AICEI PROCEEDINGS

Reluctant Acceptance or Strong Refusal: An Analysis of the Treatment of Current Migrants in Europe

Sara Al-Bander, Marina Andeva, Veno Pachovski

Abstract

Last year was the year in which the biggest migration in recent history happened, with more than 1,000,000 new migrants coming to Europe alone. The European Union and many single member states faced the question of whether to accept or reject migrants for the first time. This paper should answer the dilemma of whether migrants will be accepted or refused and how it is handled by the European Union and member states in particular. The paper discusses the differences between the push and pull factors and how they influence countries' decisions in whether to accept or refuse migrants. It will underline the fact that state signatories of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees have an obligation to take in refugees and cannot deport them to a place where their liberty and life will be put in danger. Push and pull factors determine the character of the border between acceptance and refusal which is currently under serious consideration. Taking into account the recent developments within the European Union, the paper will attempt to answer whether the border is visible or invisible and how migration policies are shaped among the EU members, by presenting several countries through case studies. The main point will be to present a clear understanding of the different approaches and state policies involved.

Keywords: migration; European Union; refugees; borders; policy of acceptance.

AICEI Proceedings, 2016, Volume 11, Issue 1
DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.4553584

Introduction

"Exile is a dream of a glorious return. Exile is a vision of revolution: Elba, not St Helena. It is an endless paradox: looking forward by always looking back." (Rushdie, 1988)

Each migrant begins his journey with one great vision – as Sir Ahmad Salman Rushdie says about a vision of St Helena (the island where Napoleon was exiled but later returned) – a powerful vision to have an opportunity to restore his dreams that were destroyed by poverty, war or political persecution. Migration is the very fabric of humanity. Actually, it can be said that the beginning of humanity in its current geographical spread is a direct product of the migration of *Homo Ergaster* – the first human species to leave Africa, expanding humanity's range into southern Eurasia 1.75 million years ago (Dorey & Blaxland, 2015).

The Refugee Convention (the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees) was drafted by the international community in the wake of the Second World War and represents the world's response to the large numbers of people fleeing post-war Europe. The Convention promotes the principle of "non-refoulment" (Art. 1, Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees), in other words, the principle that no individual who has valid fears about returning to their country of origin on the basis of persecution should be forced to return. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was written in the aftermath of the atrocities of the Seceond World War and represented an attempt by the international community to guarantee the fundamental rights of every human being everywhere. As the Declaration is a piece of international law, individual governments must pass their own laws to make sure the rights contained in the Declaration are upheld and respected.

Nevertheless, today migration is far more complicated in its nature than it was in the period when the above mentioned international legal documents were written. Today, the process of migration is mostly shaped by individual states and their policies, neglecting the principles of international law, and depending on several important country-specific factors, of which the most important ones are: economic instability, war, and past or future persecution based on race, religion, nationality, or membership of a particular social group or political opinion. This complicated interference of the so-called "push" and "pull" factors makes migration one of the most important processes in the globalization of our world. This will be especially for years to come; in the aftermath of 2015 which witnessed the greatest migration since the end of the Second World War, with the arrival of more than 1,300,000 migrants in Europe. These recent developments have put the process of migration on the

frontline of intellectual, political and economic debates. But, even without this recent humanitarian crisis, migration would still be equally important – as one of the most important parts of globalization.

The phrase from the United States Declaration of Independence provides the three inalienable rights which are given to all human beings: *"Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness"* (The United States Congress, 1776). Governments exist to protect these rights for every human being. Because of the ambivalence that the fierce debate over the question of acceptance or refusal of migrants creates - one crucial fact is forgotten that migrants are human beings too. This has happened throughout the whole history of mankind. How many lives could have been saved if countries during the anti-Semitic atmosphere in Germany in the 1930s had accepted Jews in order to save them from the obvious intentions of the Nazi government?

There is no debate over the acceptance or refusal of migrants that are escaping from war; political persecution based on opinion, race, religion, and nationality; and, of course genocide. Any such debate would be contrary to Article 1 of the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, and to Article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states that: "...everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution". From the post-Second World War period until today, those countries that have signed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights or the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, the line between acceptance and refusal of refugees (migrants that are victims of political persecution or are fleeing from war) was clear. However, after the Paris attacks in November 2015, the New Year's Eve sexual assaults in Germany and the Brussels attacks in March 2016, as well as other problems encountered in several other countries (an outcome of unsuccessful integration) the phenomenon of migration has been seriously challenged. States have long considered migrants to be creators of insecurity and terror, particularly at border crossings. To address this 'situation', states have created spaces of exception to their own laws. Such as the stadium in Bari into which the Italian police in 1991 provisionally herded all illegal Albanian immigrants before sending them back to their country of origin; the winter velodrome (Vel d'Hiv) in Paris, in which the Vichy authorities gathered French Jews before consigning them to the Germans in July 1942; or the *zones d'attentes* in French international airports in which foreigners asking for refugee status are detained can all equally be seen as camps (Agamben, 1998, pp. 113-114). This dominant discourse that criminalizes migrants whether or not they are asylum or seekers economic migrants, allows governments to popularize and maintain more restrictive asylum processing measures.

Taking into account the recent developments within the European Union, this gives us a clear picture of this visible border and a clear line based on different approaches and policies among the EU member states. Gerard Toal has noted that: "[c]ritical geopolitics is one of many cultures of resistance to Geography as imperial truth, state-capitalized knowledge, and a military weapon. It is a small part of a much larger rainbow struggle to decolonize our inherited geographical imagination so that other geo-graphing and other worlds might be possible" (O´ Tuathail, 1996, p. 256). We desperately need other such geopolitical imaginings, but also legal and policy changes that can lift the veil of unspecified threats that seem to galvanize these vitriolic exclusions of migrants. The question remains how to activate this culture of resistance in the light of daily developments to shelter Europe, North America, and Australia from migrant "invasions". Politicians follow public opinion, so to change the direction of draconian laws and policies, one must first convince the citizen-on-the-street of the merits of such actions. The criminalization of migrants, and specifically the category of asylum seekers, is a case in point. There is no question that such claimants represent mixed flows, that is, a mix of both *bona fide* and not-so-genuine refugees. Nonetheless, the rendering of the asylum seeker as being dangerous to society or a threat to state security has become commonplace in dominant media and government discourses on migration. Jan Karlsson, co-chair of the Global Commission on International Migration, recently highlighted a radical reality: "Europe needs between 50–70 million migrants for labour market purposes over the next twenty years" (Hyndman, 2005). He laments that politicians rarely discuss such demands or support higher levels of immigration for fear of losing political support. Sharing a similar approach, Zygmunt Bauman (2002, p. 84) notes that the defensive posture of refusing entry "signals no new strategy regarding the refugee phenomenon—but the absence of strategy.... they are prime targets on which the anguish generated by the suddenly revealed personal safety aspect of existential insecurity can be condensed, unloaded and dispersed." Such patterns and politics of exclusion will continue to produce images of the menacing other and the migrant-as-security-breach, and embolden efforts to wall off wealthy countries from poorer ones.

An Overview of the Current Situation: Case Study Analysis

In order to illustrate the current situation, a collection of countries were chosen: Germany and Austria, as representatives of the most influential, or at least the most interesting for the migrants (target countries), Poland and Hungary, as middle influential countries, and finally Slovenia and Slovakia, which represent small and less influential, as well as non-target countries which could also be affected by the process.

The data upon which the analysis is based is cited further on and can be found in the Tables 1, 2 and 3.

It is well known that European countries are struggling to sustain economic recoveries. Concomitant with this the burden on state resources and the perceived threats to particularly low-income workers are likely to exacerbate political tensions. All this happened when Europe was still struggling as a continent, but in some way this crisis made Germany one of the most prominent players in Europe. Germany has become the second most popular country in the world for migrants, after the United States and the most popular country for migrants in Europe. Germany is faced with an unprecedented influx of asylum seekers, including many from Muslim countries. The German Chancellor Angela Merkel still continues to lead her open-door migration policy, although her approach suffered a major defeat in recent regional elections (Kern, 2016). After the elections Ms. Merkel rejected the chance of an upper limit on migration, by this she declared that her government does not have a plan B, because there is no sense of working on two plans at the same time (Financial Times, 2016).

Germany has an area of 357,022km^2 and a population of 81.5 million people, with a population density of 228.28, people per km^2, which is the highest population density in this case study. With GDP per capita of 39,717.00 US Dollars, and an unemployment rate of 4.5%, Germany has 15.7% of acceptance of migrants (see Table 3). In the last 12 months Germany received 476,510 migrants, which is 36.06% of all migrants arriving in the EU and they are eligible for a grant of €143 with all housing expenses covered. These are probably the reasons why Germany is the most popular migrant destination.

Germany has ratified most of the international human rights treaties; first was the International Bill of Human Rights. Then the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights were signed on 9 October 1968, and ratified on 17 December 1973.The Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights was accessed on 25 August 1993. The Convention relating to the Status of Refugees was signed on 19 November 1951 and ratified on 1 December 1953, while the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees was accessed on 5 November 1969 (Ratification of International Human Rights Treaties – Germany).

Equally attractive as a target country, Austria's latest decision on the migration crisis has been to reduce the flow of refugees entering the country. This decision for Austria meant increased security on the borders whilst the European Commission indicated

that Austria's decision was in violation of EU law (The Economist, 2016). The Geneva Convention and the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights clearly state that asylum is a right. Human-rights activists argue that the limitation of influx of migrants runs counter to the spirit of these texts; on the other hand, lawyers know that, as fundamental as they are, rights are never absolute. One of the last Austrian statements came from the Interior Minister Wolfgang Sobotka who said that Austria had no other choice as long as: "so many other EU members were failing to do their part" to limit the influx of migrants and refugees (BBC, 2016).

Austria is a country with an area of 83,871km^2 and a population of 8.6 million, which means that the population density of the country is 102.36 people per km^2. With GDP per capita of 41,077 US Dollars, and an unemployment rate (in 2015) at 5.8%, Austria seems to have better performances than Germany, which makes it equally attractive as a target country for migrants. In the last 12 mounts, Austria accepted 88,160 migrants, which is 6.67% of all all arrivals in the EU. During their stay, they are eligible to receive €40 per month as a monthly grant (Nations Online, 2016).

Austria had signed the International Bill of Human Rights on 10 December 1973 which was ratified on 10 September 1978 (with the exception of the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which was ratified on 10 December 1987, and the Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights was signed on 8 April 1991 and ratified on 2 March 1993). The Convention relating to the Status of Refugees was signed on 28 July 1951 and ratified on 1 November 1954, while the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees was accessed on 5 September 1973. (Ratification of International Human Rights Treaties – Austria)

Hungary can be considered as an example of a non-destination country for migrants who are coming from outside Europe. There are a couple of factors concerning Hungary's case, but the main one has resulted from its anti-immigration campaigns. The migration discourse employed by the government has induced xenophobia. (Budapest Times, 18 March 2016). The government's anti-immigrant campaign included such practice as placing billboards that implied that immigrants will take Hungarian jobs across the country and that the increasing number of refugees and asylum seekers would affect economic and social factors in the country (Budapest Business Journal, 2015). Xenophobia and prejudice are frequent in Hungary, especially towards minorities. "We cannot let it force upon us the sour fruits of their misguided immigration policy. We want to import no crime, terrorism, homophobia or anti-Semitism to Hungary". Prime Minister Orban, has often framed his approach to the migrant crisis as a defense of Europe's Christian culture and heritage against the

tide of mostly Muslim migrants (Reuters, 2016). The Hungarian political scene differs little from the poltical climate of other Central and East European countries, and this has resulted in hostile reactions to proposals by the European Commission. As a clear example of this consider the response of the Visegrad Group (Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary) which was founded 25 years ago in order to foster the European integration of these four former communist states. It is this group of countries which has led to the closing of the Balkan route for migrants.

Hungary has population of 9.8 million people and covers an area of 93,028 km^2, with a population density of 105.87 per km^2, and a GDP per capita of 11,888.11 US Dollars. Considering that Hungary has an unemployment rate (in 2015) of 6.3%, Hungary has the lowest indicators, but still this is not the main reason why it does not accept migrants. At present, the last known percentage of acceptance in Hungary is 4.8% (see Table 3), and in the last 12 months Hungary received 177,135 migrants, which is 13.40% of all migrants arriving in the EU. In Hungary, migrants are eligible for a monthly grant of €22.76 (Nations Online, 2016).

Hungary signed the International Bill of Human Rights (International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights) on March 25 1969 and ratified it on 17 January 1974. Hungary's accession to the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees took place on 14 March 1989 (Isik & Zheng, 2008) (UN, 2016).

Public opinion in Poland is one of the greatest sources of dissent in Europe when it comes to refugees from the Middle East, especially with regard to Muslim refugees. Polish attitudes are partly based on economic reasons (Llamas & Rebala, 2016). Because of the economic bailout, their concern is that the influx of migrants and refugees could tear the European Union apart. The example of the debt crisis is that this has divided Europe into a north-south battlefield, and that this could be exacerbated by the migration crisis which could cause further division between East and West. Also, Poles tend to hold the view that Muslims do not belong in their society. "People just don't want immigrants here," one senior Civic Platform politician says. "They don't understand them; they don't like them, and believe that their maintenance is too expensive." This is why the Polish government has consistently protested against EU allocations for refugee quotas (The Guardian, 2015). Polish values and their commitment to their traditions, and their religion in a clearly Catholic country, justifies this policy of not accepting people who have a different religion and values. Poland is a country with an area of 812,685km^2 and a population of 38.5 million, with a population density of 123.08 per km^2, and GDP

per capita of 11,304.62 US Dollars. Having an unemployment rate of 7.1% in 2015, Poland has a very low percentage of acceptance of migrants. In 2014, the acceptance rate of migrants was 1.4% (see Table 3) and in the last 12 months Poland received 12,190 migrants, which is 0.92% of all migrants arriving in the EU. The monthly grant for migrants in Poland is €49.42 (Nations Online, 2016). Still, none of these indicators can be considered as the main reason for not accepting migrants; Polish values and their commitment to tradition are the key indicators in their anti-migration policy. The International Bill of Human Rights and its related documents were signed and ratified by Poland. First, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights was signed on 2 March 1967 and then ratified on 18 March 1977. Consequently Poland's accession to the Optional Protocol of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights took place on 7 November 1991. The accession to the Convention and the Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees was signed on 27 September 1991 (UN, 2016).

Finally, Slovenia and Slovakia could be considered as average representatives of non-influential EU member states. Slovakia cannot be classed as being a major destination point for refugees in this migration crisis, nevertheless the crisis still causes fear among the people of Slovakia. Slovenia claims that it cannot stop the wave of migration at the gates to Europe (Government of the Republic of Slovenia, 2016). Slovenia appealed to the politics of humanity, but then again the country's main preoccupation has been to maintain the safety of its citizens. In the recent election campaign in Slovakia, the Prime Minister Robert Fico based his campaign on warning of Islamic terrorism. Fico, who dismisses multiculturalism as "a fiction", has pledged never to accept EU-agreed quotas on relocating refugees who have flooded into Greece and Italy from Syria and beyond (The Guardian, 2016). While Prime Minister Miro Cerar in one statetment in 2015 mentioned that Slovenia is a small country, and: "It is wrong to foster the illusion that it is possible for a small nation of two million people to stop, solve and rectify a situation where even much bigger EU member states have failed (BBC, 2015). Slovakia is country with an area of 49,035km^2 while Slovenia has an area of 20,273 km^2. The last measured population in Slovakia was 5.4 million and in Slovenia it was 2.1 million. Population density in Slovakia is 110.55 per km^2, in Slovenia it is 101.71 per km^2. The GDP per capita in Slovakia is 15,726.85, USD while in Slovenia it is 19,110.56 USD. The unemployment rates in these countries are also almost equal, in Slovakia the percentage is 10.6% and for Slovenia it is 8.8%. For the last 12 months, Slovakia had accepted 330 migrants, while Slovenia accepted 275 migrants, which is 0.02% for both from all the migrants accepted in EU. They also have the lowest monthly grant

for migrants in Europe, which is €12 in Slovakia and €18 in Slovenia (Nations Online, 2016).

Czechoslovakia had acceded to the Convention on 26 November 1991, and then under the "Slovak republic" the succession was on 4 February 1993. On the other hand, the former Yugoslavia had signed and ratified the Convention on 28 July 1951 and 15 December 1959, however Slovenia's secession was on 6 July 1992.

Comparative Analysis and Key Findings

The six countries taken as case studies in this paper represent three main categories. Germany and Austria represent target countries and serve as a "promised-land" for migrants. Hungary and Poland represent strong opponents to any migrant influx for a variety of reasons. Their arguments can mainly be classified as being based on xenophobic or religious reasons (Breitbart, 2016). Finally, Slovakia and Slovenia represent non-target countries which are considered as being of little influence in shaping the overall migration policies in the European Union.

One of the arguments affecting all countries concerns the question of acquiring citizenship (see Figure 1). If all migrants are given the opportunity to acquire citizenship after a permanent stay in the countries of a maximum of ten years, then they would represent a significant electorate which would further influence major political decisions. Secondly, considering the monthly grant per migrant (see Figure 2) this would also affect the budget and later on affect the employment situation in each country (see Figure 3), taking into account the fact that these six countries currently have low unemployment rates. The monthly grant could also affect the GDP per capita (see Figure 4) especially in Germany (see Figure 5 & 6) as a country with the highest rate of accepting migrants so far.

The brief analysis of the case studies in this paper clearly confirms the main argument stated in the introductory remarks. Within the EU, there are different developments in migration policies which confirm that there is a visible border and a clear line based on those different approaches and policies among EU member states. Migration policies are shaped following the interests of individual states, neglecting the EU motto "united in diversity" and the fundamental principles of free movement as factors driving the EU economy and society.

The previous treatment of migrants, seen through the rate of acceptance (see Figure 6) in "normal" times, would appear to be rather liberal from today's perspective. The sudden enormous influx of migrants represents a trigger for many social phenomena. It can foster xenophobia, which could further fuel the right-wing arguments about

endangering a country and nation in general, by creating political upheaval and leading to discussions in government giving more power to the police and military. As a final result of which, borders could be re-established across Europe and the Schengen agreement would become a subject of re-negotiation.

Also, the common European asylum policy projected more than 15 years ago, is now under serious reconsideration. The borders of the EU which have been practically invisible until recently , due to free movement as one of the fundamental principles of the EU treaty, are now starting to emerge again especially after the Cologne, Paris and Brussels incidents.

So, it is safe to conclude that today, borders are not an imaginary category anymore, because the European life style and the Schengen agreement are now considered to be under serious threat and there is a perception that there is a need once again to reactivate border controls and establish control of movement even within Schengen countries.

Conclusion

Globalization has brought about an awareness among young people in poor countries of their potential opportunities not only as citizens of their own countries, but as citizens of the world. Currently, the direction of migrations is not just from poor countries to rich countries. Most of the migrants want to migrate to high – income countries, whilst many are running away from war as well as from poverty, not individually but *en masse*, in large numbers without any control, spilling over state borders as if they did not exist at all.

The countries which were signatories of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the 1951 Refugee Convention, have an obligation to accept and to give asylum to refugees and they have to respect that obligation. Furthermore, if a country also chooses to accept economic migrants, it would not only be making a beneficial move for its own economic growth, but would also indirectly benefit the economy of the migrant's native country.

Then again, the acceptance of economic migrants is a far more complex problem than the acceptance of refugees. It requires effort on behalf of each individual migrant to cross cultural and language barriers, as well as being able to integrate into the host society, and later on to participate in political life, which could create a situation of potential political instability in the long term. Developed countries have a need of

migrants – as a complementary appearance in the labor market, but will they be willing to pay the current price?

The policies of the states cited in this paper, seem to provide an example for others. The latest action of Austria (with regard to the Balkan route) serves as a blatant example of the situation concerning the openness of borders; it can be considered as a clear indicator that borders have started to close, and that state lines will be harder to cross and will be more controlled. So, from a reluctant acceptance it seems that countries have moved towards an attitude of strong refusal, disregarding the possible economic interest that the influx of migrants might provide, at least until the situation is taken under control.

References

Agamben, G. (1997). The Camp as Nomos of the Modern. In Hent de Vries and Samuel Weber (eds.) *Violence, Identity and Self-Determination* (106-118). Stanford: Stanford UP.

Bauman, Z. (2002). Reconnaissance wars of the planetary Frontierland. *Theory, Society and Culture*. 19 (4), 81–90.

BBC. (2015, October 20). Migrant crisis: Slovenia votes on deploying army. Retrieved from http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34577943

BBC. (2016, April 27). Migrant crisis: Austria passes controversial new asylum law. Retrieved from http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-36152927

Brietbart. (2016, March 8). Hungary To Cut Benefits For Asylum Seekers, Discourage Migrants To Settle. Retrieved from http://www.breitbart.com/london/2016/03/08/hungary-to-cut-benefits-for-asylum-seekers-discourage-migrants-to-settle/

Budapest Business Journal (2015, June 4). Government to address immigrants on billboards. Retrieved from http://bbj.hu/politics/government-to-address-immigrants-on-billboards_98686 Budapest Times. (2016, March 18). Anti-migrant campaigns bend public minds. Retrieved from http://budapesttimes.hu/2016/03/18/anti-migrant-campaigns-bend-public-minds/ Dorey, F. & Blaxland, B. (2015). The first migration out of Africa. Retrieved October 30, 2015, from http://australianmuseum.net.au/the-first-migrations-out-of-africa

Economist. (2016, February 29). Why Austria's asylum cap is so controversial. *The Economist.* Retrieved from http://www.economist.com/blogs/economist-explains/2016/03/economist-explains

European Commission (2016). EU law monitoring. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-is-new/eu-law-and-monitoring/index_en.htm

Eurostat (2016). Asylum appliations (including first time asylum applicants) Q4 2014 – Q 2015). Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/File: Asylum_applicants_(including_first_time_asylum_applicants),_Q4_2014_%E2%80%93_Q4_2015.png

Eurostat. (2015). Final decisions on applications - annual data. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/refreshTableAction.do?tab=table&plugin=1&pcode=tps00193&language=en

Financial Times. (2016, February 28). Merkel insists no change of course on migrant crisis. Retrived from http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/729f53cc-de71-11e5-b7fd-0dfe89910bd6.html#axzz483AxvMYi

Government of the Republic of Slovenia, Press release on "Slovenian initiative to stop irregular migration is yielding the first results", February 22, 2016. Retrieved from http://www.vlada.si/en/media_room/government_press_releases/press_release/article/slovenian_initiative_to_stop_irregular_migration_is_yielding_the_first_results_57649/.

Hyndman, J. (2005). Migration wars: refuge or refusal?. *Geoforum, 36*(2005), 3-6.

Isik, I. & Zheng. T. (2008). Ratification of International Human Rights Treaties. *University of Minnesota – Human Rights Library.* Retrieved from https://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/research/ratification-index.html

Kern, S. (2016, March). Germany's Merkel to Voters: "No Change to Migration Policy". *Gatestone Institute.* Retrieved from http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/7644/germany-elections-migration-policy.

Llana, S. M. & Rebala, M. (2016, March 10). We know our reality: Why Poland is cool on the EU refugee crisis. *The Christian Science Monitor.* Retrieved from http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Europe/2016/0310/We-know-our-reality-Why-Poland-is-cool-on-the-EU-refugee-crisis

Nations Online. (2016a). Countries of the World by Area Countries of the World by Area. Retrieved from http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/countries_by_area.htm Nations Online. (2016b). Population Figures by Country. Retrieved from http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/population-by-country.htm

Reuters. (2016, February 28). Hungarian PM vows to resist EU's 'misguided' migrant policy. Retrived from http://www.reuters.com/article/us-europe-migrants-hungary-orban-idUSKCN0W10UV

Rushdie, S. (1988). *The Satanic Verses.* Retrieved from http://www.goodreads.com/quotes/242309-exile-is-a-dream-of-a-glorious-return-exile-is.

Statista. (2016). Unemployment rate in member states of the European Union in February 2016 (seasonally adjusted). Retrieved from http://www.statista.com/statistics/268830/unemployment-rate-in-eu-countries/

The Guardian. (2015, July 2). Poles don't want immigrants. They don't understand them, don't like them. Retrived from http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/02/poles-dont-want-immigrants-they-dont-understand-them-dont-like-them

The Guardian. (2016, March 6). Slovakia election: anti-immigration PM wins, but loses majority. Retrived from http://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/06/slovakia-election-anti-immigration-pm-wins-but-loses-majority

The United States Congress, *The Unanimous Declaration of the thirteen United States of America,* 4 July 1776. Retrieved from http://www.ushistory.org/declaration/document/

The World Bank (2016). GDP per capita. Retrieved from http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD/countries/PL-AT-DE-SI-HU-SK?display=graph

UN General Assembly, *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees,* 28 July 1951, United Nations. Retrieved from http://www.unhcr.org/protect/PROTECTION/3b66c2aa10.pdf.

UN. (2016). Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, Status as at 08/04/2016. Retrieved from https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetailsII.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_ no=V-2&chapter=5&Temp=mtdsg2&lang=en

Tables and Figures

Table 1. General population data for all countries

Country	Population (2014/15)****	Area*** (in km^2)	Population density** (per km^2)	GDP per capita*
Austria	8,584,926.00	83,871	102.36	51,190.81
Germany	81,500,000.00	357,022	228.28	47,821.92
Poland	38,484,000	312,685	123.08	14,342.91
Hungary	9,849,000	93,028	105.87	14,028.72
Slovakia	5,421,000	49,035	110.55	18,501.15
Slovenia	2,062,000	20,273	101.71	23,999.13

****Nations Online (2016b)
*** Nations Online (2016a)
** computed by authors based on population and area columns
* The World Bank (2016)

Table 2. Migration specific data for all countries

Country	Acquiring citizenship (in years)	Unemployment in 2015	Migrants in the last 12 months**	Percentage (migrants) of the total in EU	Stipend (per month) in EUR
Austria	10	5.8 %	88,160	6.67 %	€ 40.00
Germany	8	4.5 %	476,510	36.06 %	€ 143.00
Poland	10	7.1 %	12,190	0.92 %	€ 49.42
Hungary	8	6.3 %	177,135	13.40 %	€ 22.76
Slovakia	8	10.6 %	330	0.02 %	€ 12.00
Slovenia	10	8.8 %	275	0.02 %	€ 18.00

***Source*: Eurostat (2016). The percentage (migrants) of the total in EU is based on total of 1.321.560 migrants in the EU 28 (Eurostat, 2016).

Table 3. Proportion of accepted and refused migrant applications in 2014

Country	Accepted	Rejected	Acceptance (in %)
Austria			
Germany	6995	37470	15.7%
Poland	20	1360	1.4%
Hungary	40	800	4.8%
Slovakia	5	55	8.3%
Slovenia	0	65	0.0%

Source: Eurostat (2015)

Table 4. Status of ratification of international declarations and covenants and transposition of EU law in the field of asylum and immigration

Source: European Commission (2016)

	Ratification of International declarations and covenants				European legislation Asylum					European legislation Immigration				
	Universal Declaration of Human Rights	Convention relating to the Status of Refugees	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights	Eurodac Regulation (2000, 2002, 2013)	Dublin Regulation (2003, 2013)	Reception Conditions Directive (2003, 2013)	Asylum Procedures Directive (2005, 2013)	Qualification Directive (2004, 2011)	Council Directive 2001/55/EC on temporary protection	Return Directive 2008/115/EC	Directive 2013/32/EU on common procedures for granting and withdrawing international protection	Council Directive 2003/86/EC of 22 September 2003 on the right to family reunification
Slovenia	yes	yes	yes	yes	ok	ok	Formal notice	Formal Notice and Reasoned Opinion	Formal notice	ok	Formal notice	Formal Notice and Reasoned Opinion	Formal notice
Slovakia	yes	yes	yes	yes	ok	ok	Formal notice	ok	Formal notice	ok	ok	ok	Formal notice
Germany	yes	yes	yes	yes	Administrative letter sent requesting clarifications on application	ok	Formal Notice and Reasoned Opinion	Formal Notice and Reasoned Opinion	Formal Notice and Reasoned Opinion	ok	Formal Notice and Reasoned Opinion	Formal Notice and Reasoned Opinion	Referral to court
Hungary	yes	yes	yes	yes	Administrative letter sent requesting clarifications on application	ok	Formal notice	Formal notice	Formal notice	ok	Formal notice	Formal notice for incorrect implementation	Formal notice
Austria	yes	yes	yes	yes	ok	ok	Formal notice Referred to Court for Council Directive 2003/9/EC.	ok	Formal notice	ok	Formal Notice and Reasoned Opinion	ok	ok
Poland	yes	yes	yes	yes	ok	ok	Formal notice	Formal notice	Formal Notice and Reasoned Opinion	ok	Formal Notice and Reasoned Opinion	Formal notice	ok

Clarication of terms:

Member States received formal notice for having failed to communicate national measures taken to fully transpose the directive within the deadline

Letters of formal notice are the first formal step of an infringement procedure. After receiving a letter of formal notice, Member States have two months to reply and in cases of non-communication have to notify their national transposition measures to the Commission. In the absence of satisfactory replies or of notification of national measures, the European Commission can decide to send reasoned opinions, the second step in an infringement proceeding.

After Member States receive reasoned opinions, they have two months to respond to the Commission, notifying the measures taken to ensure full transposition or bringing national legislation in line with EU law. If they fail to do so, the Commission may decide to refer the Member States to the Court of Justice of the EU. In cases where there is no communication of the national transposition measures, the Commission may propose to the Court of Justice of the EU to impose financial sanctions

Figure 1. Time needed to acquire citizenship (in years) (see Table 2, column 2)

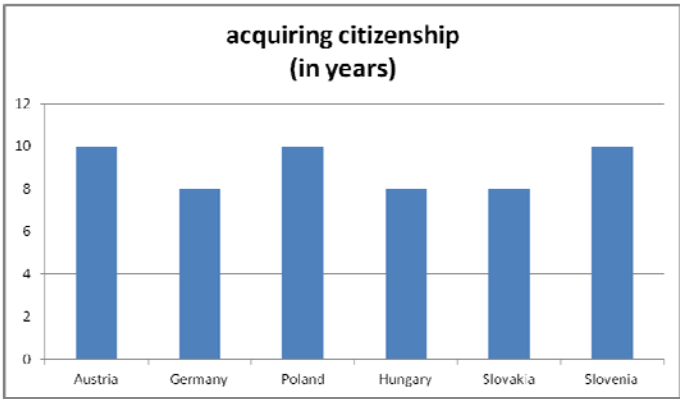


Figure 2. Monthly stipend per country (with free housing and other cost covered) (see Table 2, column 6)

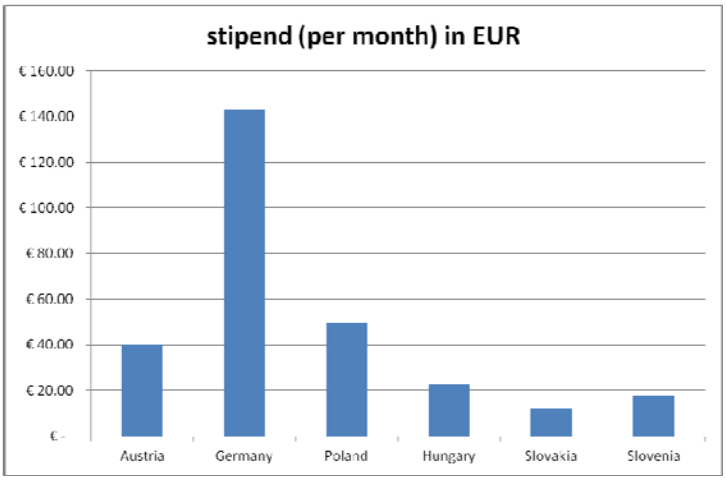
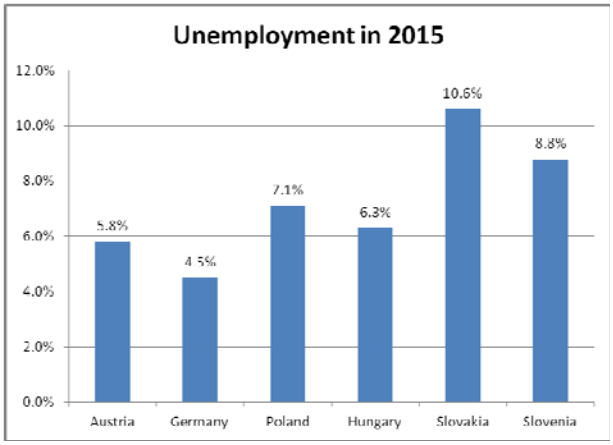
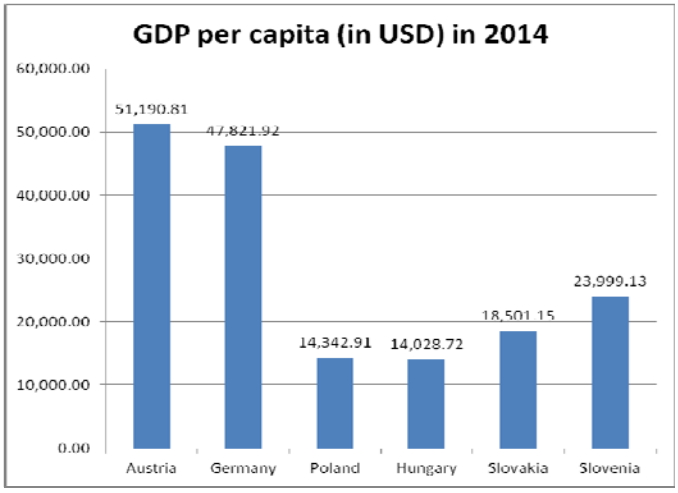


Figure 3. Unemployment rate per country



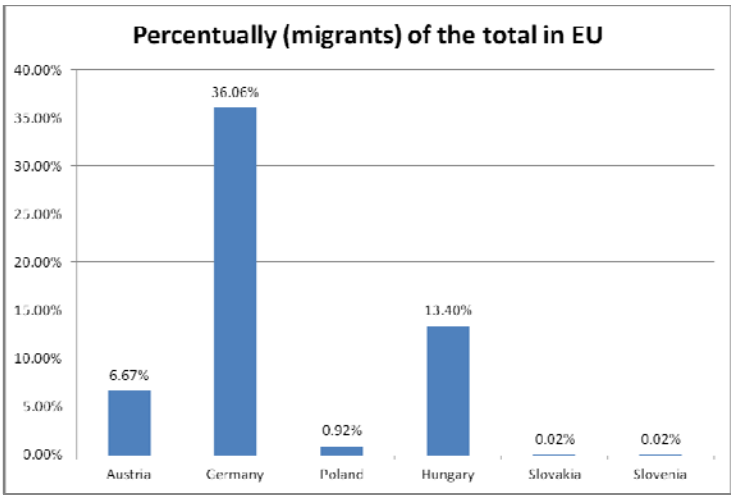
Source: Statista (2016)

Figure 4. GDP per capita



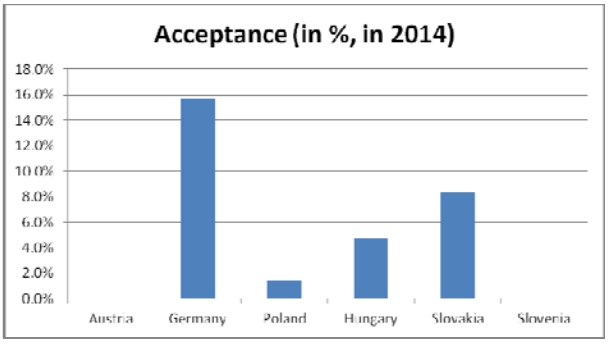
Source: Figure created by authors based on values in Table 1, column 5)

Figure 5. Percentage of acceptance (in 2015) from the total in EU (1,321,560 people) calculated by authors, based on source data (see Table 2, column 5)



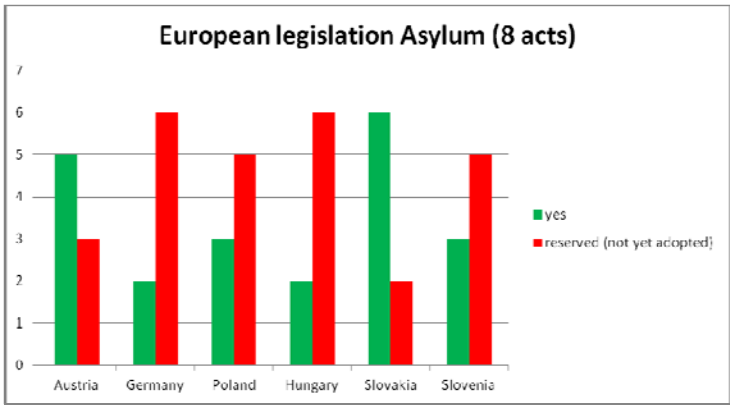
Source: Eurostat (2016)

Figure 6. Acceptance rate in 2014 – data for Austria N/A



Source: Eurostat (2015)

Figure 7. Status on acceptance on European legislation in the field of asylum (out of 8 acts)



Source: Figure created by authors based on values in Table 4, (columns 6-13)