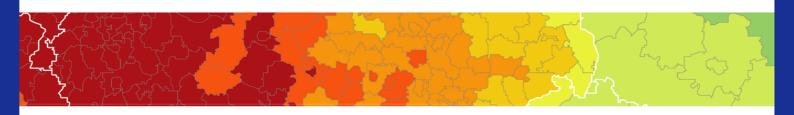


Inspire policy making by territorial evidence



# MIGRARE – Impacts of refugee flows to territorial development in Europe

Applied Research
Final Report
Synthesis Report
29/04/2019

This applied research activity is conducted within the framework of the ESPON 2020 Cooperation Programme, partly financed by the European Regional Development Fund.

The ESPON EGTC is the Single Beneficiary of the ESPON 2020 Cooperation Programme. The Single Operation within the programme is implemented by the ESPON EGTC and co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund, the EU Member States and the Partner States, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland.

This delivery does not necessarily reflect the opinion of the members of the ESPON 2020 Monitoring Committee.

#### **Authors**

Pierre Hausemer, Laura Todaro, Matteo Bocci, Iva Plasilova, Lison Rabuel, Valdani Vicari & Associati (Italy)

Manuela Samek, Erica Melloni, Flavia Pesce, Serena Drufuca, Paolo Maranzano, Monica Patrizio, Cristina Vasilescu, Istituto per la Ricerca Sociale (Italy)

Albert Kraler, Martin Wagner, Paul Baumgartner, Sanda Üllen, Veronika Bilger, Martin Hofmann, Patricia Ama Miah, Teresa Gil Ricol, International Centre for Migration Policy Development (Austria)

Dragiša Mijačić, Jasna Žarković, Institute for Territorial Economic Development (Republic of Serbia)

Martin Kahanec, Magda Ulceluse, Jenna Althoff, Central European University (Hungary)

Therese Steenberghen, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (Belgium)

Richard Williams, external expert (UK)

#### Carthography

Wesley Gruijthuijsen, Antonio Pietropolli, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (Belgium)

#### **Country Researchers**

Ruben Carrandi Cortina, Josie Christodopolou, Shoshana Fine, Lucija Kilić, Magdalena Klebba, Nena Kogovšek, Viktor Koska, Vilma Kuuliala, Liliya Levandovska, Richard Procee, Francesco Romano, Tim Schreiber

#### **Advisory Group**

Project Support team: Radu Necsuliu (Romania), Lodovico Gherardi (Italy) and Andor Urmos European Commission

ESPON EGTC: Martin Gauk (Policy Expert), Laurent Frideres (HoU E&O), Ilona Raugze (Director), Johannes Kiersch (Financial Expert)

Information on ESPON and its projects can be found on www.espon.eu.

The web site provides the possibility to download and examine the most recent documents produced by finalised and ongoing ESPON projects.

This delivery exists only in an electronic version.

© ESPON, 2019

Printing, reproduction or quotation is authorised provided the source is acknowledged and a copy is forwarded to the ESPON EGTC in Luxembourg.

Contact: info@espon.eu **ISBN:** 978-2-919795-16-1

## MIGRARE – Impacts of refugee flows to territorial development in Europe

#### **Table of contents**

List	of FiguresI
List	of TablesI
1	Introduction
2	Methodological approach2
3	Geographical distribution of asylum seekers and refugees
4	Socioeconomic challenges and opportunities
5	Integration measures to enhance inclusion and territorial development at local level 8
6	Policy options and possible scenarios
7	Key findings
8	Recommendations for policy makers
Lis	et of Figures
Figu	re 1: Schematic outline of this proposal's methodological approach
Figu	ire 2: Countries of origin of asylum seekers in France, Germany, Greece, Italy and the UK,
201	72
Figu	re 3: Asylum applications across NUTS2 regions in selected countries, 2016 4
Figu	ire 4: Clustering of regions (NUTS2) based on differencies in socio-economic performances
(201	7) 6
Lis	et of Tables
Tabl	le 1.1 Project's research questions1
Tabl	le 2.1: Overview of the relation between inputs and outputs
Tabl	le 2.2 Case Study selection

#### 1 Introduction

The ESPON applied research project titled "Impacts of refugee flows to territorial development in Europe is dedicated to provide evidence on the regional and urban aspects of refugee migration to Europe focusing on different types of European regions and cities. More specifically, the project aims to respond to the following research questions:

Table 1.1 Project's research questions

RQ1 – Inflows and distribution dynamics across territories	What does distribution of asylum seekers and refugees look like at regional/urban level? How has this been changing over time as a result of European and national policy decisions in recent decades?
RQ2 – Response capacity at territorial level	How are different European regions and cities located in arrival, transit and destination countries responding to the refugee crisis in terms of providing humanitarian aid, services (accommodation, material support, healthcare provision, education, language courses, labour market programmes), community building, internal distribution of refugees and medium and long-term integration? What does the diversity within Europe in terms of integration policies at regional and local level look like?
RQ3 - Matching in the specificities of refugees (and asylum seekers) and territories	What skills and qualifications do the refugees possess?  How does the influx of refugees impact the recipient countries' regional and local labour markets and demographic imbalances (especially concerning regions which are facing the challenges of depopulation and ageing)? Do the skills and qualifications meet the needs of local labour markets and how do they compete with the local population and regular migrants?
RQ4 - Impacts of possible response at territorial level	What are the main policy responses emerging from the review of practices and literature, including the dispersal of asylum seekers and refugees internally? What kind of impacts would the implementation of the various options emerging have for European countries, regions and cities in the future?
RQ5 – Challenges and good practices at territorial level	What are the main challenges, and what are the good policy responses and the best practices for successful integration of refugees into the local communities, societies and labour markets at regional and local level? How successful have the integration measures been in the past? What kind of support do territories need? How can the use of existing funding opportunities be improved? Is there a need to improve legislation?

This study encompasses all countries in the ESPON 2020 Cooperation Programme (EU28, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland), with an additional assessment – to the extent possible – of EU Candidate Countries (i.e. Albania, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Serbia, and Turkey) and potential candidates countries (i.e. Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo under UN Security Council Resolution 1244). The data collection has been carried out at national and regional level, where possible up to (Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics) NUTS 2 or 3 level.

This synthesis report aims to share experiences from this project in light of future research in this field. The reader may refer to the Main Report, Guidelines for Policymakers and Annexes for more information on this research project.

#### 2 Methodological approach

The methodology of the study relies on an eight-task structure, as per the suggestion in the Terms of Reference. Our conceptual framework interlinks the tasks and their methodological tools, thus creating synergies in the type of stakeholders or databases consulted. In addition, our methodology is deeply rooted in the study's specific research questions. The figure below shows our interpretation of the logical flow between the different tasks specified in the terms of reference.

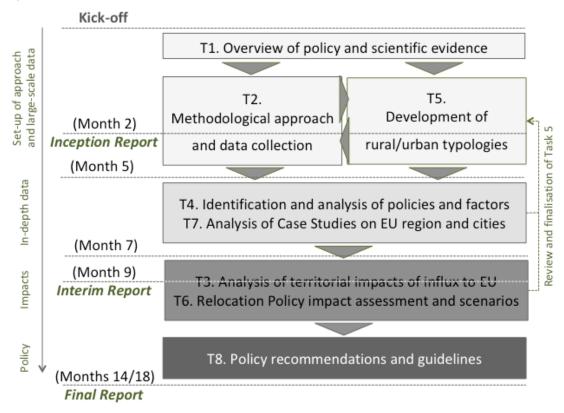


Figure 1: Schematic outline of this proposal's methodological approach

An overview of the relation between inputs and outputs amongst each task is also illustrated below.

Table 2.1: Overview of the relation between inputs and outputs

TASKS	Inputs from	Outputs for	Comments
Task 1	-	All	Basis for the methodological fine-tuning
Task 2	Task 1	Tasks 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8	Main source of cross-country data
Task 3	Tasks 1, 2, 5	Tasks (5), 6, 8	Baseline for the Impact Assessment
Task 4	Tasks 1, 2, 7	Tasks 6, 8	Builds on Task 1 and data collected
Task 5	Tasks 1, 2	Tasks 3, 6, 7, 8	Used as a basis for data extrapolations
Task 6	Tasks 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7	Task 8	Impact Assessment for policy options
Task 7	Tasks 1, 2, 4, 5	Tasks 3, 4, (5), 6, 8	Main source of in-depth data
Task 8	All	-	Final outcome for the study

The study's research is complemented with 12 case studies, presented below together with some of the dimensions based on which they were selected.

Table 2.2 Case Study selection

#	Case Studies Proposed	Coun try	Refugees and migration trends	Urban /rural dimension	Geographi c location	Route	Region typolog y
1	Kilkis	EL	Transition	Small/rural	South	Blakan	6
2	Sicily	IT	Arrival	Large /metropolitan/ rural	South	Med	6
3	Milan	IT	Transit	Large/metropolita n	South	Med	3
4	Horgos - Röszke	HU, RS	Transit	Small/rural	East	Balkan	5
5	Södertälje	SE	Destination	Medium /urban	North	All	1
6	Schwäbisch Gmünd	DE	Destination	Small /rural	North	All	2
7	Flanders	BE	Destination	Medium/urban/ rural	Centre	All	4
8	Provence- Alpes-Côte d'Azur	FR	Transit/destination	Urban/rural	South	Med	4
9	Bucharest	RO	Transition	Large/metropolita n	South	Balkan s	4
10	Bilbao	ES	Destination	Large/metropolita n	South	Med	4
11	Limerick	ΙΕ	Destination	Medium/urban	West	All	1
12	Kapfenburg	AT	Transit/destination	Small/rural	Centre	All	2

#### 3 Geographical distribution of asylum seekers and refugees

Historically, the number of asylum applications in EU Member States has been subject to large fluctuations. Strongly dependent on global instability and threats, the inflow of third-country nationals seeking refugee status in the EU has peaked in recent years (2015/2016): according to Eurostat, 1.3 million asylum applications were filed in the EU-28 and the EFTA countries in 2016, mostly from Syria (341,985 applications), Afghanistan (190,250 applications) and Iraq (131,705). This number declined sharply in 2017 (728,900) with Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan remaining the top-three countries of origin. The decrease was largely due to the EU-Turkey Statement of March 2016 that contained migration flows through the Eastern Mediterranean and Western Balkan routes. In 2018 around 660,000 applications were made overall which is below the level of 2014 when 663,000 applications for international protection were filed.

Of the main routes for border crossings into the EU by land or sea, the Eastern Mediterranean, the Western Balkans route and the Central Mediterranean have been the most significant in recent years and have peaked at different points in time. The Eastern Mediterranean route via Turkey to Greece was the largest migratory route in 2015, mainly used by asylum seekers from Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria; the Western Balkan route also reached its highest level of undocumented migration in 2015 from Syria and Afghanistan. The Central Mediterranean route from Libya to Malta and Italy has remained an important entry point to the EU, mainly for Eritrea, Niger, Somalia, Gambia and Sudan nationals. This route is the most common entry to the EU since the decline of inflows in the Eastern Mediterranean route in 2016, becoming the route of choice for inflows from Africa. However, the changing environment for rescue at sea operations, changing policies of Italy and the increasing number of departure attempts thwarted by the Libyan coastquards have led to a marked decrease in arrivals over the Central Mediterranean route in 2018 dropping to less than a quarter of arrivals compared to 2017 (118,962 arrivals in 2017 compared to 23,485 arrivals in 20181). As a corollary, the Western Mediterranean Route from Morocco to Spain - which has been close to insignificant during much of the past - has increased in importance (more than doubling between 2017 and 2018, to 57,034 detections). This makes this route the most frequently used route into Europe in 2018, with Spain being the main entry point. While the increasing policing of deterrence at the Central Mediterranean Route did also arguably reduce the overall magnitude of irregular arrivals, its main effect has been to displace migrants to other routes.

The composition of 'stock' of asylum seekers (and refugees) within each country is an essential variable for the challenges and opportunities in the integration of such individuals within the local communities. The social groups range from balanced distribution among age and gender

ESPON 2020 4

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Frontex, Risk Analysis for 2019, p 16, https://frontex.europa.eu/publications/risk-analysis-for-2019-RPPmXE.

for Syrian asylum seekers and refugees to predominantly young male communities of Nigerians or Pakistanis. Importantly for our further analysis, as gender/age/skill composition is strongly related to the country of origin of certain communities, the origins of asylum seekers and refugees could be considered a reliable proxy for the gender/age/skill composition of inflows and stocks across European territories.

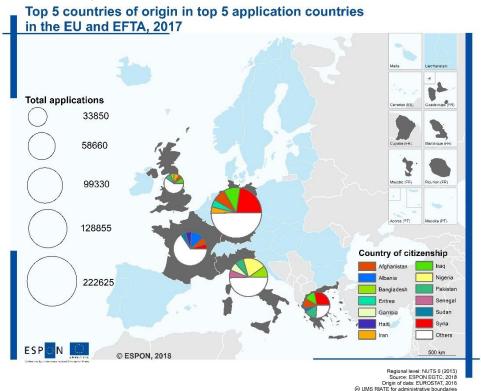


Figure 2: Countries of origin of asylum seekers in France, Germany, Greece, Italy and the UK, 2017

Source: own elaboration based on Eurostat migration statistics (2018)

The spatial distribution of the origins of asylum seekers across European territories shows major differences among EU countries. All the countries attract asylum seekers from many different countries. In order to visualise the differences in spatial distribution, only the top five countries of origin and the top five application countries were selected (Error! Reference s ource not found.). In 2017, Germany and Greece received more Syrians. Albanians were more likely to apply in France, Nigerians in Italy. The reasons for these differences are mainly connected with the geographical locations, travel routes and other reasons ('pull factors') to choose one country over the other. It may also reflect that some countries are more attractive to asylum seekers from different regions, due to a common language and/or a shared history, usually along with a large diaspora (Haitians in France, Bangladeshis in the UK, etc.).

Characteristics of asylum seekers groups vary across countries. In **Germany** the two largest age groups are the 18-34 year-olds (almost 40%) and the minors aged below 14 (35%). Women represent almost 39% of the asylum seeker population. The high percentage of women and children suggests that asylum seekers arriving in Germany are often accompanied by their families including children. In **Sweden**, the largest age group is also the 18-34 year-olds (41%),

followed by children aged below 14 (27%) and the population aged between 35 and 64 (23%). As for Germany, Sweden has a relatively balanced number of children and women that suggests that asylum seekers arriving in Sweden are often composed of families, including children. Asylum seekers arriving in **Greece** are not substantially different from those in Germany and Sweden. They are mostly aged between 18-34 year-old (49%) with a relatively significant proportion being children aged below 14 (25%). This trend can be explained by the fact that Syrian citizens constitute the largest group of migrants arriving in Greece and that this population is often whole families, including children, as mentioned above. Unlike all other countries mentioned, **Italy** has a very unequal age and gender distribution. The dominant age category is the one between 18 and 34, representing 68% of the asylum applicants. Males represent 84% of the asylum seekers, implying that Italy receives predominantly single young males rather than families. This aspect might suggest that the Mediterranean route is less favourable for families than the Eastern Mediterranean route, probably because it is more dangerous.

The distribution of asylum seekers across European regions and territories reflects the status of the different regions as arrival, transit or destination areas<sup>2</sup> and that, in general, asylum seekers tend to move towards more economically dynamic and economically developed regions, often the capital and other metropolitan regions. The highest numbers are in destination countries, especially in Germany with Düsseldorf, Cologne, Arnsberg, Oberbayern, Darmstadt, Berlin and Stuttgart each accounting for more than 35,000 asylum applicants. France follows, with the regions accounting for the highest number of asylum seekers being the capital region of  $\hat{l}$ le de France (26,400 applicants) and Rhône-Alpes (8,300 applicants). In Sweden, the asylum applicants are more widely distributed, with higher nummers in the regions of West Sweden (region of Gothenburg), East Middle Sweden (region of Uppsala) and Stockholm accounting respectively for around 5,200, 4,700 and 3,800 applicants. A significant concentration of asylum seekers in specific regions of arrival countries is also observed, although with a strong difference between regions. For example, in Greece there is also a strong difference between regions with a higher density of asylum seekers (Athens, and the border regions of Central Macedonia and Northern Aigaio accounting for 83% of asylum applicants) and the rest of the country. In some other countries, the distribution is more balanced.

•

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Within this study, examples of arrival countries include Italy, Greece or Spain, transit countries consist of, for example, Spain, France, Serbia or Hungary, with Germany, Sweden or Austria being considered as examples of the main destination countries.

Figure 3: Asylum applications across NUTS2 regions in selected countries, 2016

Asylum seekers per NUTS2 region

Source: Own elaboration based on country-level data from country research

A particular challenge is posed in some countries by those asylum seekers whose request has been rejected but they were not returned. When they remain in Europe, many of them irregularly, they disappear from the statistics unless they are apprehended by the police or apply for asylum in the same country or in another one and are identified through their fingerprints (eu-LISA).

#### 4 Socioeconomic challenges and opportunities

The significant asylum seeker inflows of the 2014-2017 period generated a heated debate in the Member States about the impacts that refugees will have on host societies and on the appropriate policies to deal with the inflows.

The socioeconomic integration of refugees can be a source of economic, social, political and institutional stress in arrival, transit and destination territories. At the same time, (if well managed) it may provide an opportunity for improving the overall inclusion capacity in such areas, with indirect benefits for the broader population. A well-managed, effective integration policy has nevertheless the potential to not only benefit asylum seekers and refugees, but also the regions themselves. For the former, it prevents poverty, skills attrition and can contribute to ameliorating the psychological distress often associated with the refugee experience.<sup>3</sup> For the latter, it implies potential contributions through taxes and skills, providing opportunities for indirect employment of local residents in public and private social care, and may allow for the repopulation and relaunching of more marginal areas experiencing demographic decline and acute need for labour<sup>4</sup>.

The absorption capacity of a territory is defined as the ability of a city, region, or country to integrate asylum seekers and/or refugees in their labour markets and local communities. We can identify at least three variables that affect this absorption capacity: **socio-economic performance of receiving territories** which shapes the quality and quantity of demands in the local labour markets, **skills and qualifications of the incoming asylum seekers and refugees** which define the extent to which they match the local demands and **policies and systems** (reception and active inclusion policies and formal and informal institutions and role of local stakeholders) that are effectively in place to maximise the "matching" of the two previous factors (local demand and incoming supply of labour).

ESPON 2020 5

\_

<sup>3</sup> Porter, Matthew, Haslam, Nick, 2005. Predisplacement and postdisplacement factors associated with mental health of refugees and internally displaced persons: a meta-analysis. J. Am. Med. Assoc., 294(5), 602–612.

<sup>4</sup> See https://static.nzz.ch/files/9/7/1/RefugeesSDN\_1.18679971.pdf

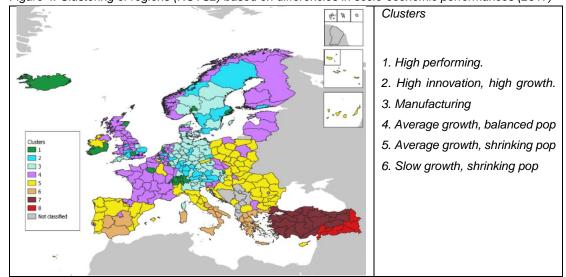


Figure 4: Clustering of regions (NUTS2) based on differencies in socio-economic performances (2017)

Source: Elaboration based on EUROSTAT (see Interim Report Annex - Task 5)

The inflow of asylum seekers and refugees can yield to social, political and institutional effects.

One potentially positive impact of inflows could be to alleviate the challenge of an ageing society across Europe. However, evidence point to then fact that **the impact of refugee arrivals on demographics is negligible** in many countries. This can be attributed to the fact that countries where net migration flows are negative are not seen as destination points by refugees currently arriving, and only a few asylum seekers and refugees remain in these countries.

The support of current inflows in fulfilling gaps in the job market is assessed to be either positive or neutral. The **long-term impact of current arrivals on the workforce is expected to be positive** for some countries.

Regarding the impacts of asylum seekers and refugees on the increase or decrease of social tensions, **current flows had a strong influence in increasing social tensions** in the majority of those countries where social tensions were registred. This view has often been fuelled by the negative portrayal of asylum seekers and refugees in the media and by the political discourse.

Limited evidence has emerged for an alleged correlation between the influx of asylum seekers and refugees and an increase in crime rates, illegal activities and threats to safety and national security. Existing secondary sources suggest that, although an increase in immigration generally does not affect crime levels, it does often lead to increased public anxiety and anti-immigration stances.

Social tension is often aggravated by political discourses adopted by politicians.

For most countries, **the institutional impacts were positive**. Influx of asylum seekers and refugees also facilitated the revision of a number of administrative actions and regulations aiming to accommodate the increase of asylum request. Impacts on increased institutional

tensions are also evident, mainly regarding different levels of government (local versus central) or different governmental actors. In most cases, the **long-term impacts are negligible.** 

Financial impacts and public funds spent on asylum seekers and refugees have been and are at the centre of the public debate on migration. Financial returns associated with the refugee inflows have been so far unevenly distributed across European regions. Only transit and destination regions with strong economies, a steady demand for labour and immigration and relatively good quality of inclusion policy experience large and increasing returns through time from refugees' integration. The overall volume of fiscal returns generated through time remains relatively limited across all regions – if compared to the total spending for reception and social support. One of the relevant finding in light of current policy debates is that if the costs and revenues are decreasing through time, nevertheless, it is clear that besides high initial reception costs – largely coverd through EU cointributions for EU Member States – the regional support to refugees is a relatively self-sustainable affair through time. It is important to stress that, regional-level effects can vary from country to country depending on the extent to which national support is provided to cover certain initial costs, and maximise the potential effects of policy support through efficient distribution policies.

### 5 Integration measures to enhance inclusion and territorial development at local level

The participation of sub-national actors in reception and integration policies is rather differentiated across EU countries. While in all the considered cases local governments and stakeholders are in charge of the implementation of reception and integration measures, within the rules defined at the national level, in some countries regions, provinces and municipalities are also involved in the design and planning of the migration policy.

The main challenges faced by local stakeholders include: the lack of experience and capacity in the reception and integration of large inflows of asylum seekers and refugees; the lack of funding ensuring the long-term sustainability of programmes and full coverage; the lack of vertical and horizontal coordination both among the different institutional levels and among these and the other relevant actors (NGOs, civil society organisations, etc.); the increasing negative attitudes towards asylum seekers and refugees both politically and socially.

Good examples of policy approaches and governance mechanisms involve:

- the adoption of integrated multi-sector and multi-actor approaches tailored to the needs of asylum seekers and refugees;
- the strong role of international institutions and local NGOs, not only in concretely implementing reception and integration measures, but also in supporting institutional capacity building where local institutions did not have experience in the management of large inflows of asylum seekers and refugees;
- the attention given to the direct involvement of local communities in order to avoid the rise
  of social conflicts and discrimination (in all the considered cases) and to the promotion of
  innovative ways to support social and economic integration;
- the efficient use of EU, private funding (e.g. crowd funding and private donations) and resource generating interventions, to ensure the long-term sustainability of integration measures. Economic activities can be set up in order to support the sustainability of integration measures where no national/regional funding is available.

Adopting participatory processes and supporting community building for the integration of refugees is a key success factor both for reducing rising tensions among the local population towards asylum seekers and refugees, and for attracting additional capacity and financial resources from the third sector and private organisations. The involvement of local public institutions is crucial for understanding possible bottlenecks in national policies at local level and for building bottom-up targeted solutions. It is also vital for increasing awareness of the needs and rights of refugees. Bottom-up approaches involving the local population, civil society organisations and other relevant stakeholders (e.g. the business sector, credit institutions, the lower and higher education system and the healthcare systems) can provide relevant insights on the problems for refugees and the local community, and how to contribute to the design and implementation of innovative solutions.

#### 6 Policy options and possible scenarios

The different implications in terms of costs and positive returns with respect to the possible evolution of current trends are analysed to set out scenarios for the assessment of the effectiveness of various policy options in maximising future positive impacts of the inflows of refugees and asylum seeker across territories in Europe.

The complexity of each scenario and their underlying assumptions would mean that any attempts at policy options based on them would have to account for too many factors to make them feasible in practice. In light of these aspects, the focus is instead on one single factor affecting the refugees' probability of integrating into the host society and an essential factor that determines their impact — employment. Research suggests that early and effective labour market participation is a key aspect of the integration process and a determining factor for long-term economic impact.

The two policy options are outlines as follows:

#### . Micro-policy (Option 1): improved reception and active inclusion policy

The option starts from the premise that refugee employment is highly dependent on reception policies, on the quality of the conditions and the length of the decision-making process during this time as well as on the availability of labour market inclusion policies. The scenario assumes a significant improvement in the quality of reception and labour market inclusion policies, within each regional cluster. The evolution of refugees' employment rates are simulated across the six different clusters, on the premise of significant improvements in terms of reception and labour market inclusion policies. The baseline model represents refugee employment rates computed using the EU-LFS 2014, across three time periods. There is an estimation that qualitative and quantitative improvements in reception and labour market inclusion policies would lead to an increase in employment rates of up to 20% from the baseline model.

#### Macro-policy (Option 2): improved dispersal policy

The option assumes - alongside an improvement in reception policies - a better performance of dispersal policies within each territory, a practice that many EU countries still apply or have started to apply post-2015. The dispersal policy is meant to maximise the matching between the skills of asylum seekers and the skills in demand in the local labour market, as well as to minimise the existence of ethnic enclaves. A second dimension is added, namely improvements in territorial dispersal policies. The dimension added in this scenario concerns aspects relating to the matching between the demand and supply sides. Dispersal policies aim typically to place asylum seekers away from larger cities that already host large foreign-born populations. In order for dispersal policies to have a positive impact, there should be a good match between an asylum seeker's skills and the demand for those skills in the area where they are relocated. Oftentimes, however, dispersal decisions are based on other determinant factors, such as housing availability. Optimal dispersal policies, would have a significant impact on employment, as it would contribute to the optimal allocation of resources, specifically labour supply of refugees to the labour demand of the difference regions and cities within regions. We estimate than an improvement in dispersal policies - for instance, re-allocating based on labour demand and supply of skills - would contribute up to 40% increase in the employment rate of refugees, in each cluster.

On the basis of current policy developments and taking into account proposals tabled or actual state practices in relation to the distribution of asylum seekers and refugees, the macro-policy scenario at EU-level can be organised in four possible macro-policy scenarios:

- No EU distribution policy: Unilateral national actions as well as multilateral coordination aimed at deterrence and border control, limited resettlement by some individual countries.
- Status quo (Dublin + voluntary resettlement scheme): determination of principle responsibility through Dublin; ad hoc emergency measures and ad hoc negotiations regarding specific case-loads [Bulgarian presidency proposal is a variation of this].
- Voluntary distribution scheme: distribution among Member States and community driven (city initiatives, private sponsors, skills-based matching) and voluntary resettlement scheme.
- Fully centralised distribution scheme: EP proposal foreseeing an automatic
  distribution according to a quota without a recognition threshold. Such a centralised
  scheme may be complemented by skills-based matching and other voluntary
  arrangements modifying the automatic distribution. Ambitious resettlement scheme will
  complement centralised distribution scheme; implies further consolidation of EU
  asylum policies (e.g. EASO eventually becoming the European asylum authority
  adjudicating claims).

#### 7 Key findings

The key findings of the study are:

- Inflows of asylum seekers in Europe have been growing through the past decade with large fluctuations with fluidity and adaptability of migration inflows making arrival regions and their communities strongly dependent on the asylum policies of other European countries and regions.
- Several factors influence the distribution of refugees and asylum seekers at regional level, with specific tactics adopted by asylum seekers to reach their "preferred destination" through time.
- The extent to which asylum seekers and refugees can be integrated into local communities
  across Europe depends in equal measures on (i) the profiles of asylum seekers and
  refugees and (ii) the socio-economic and institutional context that shapes their
  opportunities and economic outcomes. It is impossible to only look at one of the two sides.
- Given the different patterns of inflows and different level of capacity across various territories, European regions at arrival, transit and destination stages in the inflow path are confronted with very different challenges. Southern European arrival territories have to face variable and unexpected inflows that have to be provided with first aid and initial support with socio-economic and labour market conditions that are not sufficiently dynamic and receptive. Destination regions are instead less concerned by the challenge of responding to unexpected peaks of (often irregular) inflows, as they do not face irregular or unexpected peaks of direct arrivals at their borders, and can, therefore, better plan the reception and inclusion policies which are needed to effectively respond to the needs of incoming asylum seekers and refugees through time so to maximise in the mid-long term the returns of their initial investments.
- Estimates suggest that integrating refugees generates limited fiscal returns over time.
   Although the overall volume of fiscal returns generated over time remains relatively limited across all regions if compared to the total spending for reception and social support.
   Financial impacts and public funds spent on asylum seekers and refugees have been and are at the centre of the public debate on migration.
- Restrictions on access to welfare systems and the lack of focus on labour market integration are challenges, which particularly penalise the most vulnerable among asylum seekers and refugees, e.g. women, unaccompanied young people, the less skilled and those with disabilities, who have more difficulties in accessing the labour market.
- Effective housing and labour market integration are still particularly difficult to implement, notwithstanding the innovative measures adopted in some cases to avoid housing segregation and activate the private housing market and to support labour market integration by involving employers, providing job grants and supporting social entrepreneurship.
- There is a the lack of monitoring and evaluation systems on the effectiveness of implemented measures. Although several initiatives have been adopted at the local level to better integrate asylum seekers and refugees, often these are not evaluated and it is not possible to assess to what degree the interventions implemented contributed to the observed results.
- Most of the integration measures are funded with EU and international programmes, which
  are largely project based. Project-based funding does not allow for sufficiently long-term
  planning and activities, limiting the development of more comprehensive practices and the
  scaling up of the expertise into long term strategies and policies, thus undermining the
  overall effectiveness of integration policies.

#### 8 Recommendations for policy makers

Based on the research performed during the project the following recommendations are made:

- Asylum remains a Human Rights Obligation to be fulfilled by European countries and this is a central element to be constantly acknowledged and restated.
- Promote a comprehensive multi-dimensional approach to integration (employment, housing, language, education, social rights, etc.) as early as possible.
- Strengthen the focus of policy intervention at the local level on employment and skills development.
- Restrictions in asylum procedures may have a number of negative effects, increasing the number of irregular immigrants living of expedients and reducing the effectiveness of integration policies, as well as increasing social tensions in reception areas.
- Increase the involvement of local institutions and civil society organisations in reception and integration policies.
- Learn from successful/unsuccessful experience to improve monitoring and evaluation systems, as well as related data collection.
- Improve EU support towards the specific challenges and needs faced by arrival, transit and destination regions across Europe.



#### **ESPON 2020 - More information**

**ESPON EGTC** 

4 rue Erasme, L-1468 Luxembourg - Grand Duchy of Luxembourg

Phone: +352 20 600 280 Email: info@espon.eu

www.espon.eu, Twitter, LinkedIn, YouTube

The ESPON EGTC is the Single Beneficiary of the ESPON 2020 Cooperation Programme. The Single Operation within the programme is implemented by the ESPON EGTC and co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund, the EU Member States and the Partner States, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland.