Migration crisis in Europe – myths and reality

Abstract

The paper contains an attempt to outline the causes and possible ways to solve the migration crisis that occurred in the European Union Member States in the first two decades of the XXI century. A critical assessment of myths and negative stereotypes accumulated around the wave of emigration has been made. There were discussed the consequences of adopting the Dublin Convention (1990) and its amendment (2003 and 2014), where the rules of procedure in the asylum process were defined. Attention was drawn to the directives laying down minimum standards for the reception of asylum seekers, which must be ensured in the EU Member States (for example, access to housing, health care and education). The guidelines defined by UNHCHR (United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights), the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, were also discussed. Statistical data collected by Eurostat and the European Border and Coast Guard Agency (Frontex) were used.

Keywords: Europe, refugees, migration movement, integration.

Kryzys migracyjny w Europie – mity i rzeczywistość

Streszczenie


Słowa kluczowe: Europa, uchodźcy, ruch migracyjny, integracja.
The migration crisis in Europe (including the refugee crisis) got specific characteristics at the beginning of the 21st century. The mass arrival of refugees and emigrants to the Old Continent has become the largest of its kind since World War II (Frontex). Although 2015 is recognized as the beginning of the crisis, the rapid increase in the wave of immigrants and refugees arriving in Europe has been observed since the 1990s. The Dublin Regulation (Journal of Laws 2005 No. 24, item 194) was the answer to the emerging problem at that time.

In order to harmonize the laws in force in the Member States and to create equal standards for the reception of refugees throughout the community, the countries of the European Union committed themselves to creating a common asylum system (1999). As a result, the need to amend the Dublin Regulation appeared (which was done in 2003 and 2014). Those amendments indicate which country is responsible for examination of an asylum application. EU has also ratified the directive defining minimum standards for the reception of asylum seekers which have to be ensured in EU countries, for example, access to housing, health and education.

Aiming to facilitate the practical application of the signed conventions, the European Dactyloscopy – Eurodac (EC No. 2725/2000) has been created. The common IT system that collects fingerprints of asylum seekers and illegal immigrants in the European Union contains a database to prevent refugee applications in several countries. This, in turn, allows sending people who practice such applications back to the first contact countries.

Despite these joint declarations and institutions established in the EU, diverse attitudes towards newcomers on the Old Continent have emerged. The institutions of the European Union and countries such as Germany, France or Sweden have adopted an openness approach. The German borders have been opened and every arriving refugee or immigrant gets proper care. On the other hand, countries such as Poland, Austria, Italy, Hungary or the Czech Republic strongly oppose to the free movement of incoming people in Europe and want to apply strict regulations existing in the European Union.

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1 Data on illegal crossings of the EU’s external borders, registered by national authorities, are collected by the European Border and Coast Guard Agency (Frontex) – an independent agency of the European Union created by the EU Council Regulation of 26 October 2004. The Regulation establishing the agency has been amended several times.

2 Member States of the European Communities signed the Convention designating the State responsible for examining asylum applications lodged in one of the Member States. It was decided that the asylum application submitted by the refugee will be examined by the European Union country to which the refugee first came. In practice, this meant that refugees arriving in Europe via the Mediterranean Sea should stay in Italy and Greece and seek asylum there.

The emerging division between countries open to welcome newcomers, willing to host them in Europe, and closed to welcome them, reveals one of the greatest weaknesses of the European Union. The crisis has arisen, among others, due to the lack of a common migration policy. Large differences of opinion between the leaders of individual states of the community lay behind almost all decisions made in this area. Even the implementation of international law, such as the Geneva Convention, is sometimes questioned by countries opposed to the “open door” policy. As a result, these decisions usually represent non-functional compromises or they concern only one of many aspects of the problem.

The “Dublin I Regulation” (signed as part of the European Community in 1990, which entered into force on September 1, 1997 (Journal of Laws 2005 No. 24, item 194) has a similar reception. The „Dublin Regulation II“ (Journal of Laws 2004 No. 158, item 1645) was necessary to follow in 2003. “Dublin III Regulation” has been the basic legal act implementing the European asylum system since January 1, 2014. It sets out the criteria and mechanisms necessary to determine the country responsible for examining an asylum application, which is the first step in proceedings for providing international protection. Dublin regulations apply in 32 countries – 28 EU countries as well as Iceland, Norway, Liechtenstein and Switzerland (EC No. 604/2013). They have become to some extent “lifebuoys” for the Old Continent which is still not ready to receive such a huge number of newcomers.

1. The signs of the crisis

Migration from North Africa to Europe is certainly not a new phenomenon. For years, the Mediterranean has been a thoroughfare for those trying to reach Europe’s shores. When immigrants start traveling from many African and Middle East countries, they are usually bound by the common goal of finding greater economic and social opportunities, avoiding persecution and escaping conflicts. However, there have been significant differences in migration patterns over the past few years.

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5 Regulation No 604/2013 of the European Parliament and the Council EU (26 June 2013) on the establishment of the criteria and mechanisms for determining the Member State responsible for examining an application for international protection lodged in one of the Member States by a third-country national or a stateless person.
Firstly, there has been a general increase in the number of would-be immigrants trying to reach Europe. Secondly, the number of trips that take place along the Central Mediterranean route has increased dramatically. In fact, the EU Border Agency, Frontex, estimated an increase of 277% between 2013 and 2014. Thirdly, taking into consideration the UNEP projections for ecological refugees in Africa, pressure from Africa is likely to intensify in the future.

Numerous boats filled with emigrants from regions of Africa and the Middle East, those threatened with war, famine and diseases, have reached the shores of Europe since the end of the 20th century. Initially, they used to choose the route which led from North Africa, the coasts of Libya and Tunisia, to the nearest European islands: Malta and Lampedusa. In addition, large groups of refugees made their way to Europe by land from Turkey through Bulgaria. To hinder the use of this route, a wall was built on the Bulgarian-Turkish border in 2013. On the other hand, hundreds of volunteers and numerous organizations were involved in helping refugees and transporting them to the continent. In August 2015 there was a clear increase in the number of people getting from the Turkish coast to the Greek islands. The growing movement of refugees from the Middle East had been observed since the very beginning of the conflict in Syria, but it was only in 2014 that the number of people trying to get to Europe by sea went up dramatically. In 2013, there were fewer than 60,000 people, two years later over a million people who decided to cross the Mediterranean (Frontex)⁶. Over time, at least seven routes that refugees/immigrants used to reach the Old Continent appeared. They were: West-African and West-Mediterranean towards Spain, Central-Mediterranean towards Italy, East-Mediterranean and Albanian-Greek towards Greece, West-Balkan towards Hungary and East towards Slovakia. Large groups arrived with varying intensity, overcoming enormous difficulties and costs. Many of them paid for it with their lives or huge inconveniences after reaching some European countries.

It has been recognized that the peak of the crisis occurred in the second half of 2015, when a record number of 1.2 million asylum applications were filed in EU countries. According to UNHCR (Report of the Third Committee)⁷, emigrants ar-

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⁶ This crossing, which is not only expensive, is usually very risky. In 2013, six hundred people drowned during the crossing, and in each of the next two years it was about 3.5 thousand. Frontex identifies overcrowded and unseaworthy boats and lack of sufficient navigational skills as the main causes of drowning.

⁷ UNHCHR – United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights – was established in December 1993 on the initiative of NGO activists, mainly Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International at the World Human Rights Conference in Vienna, in order to better coordinate UN activities in the field of human rights. The Commissioner is appointed by the UN Secretary General and approved by the UN General Assembly. The appointment is for a period of four years, renewable for a further four years. The office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights is based in Geneva. See: Resolution adopted by the General Assembly [Report of the Third Commit-
riving in Europe at that time included primarily Syrians (49%), Afghans (21%) and Iraqis (8%). Asylum applications were submitted primarily in Germany (476,000 applications), Sweden, Austria and Hungary (UNHR). 58% of emigrants who came to the European Union in 2015 were men, 17% – women, 25% – children. The prevalence of men results from the possibility of later family reunification allowed by EU countries. In addition, in war-torn countries, men are more likely to be at risk of involuntary participation in hostilities and, consequently, death. Many of children coming to Europe are deprived of care because they lost their family during the war or the family could not afford to transport all their members. Children also have a better chance of being granted asylum in Europe.

The dynamic development of the situation made the governments of the EU countries agree on a two-year relocation and resettlement scheme for emigrants from Syria, Iraq and Eritrea in the Member States in September 2015. Each country got a specific quota, i.e. the number of refugees that the country had to accept. In addition, those relocated to Europe were supposed to include over 22,000 refugees staying in camps located in countries bordering with Syria. The aim of these activities was to efficiently control the influx of refugees to Europe and to prevent dangerous and illegal crossings on the Mediterranean, as well as to relieve countries neighboring Syria, which is immersed in war (UNHR).

Data collected by Frontex indicate that in 2015 and 2016 alone, over 2.5 million people applied for asylum in the EU. Over 2.3 million illegal crossings of the EU’s external borders were detected. Thanks to EU activities, the total number of illegal border crossings in 2017 fell to 204,700, the lowest level in four years. In 2017, 439,505 people were refused entry at the EU’s external borders (Frontex). It may seem that the refugee crisis ended in 2016, with the signing of a high-profile agreement between the European Union and Turkey. Although emigrants no longer cross European borders in millions, they appear in hundreds of thousands. Refugees presently living in Europe bring their families.

In 2018, 645,000 asylum applications were filed throughout the EU, almost as many as a year ago. Emigrants mainly come to Spain (54 thousand), Italy
(60 thousand), Greece (66 thousand), France (120 thousand) and, of course, Germany (185 thousand). The unknown number of emigrants who have crossed European borders beyond all control and have not yet applied for asylum, immediately joining the increasingly developed world of African and Arab crime, should be added to those figures.

Between January 1 and September 30, 2019, 81,300 refugees and emigrants from North Africa and Turkey arrived in the EU using three Mediterranean routes. Most of them crossed the eastern border of the Mediterranean Sea with Turkey. In 2019 refugees most often come from Afghanistan, Syria, Morocco and Algeria; 46% of newcomers were men, 21% – women and 33% – children. Due to the high risk of crossing the Mediterranean border, it is estimated that around 1042 refugees and migrants died – between January and September 2019, 44%. There was a noticeable decrease in deaths compared to the same period of 2018 (1,853 people). Most deaths took place between North Africa and Italy. Statistical data confirm that in 2019, an average of 500 emigrants come to Germany every day, which means that the total number of asylum seekers by December can be estimated at around 190,000 – almost the same as last year. About 25% of those coming to Germany are Syrians, the rest are emigrants from various African and Middle Eastern countries. Culturally close, authentic political refugees from South America especially Venezuela and Colombia have appeared recently11.

It can be assumed with great probability that more groups of foreigners – as different types of emigrants/refugees – will come to Europe in the next decades. The countries of the Old Continent face a real challenge of developing an effective integration policy as soon as possible. Various solutions have been applied in Europe over decades, thus previous experience and existing strategies should be used while avoiding erroneous ones and focusing on those that have brought positive results. However, it should not be forgotten that in order for integration to become a successful process, the willingness and effort of not only the incoming visitors, but also the recipients are required. Integration is a process that primarily means building interpersonal relationships free from prejudices and negative stereotypes.

2. Myths and negative stereotypes

Debate and evaluation regarding the problem of refugees and the migration crisis in Europe have been dominated by false stereotypes and distortions. It is worth pointing out some of them. In social discourse, an extensive wave of emigration/
refugee is associated, among others, with dangers such as terrorism (A), increased crime rate (B), clash of civilizations (C), increase in unemployment (D), demographic dominance (E), Islamization (F), epidemiological threats (G).

A) In response to the most common fears, it should be noted that refugees are people escaping danger and persecution. They face terrorism as victims at most; very often this is the reason for leaving their homes and moving to Europe. Terrorist groups planning to organize attacks in the European Union rather recruit people in the country of intended attack. If this is not possible, terrorist try to enter the Union from outside, thus crossing the borders of the Schengen area. They can do this in at least three ways. They enter legally after receiving tourist, business or educational visas; they try to cross the border illegally; they pretend to be refugees. From the terrorists’ point of view, however, the third way is one of the most difficult, risky and time consuming. People applying for refugee status are subject to much more thorough control of secret services than those crossing the border with a legal visa. They are checked both in terms of their life course and the security of the destination country. Moreover, they undergo four controls: first when crossing the European Union border, then during qualification for a relocation program at the EU level and at the time of confirming refugee status in a given European country. Just before obtaining refugee status, they are checked once again by special services. Therefore, the relevant intelligence agencies would know incomparably more about them than if they chose any other way to get to Europe. Even if they manage to escape any of the controls, they immediately appear on lists of potentially dangerous persons and are searched on the territory of the European Union based on biometric and fingerprint data  

B) The claim that refugees commit more crimes than other groups is a frequently repeated myth. However, official statistics show that this kind of suspicion is untrue. For example, the report of the German Federal Criminal Office of November 2015 states that “refugees commit crimes with the same frequency as German citizens”. The number of crimes committed by immigrants increased in 2015 compared to 2014 by 79%, while the number of refugees increased by 440%. Police in the Netherlands have come to similar conclusions. At the end of 2015, Deputy Chief of Police Ruud Bik said that the Dutch police did not record an increase in the number of crimes along with the influx of refugees.

C) The popular science concept of Samuel Huntington, formulated over twenty years ago, stated that after the Cold War there would be a “clash of civilizations”. It has not only failed so far, but also faced strong substantive criticism in the scientific community. Huntington announced a period of confrontation between states belonging to nine great civilizations which he identified with great religious systems\(^{14}\). According to many critics, he approaches them incorrectly: firstly, as systems naturally striving for victory (not taking into account the possibility of coexistence or dialogue of various societies); secondly, as homogeneous entities (noticing neither diversity in them nor internal conflicts or contradictions); thirdly, as systems with easy-to-delineate geographical boundaries (while in times of globalization, most countries in the world have long been an arena for mixing various cultural influences). These are the most serious allegations against the “clash of civilizations” concept. Samuel Huntington argued that the collision was supposed to take the form of an expansion of one civilization into another. Meanwhile, we observe the escape of the inhabitants of one civilization to another, which more effectively protects against persecution. Thus, even if we accept Huntington’s arguments, the concept of “clash of civilizations” is not useful for explaining the current migration crisis.

D) ‘Refugees will take away the jobs from Europeans” – this is one of the most common fears blocking their admission to Europe. According to experts researching the labour market, the fears are unfounded. Europe’s aging population is affected by two important labour market phenomena. On the one hand, the number of people of working age is shrinking dynamically, and on the other hand there is an increase in the demand for qualified employees. Newly admitted refugees can meet the part of it. With this scale of demand for new employees, the admission of even a large number of refugees able to work will not be noticed at all from an economic perspective. Thus, refugees will neither take away employment from Europeans nor fill the imminent demographic gap.

E) “Demographic domination” – is one of the most frequently repeated myths that arouses fear especially of newcomers from the world of Islam, which is difficult to justify. It is important to realize that Europe is not a religious monolith. In many places of the Old Continent, Muslims have lived for many centuries and are just as Europeans as the Christians living here. Therefore, it should not be forgotten that Islam is also includ-

ed in such a capacious category as “Europeanness”. European Muslims (both those who have lived here for centuries and those who came during the decolonization period) are not homogeneous in religion. There is no single Islam – neither in Europe, nor in Asia or Africa. European Muslims profess different branches of Islam and were brought up in different cultures, which often shaped them more than religion. The myth of Islam dominating Europe assumes that religion is the main, and maybe even the only, manifestation of Muslim identities in public space. However, similarly to some Christians or Jews who treat religion as part of the private sphere, for many Islam followers it is not the key element of social identity. Although the fact is that there are more Muslims in Europe, this increase is relatively slow and does not promise any Islamic dominance in Europe in the foreseeable future. According to a report of the Pew Research Center, one of the most important American think tanks dealing with social issues, in 2010 slightly more than 44 million Muslims lived on the European continent, who constituted only 6% of the European population (PRC, 2011). It is estimated that by 2030 their number will have reached 58 million, which will constitute only 8% of the European community. It is worth noting, however, that these numbers include population of both the European Union and Russia (over 14 million Muslims in 2010) or countries with incumbent Muslim communities (such as Bosnia, Bulgaria and Albania). The above data do not reflect the ongoing process of secularization of Muslims living in Europe. In some countries this process affects Muslims even more strongly than followers of other religions. According to data collected under the European Social Survey (ESS) – one of the most important surveys examining the attitudes, beliefs and behavior of Europeans – 60.5% of Muslim immigrants living in Europe shorter than twelve months regularly go to the mosque. Within a group living in Europe for more than a year, this percentage drops to 48.8%. More than half of European Muslims hardly ever or never visit mosques for prayer purposes (ESS).

F) Islamization of the Old Continent: fear of Islamization seems paradoxical. European churches do not get deserted because of the influx of immigrants and refugees from Muslim countries as the secularization of Europe has completely different grounds. Migrations are not the only factor affecting the culture of host countries, the evolution of societies and the

formation of individual identities. Pope Francis, who has spoken many times about refugees, has clearly stated that it is the Christian’s duty to help those in need, and those are refugees. The first pilgrimage of Francis was a trip to the island of Lampedusa, where hundreds of boats with refugees on board reach its shores. The Pope also visited refugee centers and called for each parish to try to receive them. Undoubtedly, the defense of Christian values is about helping refugees rather than trying to stop their arrival. In his speech (New Year – 2014), the Pope stated that his main goal is to change global thinking: “Each of us must change the approach towards migration and refugees. We shall give up anxiety, closure, insensibility and marginalization. All that constitutes a culture of rejection. Let’s choose the culture of the meeting, which is the only one capable of building a better, more just and fraternal world”16.

G) Undoubtedly, moving between different geographical zones threatens to transmit more or less serious diseases. However, the epidemiological risk associated with admitting refugees is much smaller than the threat caused by tourist traffic to non-European countries. Generally, emigrants/refugees are subjected to medical control in the so-called epidemiological filter when crossing the border. They also undergo a series of medical examinations. This is a necessary condition enabling them to stay in Europe. According to experts from the European Center for Disease Prevention and Control (ECDC), the risk of an epidemic caused by the arrival of refugees is very low. Moreover, foreigners participate in various prevention programs, undergo medical examinations and vaccinations while waiting for refugee status. Due to this, the risk decreases even more (ECDC)17.

The prejudices and real fears mentioned above cannot be overlooked in social discourse. At the end of the second decade of the 21st century, atmosphere of cataclysm and threat, which accompanied 2015 and 2016, has noticeably weakened. The influx of refugees, although enormous, is being controlled by European countries to such extent that there are no glaring excesses. It also seems that the end of major terrorist attacks plays a significant role in the lack of interest in the subject of migration. When Islamists attacked the Paris editorial office of Charlie Hebdo on January 7, 2015, the whole Europe spoke about the problem of immigrants. Later, in 2015–2016, there were bloody attacks in Paris (130 victims), Brussels (38 victims), Nice (85 victims) and Berlin (12 victims). In 2017, terror-

16 Marcin Przeciszewski. 2014. “Jaki był pierwszy rok papieża Franciszka” (What was the first year of Pope Francis). Niedziela 10 : 14.

ists struck three more times in Manchester (22 victims), London (8 victims) and Barcelona (13 victims). However, there has been no major attack in EU Member States since 2018. This does not have to be due to the lack of terrorists, as the services work intensively. At the same time, in the opinion of many Europeans, the influx of refugees/emigrants to the Old Continent can help solve demographic problems or deficiencies in many sectors of the labour market. So let’s look at the new challenges brought by this process.

3. New challenges

It can be assumed with great probability that more groups of foreigners – as different types of emigrants/refugees – will come to Europe in the next decades. The countries of the Old Continent face a real challenge of developing an effective integration policy as soon as possible. Various solutions have been applied in Europe over decades, thus previous experience and existing strategies should be used while avoiding erroneous ones and focusing on those that have brought positive results. However, it should not be forgotten that in order for integration to become a successful process, the willingness and effort of not only the incoming visitors, but also the recipients are required. Integration is a process that primarily means building interpersonal relationships.

Refugees in temporary camps are in a particularly difficult situation. These camps are organized in a way to meet the most basic needs: food, accommodation, access to water, sanitation and medical care. However, living conditions are difficult: refugees, regardless of the season, live in tents, the camps are overcrowded, there are no opportunities for adults to work and for children to study. More than half of all registered refugees are children who have been deprived of material goods, statehood and sometimes even relatives. Camps are not always a safe shelter for refugees, which is supposed to be temporary. Experience shows, however, that many emigrants stay there for several years.

In view of the situation, refugee camps are one of the important places which need material, administrative, psychological and educational assistance. Problems resulting from cultural diversity are particularly observable there. Intercultural education can become a discovery of differences, where one realizes their essence, as well as the real value and potential. The perceived diversity makes you rethink your own experiences and identity, and constantly confront others. It seems to be the right way to build an adequate model of intercultural education, also in refugee camps. However, such activities cannot be limited to educational aspects only. Legal, historical, sociological, ethnological and cultural aspects should also be taken into account to create the right conditions for the integration
process. It is worth remembering that the basis for all pedagogical activities is personal, individual life, inscribed in the community context.

In researching social contacts space inside a refugee camp, one should refer to intercultural psychology, whose task is to place human thinking in a cultural context. A contemporary emigrant/refugee, especially one who lived in ethnically diverse areas, rich in bloody historical experiences, particularly in recent history, should have the support of intercultural psychology in the process of adaptation in a new country. Thanks to this support, he/she will be able to learn, understand, see values of multiculturalism and learn to live in it. “Integration in a new country of residence can lead to maintaining one’s identity in accordance with respect for different cultures and traditions.”

Intercultural education can result in making various social circles more integrated and dynamic, based on the mutual rapprochement of their members. As a result, intercultural education will enhance mutual rapprochement and integration without any dominance of any group. Among the goals of intercultural education, the first group includes striving to ensure equality for a given ethnic group, preparation for life in a given society, transmission of the language and culture of their own group. Whereas the second group of goals comprises arranging meetings, especially between the dominant culture and the minority culture.

In a wider assumption, intercultural education has to concern the sphere of attitudes, the sphere of skills and the sphere of consciousness. In the sphere of attitudes, intercultural education sets the following goals: considering society as a complex of coexisting and intersecting groups and individuals; individuals going out to the borders of their separateness and otherness; raising tolerance and self-control in reactions to difference, and despite being surprised, respecting it in all aspects. Further goals are: to raise sensitivity to other cultures and their integral values and patterns enriching general culture; to get rid of a sense of cultural superiority, nationalism and ethnicism, prejudices and stereotypes, a tendency to egotism and xenophobia; to oppose all forms of xenophobia, discrimination, racism, hostility towards others/strangers; to shape empathy, openness to the world, commitment to peace, equality, brotherhood and solidarity in every environment; to advocate a just world without exploitation, oppression and hunger.

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The analysis of relations in refugee camps allows us to accept the thesis that evolution- from multiculturalism to interculturalism – can take place there. In this case, one should understand the situation in which different cultures and national, ethnic, religious groups etc. live in the same territory, but do not necessarily enter into relationships with each other. Over time, as a result of ongoing work, permanent and regular interaction of various cultures, national and ethnic groups living in the same territory takes place. Such interaction triggers respect, understanding of individual lifestyles, as well as recognized values and norms. Properly conducted intercultural education motivates to an attitude of openness, conditioned by genuine interest in other cultures and intercultural empathy. In this context, it is easier to acquire the ability to draw inspiration from diversity. The skills for correctly reading non-verbal messages, codes and tips specific to a given culture are also important. Communication skills allow you to start and engage in dialogue with other people and to avoid misunderstandings. The effort to understand a different culture, intercultural empathy which allows common search for solutions to existing problems are the skills necessary for dialogue with other people.

Conclusion

The refugee/emigration movement to EU countries – regardless of whether it is legal or illegal flow – is a fact that cannot be underestimated. Among approximately 512.4 million EU residents, about 22.3 million (approximately 4.4%) are citizens of countries outside the Union (data 2019, Eurostat)\(^2\). A number of negative fears, not always based on objective reasons, has dominated the assessment of this growing problem in Europe. In the press release as well as the discourse of many political factions of the European Union, a wide wave of emigration/refugees is associated, among others, with terrorism, an increase in crime, fear of unemployment and demographic dominance. Fears of Islamization of the continent and epidemiological threats are also mentioned.

In an objective assessment of this phenomenon, however, it is worth emphasizing that it also brings a number of benefits. These include: filling the gaps in the host country’s labourmarket (both in highly qualified professions and simple jobs); positive impact on adverse demographic changes in the EU. Refugees/emigrants bring along a fresh point of view – new ideas and methods that can stimulate creativity and innovation. There are also economic benefits for the countries of origin where poverty is reduced due to remittances and investment by

emigrants/refugees. Positive socio-cultural effect is also obvious: the exchange of people and ideas can be inspiring and promote the creation of more tolerant environments. For this to happen newcomers must integrate and this process has to start already in transitional refugee camps.

Bibliography


