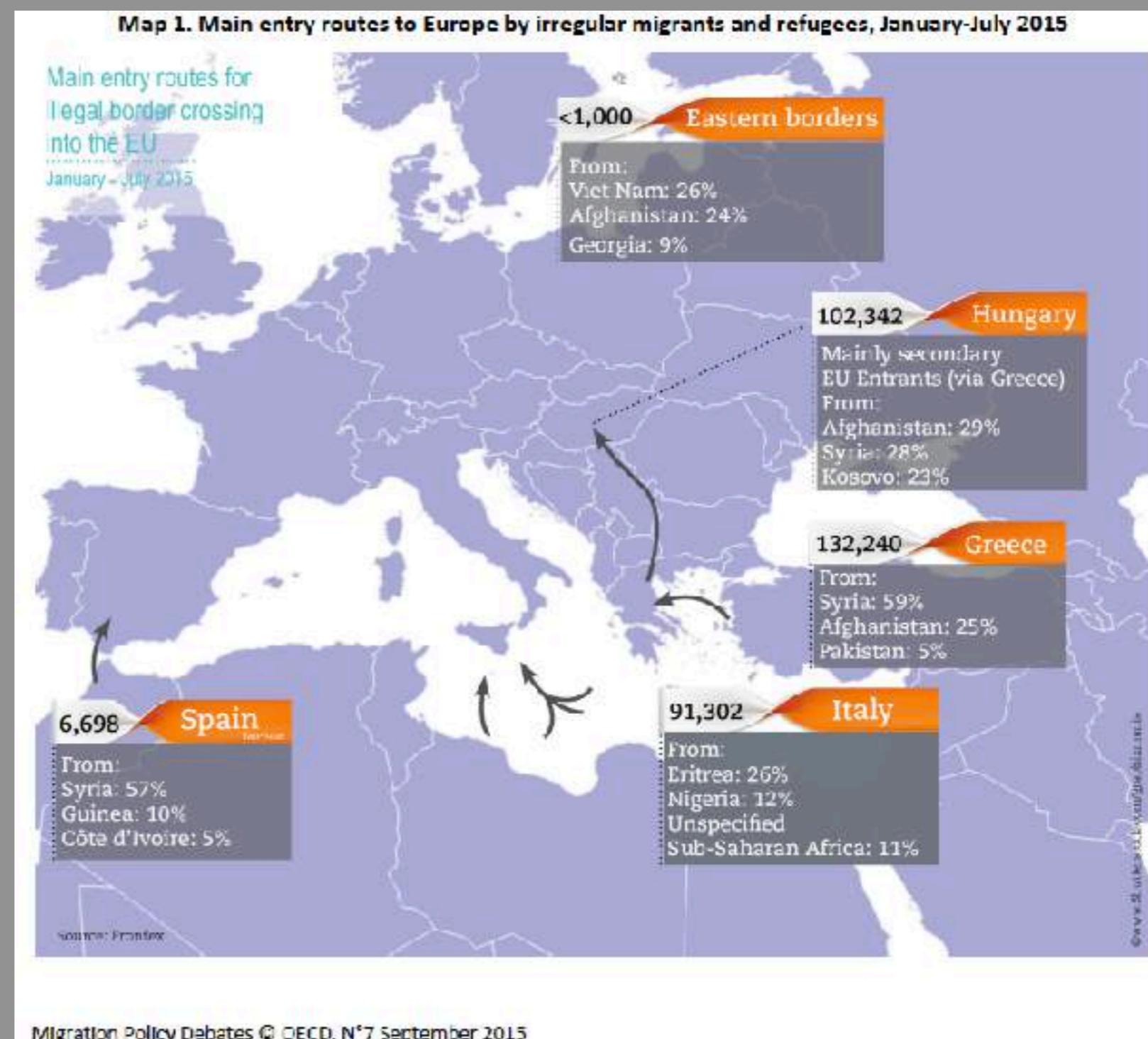
What are the problems?

2) Organize the migration

Most refugees do not target a specific country, or wish to migrate to the North of Europe

But migration routes go through Central or Southern European countries for which the burden is high

(Italy, Greece, Hungary...)

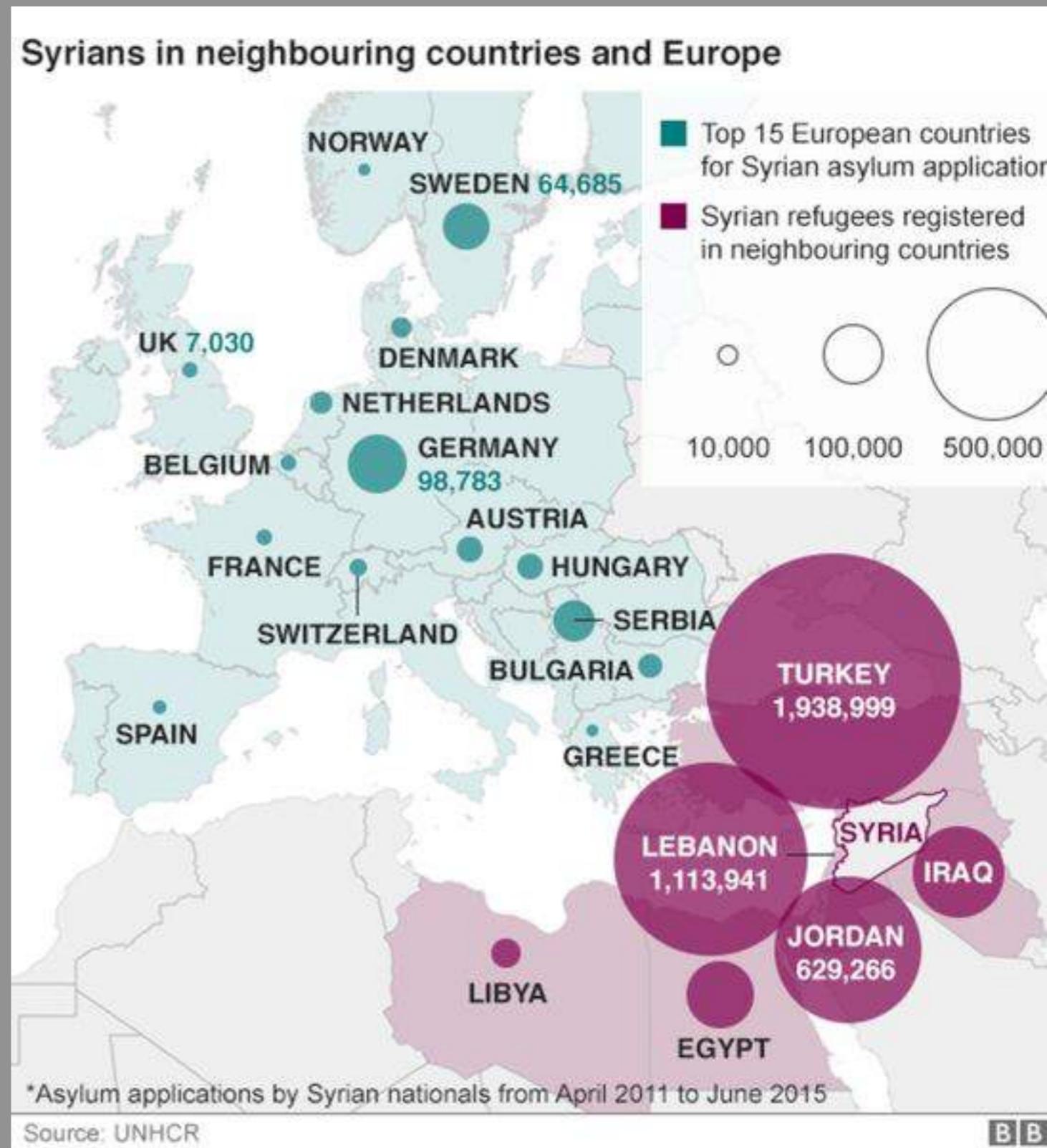




What are the problems?

3) Migrations used as a threat

Most Syrian refugees are not in Europe, but in Lebanon and Turkey





What are the problems?

3) Migrations used as a threat

In November 2016, the EU parliament urged governments to freeze EU accession talks with Turkey

"If you go any further, these border gates will be opened. Neither I nor my people will be affected by these empty threats," [...] "Do not forget, the west needs Turkey."

