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# Beyond Symbolic Solidarity? Refugee Burden-Sharing Initiatives in Europe

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# Outline

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- Conceptual clarification
- How are burdens distributed? Why so unequal?
- EU burden-sharing initiatives



# Conceptualising Solidarity & Burden-Sharing

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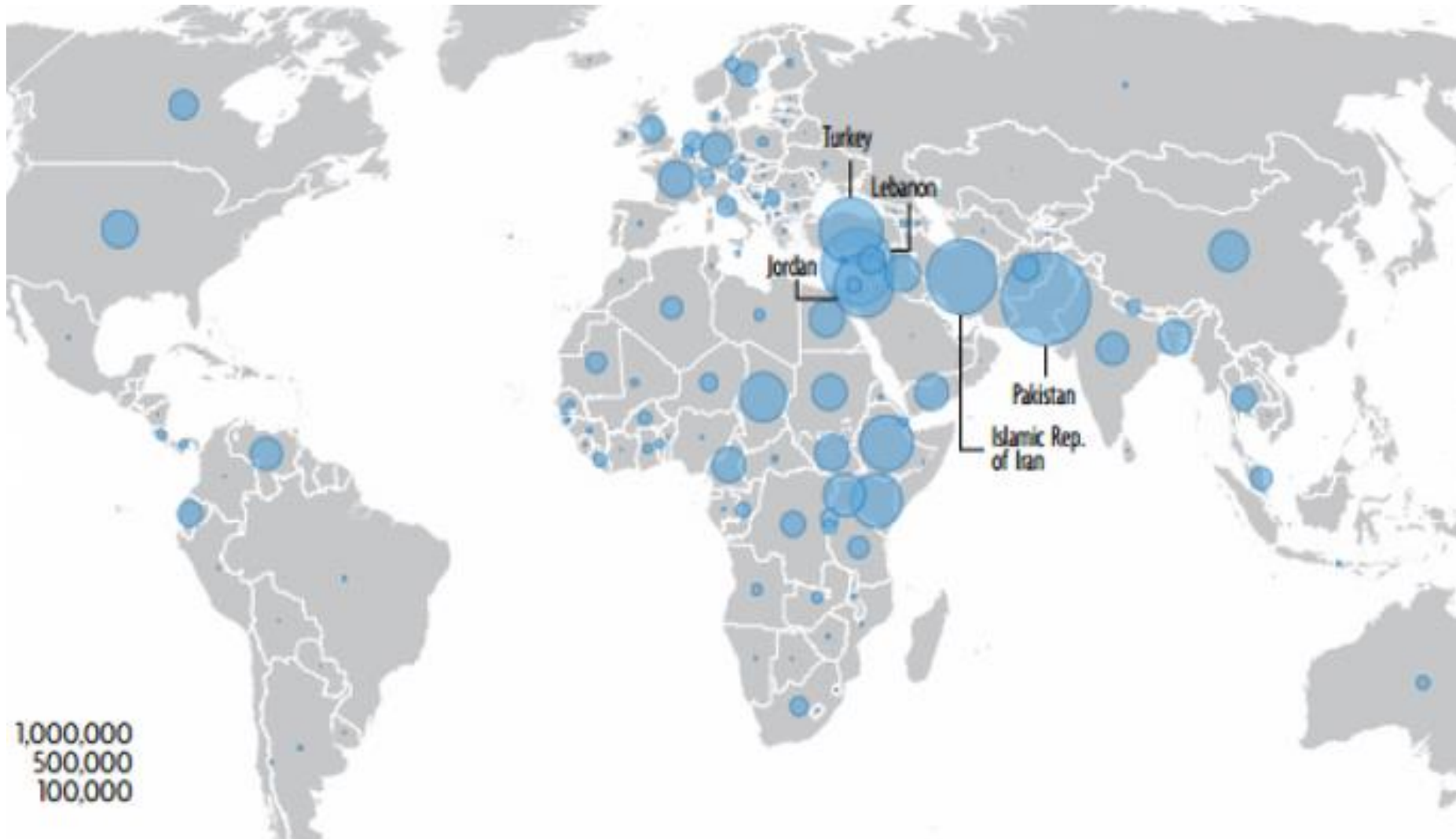
- 1. Target (refugees, host communities)
- 2. Level (global, regional, bi-lateral, subnational)
- 3. Type (symbolic, substantive)



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# Who's hosting the world's refugees?

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# How can unequal distribution of 'burdens' be explained?

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- Migration literature
  - Structural pull factors
  - Policies (national, EU)
- Public goods literature
  - Free-riding & burden-shifting



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# Refugee Routes into Europe

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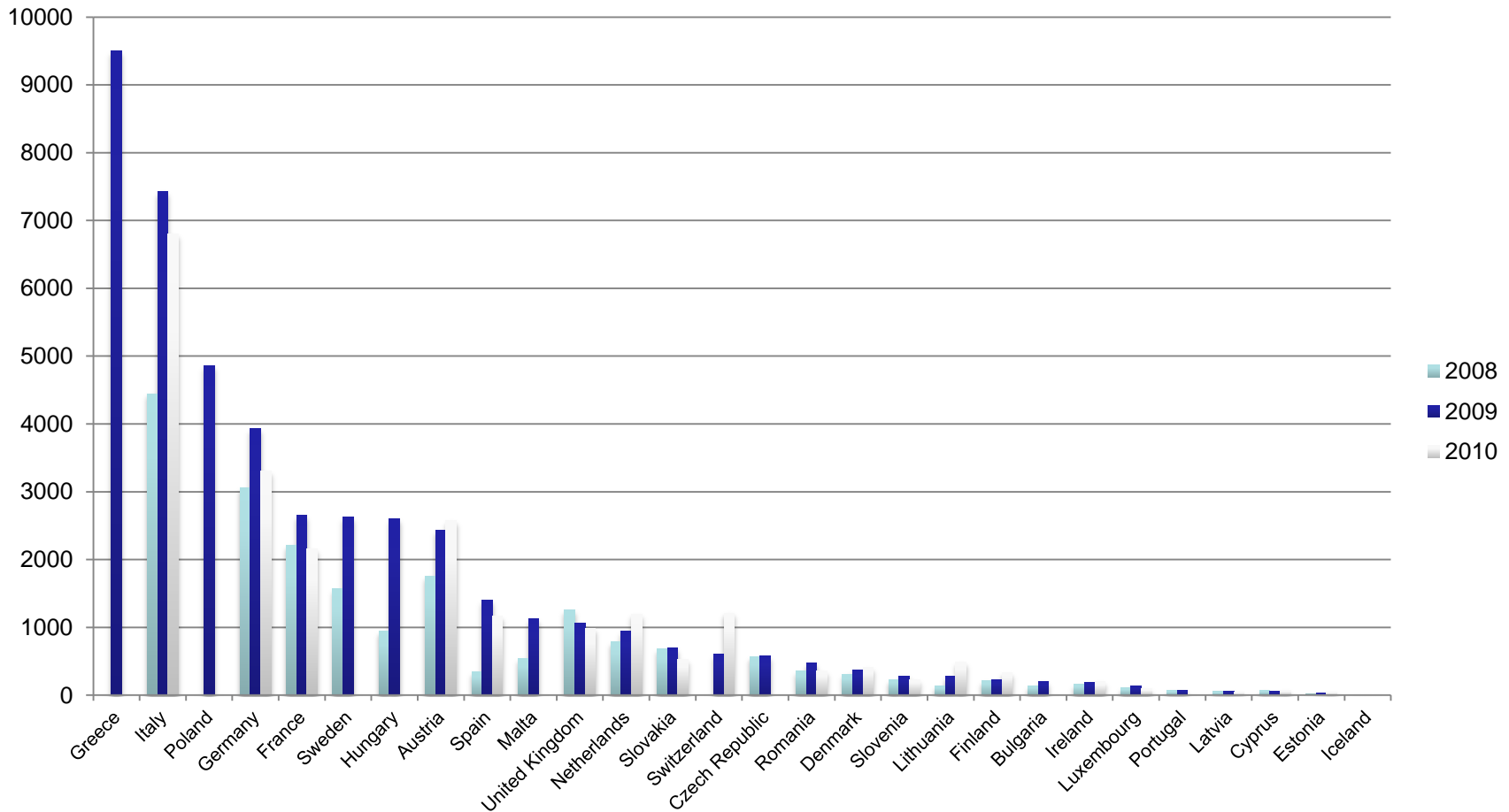




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# Number of Transfer Requests Received by EU Member States under Dublin

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# Types of Principal Refugee Burden-Sharing Mechanisms

	<b>Sharing Money/ Resources</b>	<b>Sharing People</b>
Voluntary	Practical Cooperation Measures (e.g. secondments)	Mass Influx Directive, EUREMA
Binding	ERF	Refugee Distribution Key & Relocation





# 2015 Quota Initiatives Distribution Key Criteria

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- + size of the population (40%)
- +total GDP (40%)
- - average number of asylum applications over the previous four years (10%)
- - unemployment rate (10%)



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# The EU Emergency Quota and Relocation Schemes

(May&Sep/2015)

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# Commission Communication on Future Reforms of EU Asylum System, 6 April 2016

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- Option 1: Dublin + corrective quota mechanism
- Option 2: Dublin replaced by permanent quota mechanism



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# The Impact of Quotas

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Higher than the quota



Lower than the quota



From a New York Times analysis of demographic, economic and asylum data for each country. Note: Britain, Denmark and Ireland are exempt from the new relocation proposal.



# Challenges faced by quota-based allocation & relocation

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departure from principle of 'double-voluntarism' challenges:

- State sovereignty
- Individual rights



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# Can these concerns be addressed?

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Need for accompanying measures:

- EU minimum standards, judicial safeguards, centralised determination
- Transition mechanism, emergency clauses, resource transfer, sanctions
- Accelerated free movement rights, preference matching, sanctions



# Summing Up

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- Quota-based relocation will continue to face opposition and problems
- But what alternatives? Substantive solidarity unlikely in a burden-sharing system based on 'double voluntarism'
- High stakes for both refugees and the EU