



Security for Whom? Europe in an Era of Forced Migration A Workshop Report on Human Security and State Security

*A Joint Policy Project of the Boston Consortium for Arab Region Studies,
The German Marshall Fund of the U.S., and the Initiative on Forced Migration and Human Trafficking*
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I.

Letter from the Director



Dear Friends and Colleagues,

The Syrian refugee crisis is one of the greatest humanitarian crises of our time; nearly seven years after it began, managing the crisis requires meaningful partnerships between practitioners rooted in the Arab Region, an informed research community, and international policy makers and humanitarian aid communities.

Together, these communities must address both the human security and state security needs associated with this crisis.

The Boston Consortium for Arab Region Studies (BCARS) was founded in 2013 to advance knowledge and understanding of the Arab Region through collaborative research and policy analysis.

We seek to enable scholars of the region to investigate problems and propose policy solutions,

in partnership with regional and international policymakers and

practitioners such as UN agencies; EU and Arab ministries; and international and local NGOs and civil society organizations.

By 2015, our attention became especially focused on the Syrian civil war, the internal displacement of millions of Syrian citizens, and the massive refugee crisis that affected Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey as well as Balkan states and elsewhere across Europe.

Throughout 2017 and 2018, through workshops and field research, BCARS scholars and practitioners (from **the US, Arab Region, and Europe**) have worked to provide original research and analysis to better inform policymakers' actions.

The BCARS network expands as needed and builds on personal relationships with refugees, government representatives, UN and EU officials, security personnel, advisors, humanitarian practitioners,

academics, and community leaders across the globe to produce numerous publications and briefings, including our [policy paper series](#), and provides contextualized **policy recommendations** to researchers and concerned actors.

Our June 2018 workshop in Berlin, held at the offices of the German Marshall Fund of the U.S., included representatives from Frontex, Fraunhofer Society, UNHCR, GIZ, German humanitarian NGOs, the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), ISPSW (Institute for Strategic, Political, Security, and Economic Consultancy), and Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, and Boston University, among others.

With this array of thoughtful participants, we focused our discussion on the challenges and threats facing the EU at the intersection of border and human security.

I.

Letter from the Director



The workshop provided the space for experts to come together and identify areas where policymakers can focus their efforts and where the BCARS network can pursue further research and policy analysis.

We will continue this line of inquiry and generate more detailed policy recommendations on these and related policy challenges that emerge between the Arab-European nexus.

For this Berlin workshop and policy report, I am especially grateful for the partnership we have with the German Marshall Fund of the U.S. (GMFUS) and their office in Berlin, as well as Boston University's Initiative on Forced Migration and Human Trafficking (FMHT).


GMFUS and FMHT were instrumental in helping us arrange this dynamic workshop, bringing together these diverse perspectives to generate ideas and recommendations as to how European actors can leverage innovative practices being employed throughout the Arab Region to address state and

human security concerns associated with the refugee presence in the EU.

As the Syrian and other refugee crises persist, the challenges for European government, security, intelligence, and humanitarian actors continue.

We welcome all feedback and suggestions for further action, research, and policy recommendations.

Denis J. Sullivan
**Director, Boston Consortium
for Arab Region Studies
February 2019**



*We want to conceptualize refugees in Europe
as a 'short-term' issue ... however, a different,
'mid-term' perspective is needed to change the
conversation around policy.*

WORKSHOP PARTICIPANT, 2018

II.

Why this Workshop?

Background to the Refugee “Crisis” in Europe



The political effects of refugee flows from the Middle East present the EU with a wide range of challenges, including those related to border security, information sharing, and intelligence. At the same time, refugees coming to the EU face immediate human security challenges as well as numerous obstacles to social cohesion and economic integration.

Turkey, Lebanon, and Jordan (and other countries of the Middle East) also have faced enormous challenges receiving refugees. Moreover, these three countries alone (with a

combined population of less than 100 million people, i.e., one-fifth the population of Europe) have hosted and cared for six times the number of refugees that Europe has received.

These three countries have and continue to demonstrate examples of best practices of how to manage the human security challenges they face in this era of unprecedented forced migration. Opportunities for EU policymakers to analyze what has worked in the Middle East and apply

those strategies to relevant locations in Europe exist. Identifying these precise challenges and new approaches to addressing them in the European context serves as the driving force behind our thinking and recommendations.

This report and its policy recommendations aim to fairly represent the comments made by workshop participants, and therefore do not necessarily represent the opinions of BCARS, GMFUS, or FMHT.

III.

Executive Summary of Recommendations: *On Intelligence and Information Sharing*

Intelligence coordination and information sharing is essential.

Terrorism, organized crime, human trafficking, and smuggling all pose threats to the EU in this era of forced migration. Closer coordination amongst different stakeholders operating in the security space and information sharing amongst these actors can combat these threats, with the recognition that border crossings are not the only vulnerable areas and refugees not the only population that needs surveilling.

Protecting refugee data and respecting privacy is the other essential piece. Collecting refugees' personal data is essential to security efforts but can and must be done in ways that respect new EU data protection standards to preserve the dignity of refugees regarding their personal information.

How can we communicate, translate, and disseminate these ideas to policymakers and the public at large?

WORKSHOP PARTICIPANT, 2018



III.

Executive Summary of Recommendations:

On the Tension Between Human and Border Security:

Digital solutions should be further explored. Digital solutions that enable refugees to vet themselves, i.e. provide other forms of documentation not traditionally recognized by the state to verify their identities, and create a ‘virtual paper trail’ can be a solution that balances both the state’s need for information with the refugee’s desire to have agency over their identity, while also potentially avoiding the bureaucratic drawbacks of non-digital methods.

Awareness around human trafficking versus smuggling should be increased. More awareness around the differences between these two phenomena on the part of law enforcement and NGOs is a critical step in helping these bodies correctly identify the signs of each and better serve at-risk populations.

Mis-classification of “vulnerability” can prevent refugees from receiving appropriate assistance. The current emphasis on physical, visible trauma as vulnerability criteria in refugee response efforts results in psychological vulnerabilities being overlooked.

Furthermore, arbitrary classification of who is a migrant and who is a refugee can make certain refugee groups more (or less) vulnerable since assistance is often dependent on status.



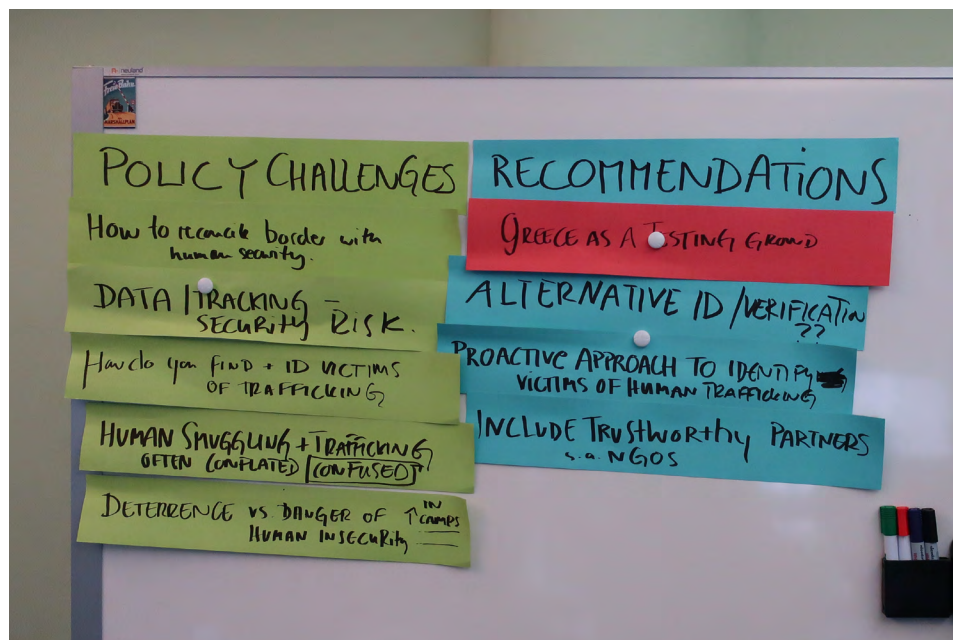
III.

Executive Summary of Recommendations: *On Integration and Social Cohesion of Refugees*

Supporting vulnerable local communities as well as refugees is essential. Examples from Jordan, Turkey, and Lebanon demonstrate how initiatives that also address the needs of vulnerable local populations alongside refugee needs have decreased obstacles to social cohesion.

“Assets not burdens”: Framing refugees as “contributors” versus “beneficiaries” is key. At both a political and societal level, campaigns and initiatives that demonstrate refugees’ ability to contribute economically and socially to new communities has helped build traction around social cohesion and improve integration outcomes.

Leveraging all available actors is a must. Close cooperation between humanitarian agencies, development actors, donors, and the private sector has been crucial in encouraging integration and social cohesion. Particularly, enabling refugees to work (formally, legally) has been crucial.



IV.

Framing the Berlin Workshop: *Policy Questions*

The following questions became the principal ones we used to frame the Berlin Workshop:

What is the importance of intelligence sharing in managing the flow of people into and throughout the EU?

How can we reconcile the need of states to secure their borders while also protecting the human rights and security of migrants?

How might Jordan, Turkey, Lebanon, and other nations in the Middle East with significant refugee populations offer examples to the EU as its member states develop policies on social cohesion and economic integration of refugees?

These were just some of the discussion questions that workshop participants used to explore European security challenges in the context of forced migration.

Participants included a select group of approximately 25 expert researchers and practitioners from Europe (especially Germany), the Arab Region, and the United States. The goal of the workshop was to identify current policy challenges and recommendation on EU and national security issues focused on: *intelligence cooperation, border security, and human security.*

Additionally, the workshop explored how some Middle East countries are managing the integration of newcomers in their societies and security implications for their countries and the region as a whole.

The organizers chose Berlin as the site for obvious reasons. Berlin serves as the backdrop for an ongoing and complex debate on refugee integration. The welcoming and humanitarian language of the German government can be seen at odds with the challenging

and contentious environment that greets refugees as they attempt to navigate a new city. Additionally, GMFUS' presence and strong partnerships in Berlin helped make the workshop possible.

The workshop consisted of three key discussions, with expert inputs followed by open discussion and Q&A amongst experts and participants; we convened under a modified form of "Chatham House Rules"; i.e., participants would be free to use the information from the workshop, but neither the identity nor the affiliation of the speakers, nor that of any other participant, may be specified in relation to a particular statement or set of views.

Discussion I focused on intelligence cooperation in Europe and beyond; Discussion II centered on human and border security as they relate to forced migration; and Discussion III explored refugee and migrant integration and sustained social cohesion in the Middle East.

IV.

Framing the Berlin Workshop: *Intelligence Cooperation in Europe and Beyond*

WORKSHOP FRAMING QUESTION:

What is the importance of intelligence sharing in managing the flow of people into and throughout the EU?

While the number of border crossings classified by states as “illegal” is steadily declining, there remain several land crossing points for refugees into the EU and many people are still moving across them.

The existence and utilization of these crossing points require that states consider, as part of border management writ large, issues of counter-terrorism and organized crime. Intelligence cooperation and intelligence sharing therefore become key tools in combating crime and terrorism and become particularly relevant to refugee populations entering the EU.

Coordinated security efforts between EU states help identify threats, but also require the collection of refugees’ personal data, a task that is becoming increasingly difficult due to European data protection standards and a lack of standardization in collection and dissemination methods.

While intelligence sharing in this context remains essential, it is important to note that intelligence systems have both political and operational functions.

Two different agendas have emerged in Europe in the wake of the refugee crisis. First, the **operational** agenda, wherein states needed to take action and demonstrate that borders were being monitored and policed.

Second, the **political** agenda, wherein states moved to integrate police into internal security sectors, increasing cooperation and information sharing among member states. Linking security actors, increasing information sharing, and integrating police into a centralized security mandate moves both of these agendas—the operational and the political—forward.

Challenges remain, to be sure. On paper, these agencies are able to talk to each other, share information, and work in collaboration; but implementation of these policies remains a hurdle.

Furthermore, questions of data protection, privacy, and human rights remain an ever-present challenge in the digital age of data-sharing and

intelligence cooperation. Considering the increase in intelligence cooperation and information sharing among EU member states for security purposes in response to the refugee crisis, our participants questioned a potential culture shift wherein border agencies become equal partners in the counter-terrorism landscape.

While increased securitization of borders is evident, some participants concluded that this does not mean border security imperatives have been subsumed by counter-terrorism concerns for several reasons.

First, not all EU member states share similar terrorism concerns; second, the presence of foreign fighters (i.e. EU citizens who join Da’esh/ISIS) is a long-term intelligence question and not a border security issue; and third, the EU needs the ability to track terrorist movement and activity around the world, not only at borders. The need to create a common operational picture is clear for EU states hoping to increase border security.

However, creating this picture cannot come at the expense of human rights and data protection for refugees.

IV.

Framing the Berlin Workshop:

Human Security and Border Security in the Context of Forced Migration

WORKSHOP FRAMING QUESTION:

How does the EU reconcile the need for border protection with an equal need for human security?

Workshop participants agreed on the need to balance border security imperatives with human security concerns. Protecting borders and internal security necessitates that states collect data on migrating populations, including unaccompanied minors. Migrants and refugees must protect their identities and their documents.

Digital solutions that enable refugees to present themselves and verify their identities through non-traditional, state-sanctioned methods and create a paper trail can be a solution that balances both the state's need for information with the refugee's right to have agency and protect their identity; it may also avoid bureaucratic flaws found in non-digital methods.

Participants also highlighted the importance of distinguishing between human smuggling and human trafficking and argued that

law enforcement as well as NGO and civil society organizations understand these differences in order to better serve *both* of these distinct, at-risk populations.

Specifically, the ability for law enforcement agencies and NGOs to better identify victims of human trafficking will aid these bodies in being better interlocutors with potential victims.

As it stands now, it is easier for law enforcement agencies to prove that refugees were smuggled (and therefore “at fault”) than it is to prove that they were trafficked (and therefore the victim of a crime).

Better awareness will make law enforcement agencies and NGOs more effective at addressing the needs of both trafficked and smuggled persons; arguably, it could enable victims of human trafficking to be more willing to come forward and interact with law enforcement.

Finally, in this session, participants also identified issues around different classifications and criteria for vulnerability as they pertain to refugee populations in Europe.

Currently, there is an emphasis on *physical trauma* as the primary vulnerability criteria in refugee response efforts, and the result is that *psychological* (and less visible) vulnerabilities are not properly assessed or addressed.

Additionally, arbitrary classification of who is a migrant and who is a refugee, a distinction often based on nationality rather than circumstance, makes certain refugee groups more (or less) vulnerable.

Ultimately, in terms of balancing border and human security in an era of forced migration, European governments, NGOs, and civil society must work together to reconcile humanitarian imperatives with the realities refugees are facing on the ground.

Providing assistance that better addresses refugees' protection needs is vital and can be done while simultaneously balancing security requirements. Advancing the ways we identify, track, and classify refugees (all of which contribute to state security) can also help service providers and governments better address the human security needs of refugees as well.

IV.

Framing the Berlin Workshop:

Refugee and Migrant Integration and Sustained Social Cohesion

With more than 25 million refugees around the world, nearly half are from the Middle East and **over 7 million** are hosted in Jordan, Turkey, and Lebanon alone.

Given how these three states deal with international legal norms (the 1951 Refugee Convention especially), none of them are obligated to host refugees. Still, all three have hosted refugees for decades and are on the front lines of refugee service-provision for Syrians fleeing conflict.

Integrating refugees to varying degrees within their societies and encouraging sustained social cohesion are challenges faced by these countries alongside humanitarian and security imperatives.

Examining the ways that Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey have found to manage this delicate balancing act can yield important insights for EU countries that face similar, and in many ways more pronounced, integration and social cohesion challenges.

The governments in Jordan, Turkey, and Lebanon acknowledge the importance of treating their own

vulnerable communities with equal gravity as refugees; these governments argue that for every dollar or euro the UNHCR and aid agencies spend on refugees, a similar (if not fully equal) level of support should be given to vulnerable Jordanians, Turks, and Lebanese.

Turkey and Jordan (perhaps soon Lebanon will join) are considering ways to reframe “refugees”: rather than “beneficiaries” and “burdens” on their budgets and societies, there is movement toward seeing refugees as “contributors” and maybe even “assets.”

WORKSHOP FRAMING QUESTION:

How can the EU collaborate and exchange information with Middle Eastern countries to contribute to the development of policies on labor markets, education, social cohesion and integration?

Participants acknowledged that such an enlightened response has not truly taken root with local populations in Jordan, Turkey, and Lebanon. Still, while governments (and the UNHCR) avoid discussions of “refugee integration,” all agree on the need to promote social cohesion (between and among the refugee and local communities).

Jordan and Turkey have moved considerably forward toward refugees being able to work (formally, legally)—and thus be regulated, better monitored, and paying taxes into government coffers.

IV.

Framing the Berlin Workshop:

Refugee and Migrant Integration and Sustained Social Cohesion

Despite such efforts and positive movements, participants noted that resources in Jordan, Turkey, and Lebanon are scarce and that, even if refugees are economic contributors, they also require more assistance in the form of financial and humanitarian aid given the high levels of vulnerability among refugees currently residing in these countries.

In terms of how the EU can leverage these efforts and adapt them to a European context, participants stressed that the EU needs to create real immigration possibilities; if a refugee can become a genuine con-

tributor, protected status should be achievable for those arriving in the EU legally.

Additionally, identifying where labor shortages currently exist and opening up opportunities for refugees to work formally to help fill those shortages is a significant way to facilitate refugee integration into labor markets.

However, participants were wary of possibilities for refugee exploitation in less regulated economic sectors; this is the reality for tens of thousands of refugees in Jordan,

Turkey, and Lebanon who work informally and under-the-table.

Participants raised the concern that viewing refugee integration simply through an economic lens can also lead to distorted views of refugee women and children as economic “dead weight.” Therefore, re-framing a humanitarian issue in solely economic terms is not the solution; rather, refugees need to be seen as being able to contribute to their host societies in multiple ways: socially, culturally, politically, and economically.



V.

Moving Forward

How can European actors leverage best practices being employed in the Arab Region to address state and human concerns associated with the refugee presence in the EU? This workshop provided a springboard for that thinking.

The challenges faced by refugees and the states, NGOs, and institutions that host and assist them are unprecedented; the current era of forced migration has more people on the move around the world than ever before.

These challenges are manageable but require policy adaptations to make more effective use of EU human resources, capital, and political will, leveraging experience and expertise from Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey where applicable.

The key challenge the EU faces is balancing its border security dilemmas with the pressing human security needs. Issues of information sharing and policing may seem distinct from (or even at odds with) issues of social cohesion and

integration; viewing these areas as critical to both state and human security will serve policymakers well moving forward.

Finding ways to address human dignity, humanitarian imperatives, and social cohesion efforts alongside the concrete and pressing security issues faced by the EU in this era of forced migration will be critical in the coming years, as the drivers of displacement continue to compel people onward.

We encourage policymakers, practitioners, and academics to reference this document as they formulate tailored solutions to the nuanced and complex challenges faced by EU states and refugees attempting to resettle there.

BCARS and GMFUS welcome critiques of our findings and we welcome opportunities to discuss these and other ideas.

We thank all participants for their valuable contributions to this report.

We all, in a sense, created this discourse, this image of the vulnerable, needy refugee...we need to rethink this discourse, as well as the policy and humanitarian programming addressing forced migration.

WORKSHOP PARTICIPANT, 2018

VI.

Acknowledgements

BCARS is grateful to its partner institutions, the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMFUS), in Berlin, Germany and Boston University's Initiative on Forced Migration and Human Trafficking (FMHT).

This document is a result of a collaborative fact-finding and discussion process convened under a modified form of the “Chatham House Rule”; in other words, although participants are free to use the information from the workshop, neither the identity nor the affiliation of the speakers, nor that of any other participant, is specified in relation to a particular statement or set of views.

Every effort has been made to provide a clear and accurate overview of participants’ views and comments.

The views expressed herein do not necessarily represent those of BCARS, GMFUS, FMHT, or any other partners.

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VI.

Acknowledgements



BCARS, the Boston Consortium for Arab Region Studies, is an international network in which policymakers, practitioners, and scholars from the United States, Europe, and the Arab Region meet and work collaboratively to advance policy and research, strengthen a scholarly community, and mentor the next generation of policy analysts and scholars, especially for understanding the Arab Region.

BCARS was founded in 2013 in response to the Arab Uprisings of 2010 and the resulting challenges facing the citizens and governments of the Arab Region. Our current research and policy analysis explore the nexus of citizenship, civil society, human rights, and migration across the Arab Region. We convene our research and policy workshops primarily in Boston, Cairo, and Beirut; we also work with local partners in Amman, Berlin, Istanbul, Thessaloniki, and Belgrade.

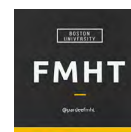
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The German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF) strengthens transatlantic cooperation on regional, national, and global challenges and opportunities in the spirit of the Marshall Plan. GMF contributes research and analysis and convenes leaders on transatlantic issues relevant to policymakers.

Founded in 1972 as a non-partisan, non-profit organization through a gift from Germany as a permanent memorial to Marshall Plan assistance, GMF maintains a strong presence on both sides of the Atlantic. In addition to its headquarters in Washington, D.C., GMF has offices in Berlin, Paris, Brussels, Belgrade, Ankara, Bucharest, and Warsaw. GMF also has smaller representations in Bratislava, Turin, and Stockholm.

www.gmfus.org



The Initiative on Forced Migration and Human Trafficking (FMHT) brings together students, scholars, practitioners and policy-makers to support research, education, and advocacy on the pressing issues of forced migration and human trafficking.

By drawing specialists from a broad range of fields, FMHT facilitates discussion and crafting of more comprehensive policies to propose to various stakeholders in humanitarian assistance. FMHT was founded in March 2015 at the Pardee School of Global Studies, Boston University.

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www.bu.edu/pardeeschool/research/fmht/