

Vienna Migration Conference 2019

Breaking gridlocks and moving forward Recommendations for the next five years of EU migration policy



Content

Opening	03
Speakers	06
High-Level Political Panel	09
Opening of 2 nd day and setting the scene	23
Panel I	31
Panel II	49
Charting the way forward	63
Conclusion	71
Roundtables	75
Agenda	

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Vienna Migration Conference 2019

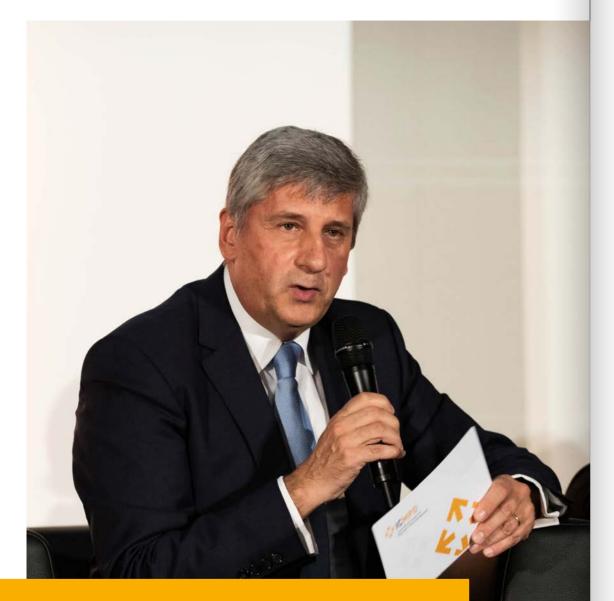
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Breaking gridlocks and moving forward Recommendations for the next five years of EU migration policy

Opening Vienna Migration Conference 2019

2019 was a special year for EU migration policy. Director General Michael Spindelegger opened the conference with a reference to the European elections of spring 2019 that decided over the composition of a new Parliament and a new Commission. Thus, any outlook for the next five years has to acknowledge that migration issues will remain among the greatest concerns of European citizens and consequently must remain high on the agenda of European policymakers as well. But 2019 was also the year to celebrate the anniversary of the Tampere Conclusions. Due to the lively and polarised debate, it is sometimes forgotten that it was only twenty years ago that European leaders decided to build a Common Asylum and Migration Policy. Twenty years ago, there was no migration acquis, no visa facilitation, no Fundamental Rights Agency, no Frontex and no EASO. There were no EU readmission agreements, no mobility partnerships and no EU Blue Card to facilitate skilled migration. There were no instruments like the Valetta Action Plan, the EU Trust Fund or the Migration Partnership Framework, which have elevated cooperation with partner countries to a new level. Last but not least, Tampere was one of the first occasions where immigrant integration was mentioned at the political level of the EU. Today, many Member States implement well-tested integration policies whose principles are not questioned anymore. The list of such examples is long. What can be concluded from them is that the EU and its Member States have built an impressive system in a very short time span. But it is also obvious that this system was not fully equipped to deal with the situation of 2015. The so-called refugee crisis revealed that Europe was not ready and that a lot of work remains to be done.

Following the European elections this spring, the incoming head of the Commission, Ursula von der Leyen, has made clear that migration will be one of the absolute priorities of her presidency. The broad lines of the political programme are defined and correspond closely to ICMPD's own thoughts on the matter. In light of the European elections, ICMPD devoted the year 2019 to defining its own views of what should happen in the next phase of European migration policymaking. In line with the theme of the 2019 VMC, the programme was entitled "Breaking Gridlocks and Moving Forward". The title was chosen because gridlock is a situation where the respective positions are so different that they block each other and nobody can move ahead. In many ways this resembles the situation in the European Union in the area of migration. And since no single solution could bring together all the different positions, this gridlock must



We must leave the political controversy revealed by the 2015 crisis behind and use the momentum of the election year to hit the reset button in EU migration policymaking.

Michael Spindelegger Director General International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD) VIENNA MIGRATION CONFERENCE 2019

OPENING

be overcome slowly and on a step by step basis. In this regard, ICMPD proposes a total of seventy points in the following eight main areas: renew a common vision of international protection in Europe and beyond, secure the external borders, safeguard Schengen, develop more effective return policies, establish a proactive European labour migration policy, put renewed emphasis of integration on the European agenda, finalise the integration of the Western Balkan countries in the European migration system, and last but not least promote even broader cooperation with partner countries outside Europe.

In order to break the current gridlock, the EU Member States must also recommit themselves to a common vision, approach and system. Europe needs a reformed migration agenda that is developed and supported by all partners and has a clear concept of what exactly it wants to achieve. This can only be managed if the political controversy revealed by the 2015 crisis is left behind and the momentum of the election year is used for hitting the reset button of EU migration policymaking.

Regarding the overall question of what should be done to unlock the political gridlock on migration, the main objective of the 2019 VMC was to help to identify common ground, define priority areas for action and broaden the base for joint political action. Its aim is to discuss and answer several key questions. What promising ways exist to prove Europe's ability to manage migration more effectively? How can the new EU leadership be used as an opportunity to further the reform agenda on migration? What priorities should be followed to move towards a renewed European vision and agenda for migration? How should the regional dimension and cooperation between the Union and its neighbours – in particular, the enlargement countries – be addressed? And finally, how might all these efforts be embedded in well-functioning strategic communication and a convincing public narrative on migration? Carmelo Abela | Minister, Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Trade Promotion, Malta

Natasha Bertaud | Deputy Chief Spokesperson, European Commission

İsmail Çataklı | Deputy Minister, Ministry of the Interior, Turkey

Laura Corrado | Head of Unit, Legal Pathways and Integration, Directorate General for Migration and Home Affairs, European Commission

Jessica Däbritz | Head of Directorate, Directorate for Migration, Refugees, European Harmonisation, Federal Ministry of the Interior, Building and Community, Germany

Sedef Dearing | Head of the Budapest Process Secretariat and Regional Coordinator for the Silk Routes Region, ICMPD

Amr El-Sherbini | Deputy Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs for Refugees, Migration and Combatting Trafficking in Persons, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Egyp

Marta Foresti | Director, Human Mobility Initiative, Overseas Development Institute

Lukas Gehrke | Deputy Director General, Director of Policy, Research and Strategy, ICMPD

Ralph Genetzke | Director, Head of Brussels Mission, ICMPD

Nina Gregori | Executive Director, European Asylum Support Office

Virginie Guiraudon | Research Director, National Centre for Scientific Research, Centre for European Studies and Comparative Politics, Sciences Po

Daan Huisinga | Deputy Director General, Directorate-General International Migration, Ministry of Justice and Security, The Netherlands

Georg Kapsch | President, Federation of Austrian Industries

Giorgos Koumoutsakos | Alternate Minister for Migration Policy, Ministry of Citizen Protection, Greece

Christian Leffler | Deputy Secretary General, European External Action Service

Vincenzo Mascioli | Director, International Cooperation Directorate, State Secretariat for Migration, Switzerland **Ece Özbayoğlu Acarsoy** | Deputy Director General, Deputy Directorate General for Immigration Asylum and Visa, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkeyn

Grainne O'Hara | Director, Division of International Protection, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Ece Özbayoğlu Acarsoy | Deputy Director General, Deputy Directorate General for Immigration, Asylum and Visa, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey

Cláudia Pereira | State Secretary for Integration and Migration, Ministry of State and Presidency, Portugal

Wolfgang Peschorn | Federal Minister, Federal Ministry of the Interior, Austria

Martijn Pluim | Director, Migration Dialogues and Cooperation, ICMPD

Ilkka Salmi | Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Interior, Finland

Mark Schieritz | Political Correspondent, Die Zeit

Michael Spindelegger | Director General, ICMPD

Péter Szijjártó | Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Hungary

Gonzalo Vargas Llosa | Regional Representative of the UNHCR Regional Representation for EU Affairs, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Peter Webinger | Director General, Directorate-General for Migration, Federal Ministry of the Interior, Austria

Alexandra Wilton Wahren | Director General for Legal Affairs, Migration and Asylum, Ministry of Justice, Sweden

HIGH-LEVEL POLITICAL PANEL

Priorities and goals for sustainable and comprehensive European migration responses

High-level political panel

The first panel gathered high-level political decisionmakers from European Union Member States, non-EU partners and EU agencies. It took stock of the political developments since 2015 and discussed the political priorities but also the obstacles for the next five years of EU migration policy.

Péter Szijiártó, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade in Hungary, presented the main points of Hungary's migration and asylum policy, which have caused some controversy in the European debate. Minister Szijjártó emphasised that the Hungarian government stands for a clear anti-migration policy and acknowledged that this position might go against the mainstream in Europe. This policy is based on three aspects. The first aspect is the will of the people. The Hungarian people have expressed their opinion about the government's migration policy on several occasions. In the national and European elections of 2018 and 2019, where parties promoted clearly differing migration policies, the government's position on migration was confirmed by a big margin of votes. The second aspect pertains to the experience of 2015 when 400.000 irregular migrants transited through the country. The Hungarian population made clear that they expected the government to stop these flows and to prevent them from happening again. The third aspect involves the government's conviction that refugees should stay in the first countries they cross during their flight and not attempt to reach destinations in the EU. The EU should apply the principle of bringing help where it is needed, creating circumstances for refugees to be able to stay where they are or creating circumstances for them to return. The government implements a policy called "Hungary helps", under which it has spent forty million US dollars in Iraq, Syria and Lebanon to help people either to stay or to return to their home communities. Furthermore, Minister Szijjártó emphasised that his government would never accept or implement obligatory guotas on the relocation and dissemination of asylum seekers among EU Member States. Hungary acknowledges that other Member States have a different position but would not be willing to change its own. Important priorities for EU policy should be to take very seriously the tackling of root causes and to support Turkey in its efforts to address the situation of Syrian refugees in the country. Finally, Minister Szijjártó expressed his hope that the new Commission will relaunch the enlargement process and that the EU will be able to welcome the countries from the Western Balkans as new Member States soon.

Situated at the EU's external borders along one of the main irregular migration routes to Europe, Malta is one of the "first-line" or "frontline" Member States, which view joint solutions based on solidarity and responsibility-sharing as inevitable for better addressing their own challenges. **Carmelo Abela, Minister, Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Trade Promotion, Malta**, emphasised that his government's perspective should be also be seen from Malta's geography, which necessitates a pragmatic and practical approach. Migration is perceived as a complex and challenging issue. Thus, one needs to note that twenty years ago, migration flows to Europe were much smaller in size and



I really do hope that the new Commission will relaunch the enlargement process of the European Union and that we will be able to welcome the countries from the Western Balkans into the European Union. We need a success story, and enlargement definitely can be the one.

Péter Szijjártó Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Hungary the EU needs to adapt to the current state of play. In many ways, the EU still applies rules that were designed for significantly fewer people coming to Europe, and Europe needs to adapt to the new circumstances. How should the EU tackle this complex issue? First, Minister Abela emphasised, Europe must never forget that irrespective of numbers, the discussion is about human beings who are leaving their home countries of origin for a reason. Europe should look at the issue from a positive and proactive approach. One element of this approach is to develop a new narrative towards Africa an approach that understands Europeans and Africans as partners and where both sides engage not only in migration but work together on trade, investment and creating opportunities for the young generations in African partner countries. In the medium to long-term this kind of investment and cooperation will pay off and induce fewer people to leave and more people to wish to return. The second element is to better promote a balanced approach in the EU. Europe needs to understand that its geography dictates that one should not look the other way when it comes to migrants risking their own life and when it comes to saying the lives of these people. The third aspect is solidarity among the Member States. They need to support each other and show solidarity with others who might be under more pressure at a particular time. Malta's hope and wish is that the new Commission and the Member States will work together to achieve effective solidarity or at least try to explore new ways and means of how they can work and cooperate on all aspects of migration. In all of this, the EU needs to be realistic about the migration challenge and about the difficulty of putting a simple stop to it. Consequently, the EU needs to focus on better managing the issue based on the acknowledgement that it is not an issue for Europe alone but a global issue and as a global issue it should be addressed globally as well.

Five years after the so-called migration crisis, the European debate is still dominated by the issues of protection and irregular migration. The debate should, however, not ignore the equally important aspects of legal and labour migration. In her remarks, Cláudia Pereira, State Secretary for Integration and Migration at the Ministry of State and Presidency of Portugal, stressed the positive side of migration. Population ageing is one of the worrying demographic trends of the 21st century and Portugal is one of the countries in Europe with the highest proportion of elderly. Over the last eight years the country has lost almost one million people because of demographic trends and emigration. During the last two years the number of immigrants in Portugal has increased but in a rather moderate way. Portugal has benefited from this trend in terms of its economy and winning new talent and ideas but also in terms of social security. The Portuguese system has achieved a positive net balance of more than 650 million euros thanks to immigrants in the country. As regards EU migration policy, Portugal thinks Member States should have autonomy in migration but considers their cooperation essential with respect to proposals for the European agenda. First, they should cooperate to control migration, where a much stronger focus should be on institutions and employers. Ultimately one must be aware that in nearly all

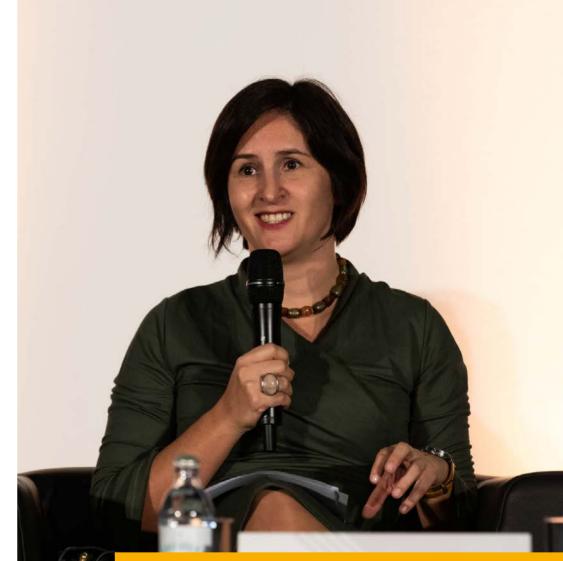


I think that the narrative, the approach that we Europeans need to take with Africa is that we are partners, that we engage with them, that we need to work with them.

Carmelo Abela Minister, Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Trade Promotion, Malta

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HIGH-LEVEL POLITICAL PANEL





We should have a global and permanent European solution, discuss that and work on that with the Europear Commission. That is the only solution.

> **Cláudia Pereira** State Secretary for Integration and Migration, Ministry of State and Presidency, Portugal

14

15



VIENNA MIGRATION CONFERENCE 2019

Giorgos Koumoutsakos Alternate Minister for Migration Policy, Ministry of Citizen Protection, Greece countries, it is the labour market that dictates actual migration flows. This needs to be taken into account. Second and closely connected, Member States should cooperate on promoting legal migration routes and on sharing the costs of managing the external borders with the first-line Member States. Third, the EU should agree on defined common protocols for crisis management like the one in 2015. This is because irregularity in immigration is a process in which everybody loses. Migrants' rights are left unprotected, xenophobia rises, and authorities face the challenge of monitoring undocumented people. As a global phenomenon, migration needs to be governed globally, State Secretary Pereira concluded. This is one of the reasons why Portugal has signed the Global Compact on Migration and has already defined a national plan for its implementation.

The shift of irregular migration routes towards the Eastern Mediterranean in 2018 and 2019 also implied that Greece has become the European country which faces the most pressure and the biggest challenges. Giorgos Koumoutsakos, Alternate Minister for Migration Policy in the Ministry of Citizen Protection in Greece, confirmed that the new government that assumed office in July 2019 is confronted with a dramatic increase in irregular migration flows to the country. It is not yet a situation like in 2015 or 2016 but it is an emerging crisis. The situation is becoming more and more difficult and there is also an increasing migration fatigue in local populations and the population of Greece as a whole, which is something the new government must take into consideration. All of this is a common European challenge as well, Minister Koumoutsakos stated, because if Greece is overflown, then secondary flows will be inevitable. Greece conveys a very strong message that it is a common challenge, which should be met with common measures and common attitudes and a balanced approach of solidarity and responsibility. Greece is ready to assume its responsibilities. It has passed a law that makes asylum procedures more rigid. But this will not be enough. The new government engages constantly and fully in the dialogue with Turkish counterparts and believes that the joint statement of 2016 should be fully implemented, and all sides should do their share. Europe must do its share, too, And this cannot be done unless all Member States are united around a concrete policy, something that is currently not happening in Europe. It is seen as a positive message that the new Commission has stressed that migration will be one of its top priorities. Greece is going to be very active during the negotiation phase for a new Migration Pact by offering initiatives, suggestions and proposals. Greece believes that the Pact should include the two fundamental principles of responsibility and solidarity in a balanced way. Moreover, there should be a focus on return policy and the development of a robust European mechanism for returns. That also implies incentives and counterincentives for third countries and joint return operations. Europe should also focus on adopting a very strong policy for combatting migrant smuggling networks. The main issues for Europe can be summed up in three words: "solidarity, smugglers and returns". Solidarity means a relocation scheme. Responsibility means returns.



Migratian Palars Dars

I believe that the immigration problem will not be able to be solved if root causes are not taken into consideration and if only security is prioritised over humanitarian needs.

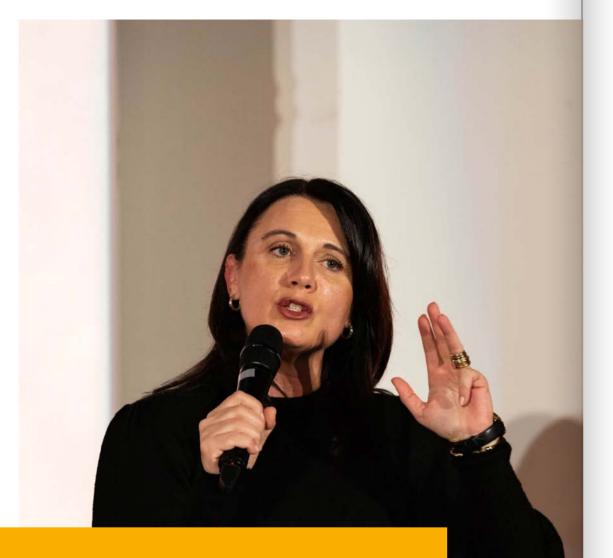
İsmail Çataklı Deputy Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey

HIGH-LEVEL POLITICAL PANEL

And finally, combatting the smuggler networks and breaking the backbone of the irregular migration phenomenon, would result in this phenomenon having a completely different scale. Europe has the potential to eradicate these networks, as it has shown in the past.

The discussion on solidarity and responsibility sharing does not stop at the doorstep of the European Union. Some of the EU's neighbours are even more affected by the global displacement and migration crises. İsmail Çataklı, Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Interior in Turkey, described the situation in his home country. Since 2011, between 600,000 and 1 million people have died in the Syrian conflict. Under these circumstances nobody should claim that it was the free choice of these people to leave their home country. 6.5 million people have been domestically displaced in Syria and 6.5 million had to leave the country. And today 13 million people in Syria are still in dire need of fundamental humanitarian aid. Among the 6.5 million people who have fled Syria, 3.7 million have remained in Turkey. Together with the 300.000 refugees and displaced that Turkey is hosting from other Asian countries, this makes a total of 4 million people. The Syrian refugees have been in Turkey for eight years now and the Turkish government has spent more than 40 billion euros for the solution of the issue. The guestion is how to go about the situation in the future. The Turkish government is of the conviction that a solution must be found to this problem that has persisted for eight years and wants to create a safe zone in Syria where people can go back safely and voluntarily. The Syrian pressure will continue, however. In Idlib alone there are still 3.7 million people who have been squeezed into a very small area. A worsening of the situation is very likely to trigger this population to move as well. That is why all sides should assume their responsibility on a scale that matches the immensity of the challenges at hand. From a broader perspective, Deputy Minister Cataklı expressed his conviction that the migration problem will not be resolved if root causes are not taken into consideration and if only security is prioritised over humanitarian needs. Therefore, the EU needs to change its perspectives, meet its responsibility on the scale required, be active in its policies on displacement and irregular migration, and try to find solutions to the root causes.

The role of the EU agencies in the migration field is to support the implementation of the Common European Asylum System operationally. Well-functioning operations on the ground, the quality of asylum decisions and the coherence of asylum procedures among Member States are absolute necessities to make the system work. In this regard, **Nina Gregori, Executive Director at the European Asylum Support Office**, pointed out that any discussion on aspects and challenges of asylum and migration must also include a discussion of the European asylum policy. Unfortunately, progress on the so-called internal dimension of the European migration debate and the reform of the Common European Asylum System are currently on hold. EASO has been working with Member States to support them in their implementation of the CEAS



In Europe we need to realise that we have to have fast and efficient asylum procedures. Why? Because we need to send a clear message to the smugglers that we know how to deal with abuses of the system and to be clear to the people coming to Europe about who is eligible for international protection and who is not.

Nina Gregori Executive Director, European Asylum Support Office and has developed a number of tools, training standards, educational approaches, and guidance in this regard. Lately, the agency has been very concretely involved in operational support for first-line Member States, mainly operating in Greece, Italy, Malta and Cyprus. The events of 2015 and 2016 showed that Europe needs a solid crisis mechanism and in this respect also needs a strong European Asylum Agency. The mandate of the agency should be further developed in this regard. Ms Gregori shared her hopes that the future agency will be better equipped and can become a prime provider of practical support to the Member States under a more harmonised approach. A look at asylum decisions confirms that more coherence across the European Union is needed. There is too much variety in recognition rates and there is too much variety in lengths of procedures and appeals. The standard needs to be equal in all Member States and this will also create more space to tackle the issue of secondary movements inside the EU. Last but not least, EASO is a centre of expertise in the area of asylum. The agency gathers information from the Member States, third countries and international organisations and in this respect also wants to go a step further when it comes to data and information systems. Ms Gregori concluded by stating a basic truth: Asylum policy in Europe needs to be more efficient. It needs to have fast and efficient asylum procedures. This would send a clear message to smuggling networks but also to asylum applicants that the system is fair but fast and cannot be easily abused. And without fast and efficient asylum procedures, many other policy areas such as border protection and the responses to secondary migration and return will also not be able to deliver the desired results.

VIENNA MIGRATION CONFERENCE 2019

HIGH-LEVEL POLITICAL PANEL

CONCLUSIONS

- The discussions at the high political level showed that five years after the socalled refugee crisis, the European debate is still dominated by the issues of protection and irregular migration. The question about how to distribute burdens more equally among the Member States is still unanswered and remains the main obstacle to a reform of the common European system.
- Political disagreement persists among EU Member States mainly on the issue of relocation. The so-called first-line Member States located at the southern external borders insist on an EU-wide relocation mechanism while other Member States reject such a system, at least when it is based on a mandatory distribution key.
- Nonetheless, the Member States also confirmed their willingness and commitment to cooperate with the new Commission on exploring new ways of working together with particular emphasis on finding better solutions for the first-line Member States.
- Turkey hosts more refugees than any other country in the world and is the EU's most important partner in addressing the situation in the Eastern Mediterranean. As such, it reminded the panel of its own situation and called for more European support for its efforts to encourage voluntary return to Syria and to promote temporary integration of Syrian refugees in Turkey.
- Despite the emphasis on questions related to irregular migration and protection issues, panellists also called for enhanced cooperation in the area of legal and labour migration, without questioning the prerogative of Member States on this issue.
- There was unanimous agreement that the EU should further step up its cooperation with its neighbours, partners and the international community as a whole to better address the political and economic root causes of displacement and irregular migration and that it should base this cooperation on a genuine partnership approach.
- Last but not least, the need was stressed to fight migrant smuggling networks more effectively and to make the asylum policy in Europe more efficient. Fast and efficient asylum procedures are necessary to send a clear message to smuggling networks but also to asylum applicants that the system is fair but fast and cannot be easily abused.





VIENNA MIGRATION CONFERENCE 2019

What is needed in addition to leadership is a mix of pragmatism, fresh ideas and innovative approaches.

Lukas Gehrke Deputy Director General, Director of Policy, Research and Strategy, ICMPD

Opening of 2nd day and setting the scene

The second day of the conference was opened by Wolfgang Peschorn, Federal Minister of the Interior in Austria. Minister Peschorn stressed that Austria fully supports a comprehensive approach to migration. Open dialogue between all relevant stakeholders is considered key for successful migration management. The European Commission has announced the launch of a New Pact on Migration and Asylum, and Austria thinks it is a joint European duty to make use of this opportunity. Austria's aim is to support the European Commission in the best possible way. Together with its partners in the Salzburg Forum, Austria has identified five overall goals. First, the new pact must ensure that European citizens can live in safety and that there is assistance provided to persons in need of international protection subject to admission capacities. Second, there is a strong commitment to break the business model of migrant smugglers and to eliminate all incentives to abuse asylum systems. Third, there is a commitment to further stem illegal migration to Europe and prevent secondary migration within Europe. The fourth goal is to strike the right balance between responsibility and solidarity. And finally, Austria believes there needs to be a more efficient EU return policy. Thus, all these goals can only be met if EU Member States are willing to cooperate on equal terms with third countries. Minister Peschorn concluded his statement by suggesting that the EU move in a step-by-step process towards common asylum procedures and decisions in Europe. This could include compulsory procedures at the EU external borders supported by all relevant EU agencies. Additionally, new flexible forms of solidarity are needed for countries located at the external borders.

In his opening remarks **Lukas Gehrke**, **Deputy Director General of ICMPD**, recalled that 2019 was a special year for the European Union. It was the year in which the European Commission finished its term characterised strongly by a series of fundamental crises like the euro crisis and the migration crisis of 2015 and 2016. The images and the narrative that emerged from that situation shaped many Europeans' perception of migration. What Europe had to learn the hard way was that the migration and asylum systems were largely ill-prepared for the challenges posed by the new dynamics, modalities and speed of global migration. What followed was the struggle of European leaders to address the challenges politically while maintaining and preserving the essence of European freedoms and values, namely unity and solidarity. Without a doubt, Europe has seen significant policy developments since the beginning of the crisis, both within the Union as well as externally. However, a disturbing polarisation remains



I think we should consider moving in a step-by-step process towards common asylum procedures and decisions in Europe.

> **Wolfgang Peschorn** Federal Minister, Federal Ministry of the Interior, Austria

OPENING 2ND DAY



The EU is bound by the core values it is founded upon to develop policies which contribute to migration being safe, dignified and orderly. This is also a legitimate expectation of our citizens and feeds into the general sense of security in our societies.

> **Ilkka Salmi** Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Interior, Finland

as well as a hardening of positions among Member States. Gradually, the migration file turned into the frontline at which an almost existential dispute arose about those freedoms and values. It should therefore come as no surprise that a number of central aspects of the European migration reform agenda remain unresolved. The recent European elections and a new European Commission present opportunities to redress this situation and to press the political reset button and start breaking the gridlocks. And it is this outcome, as Mr Gehrke emphasised, that the 2019 VMC wanted to help bring about. The theme of the conference, "Breaking the Gridlock", was selected to focus the discussions on the opportunity created by the European elections, by a new Parliament and by the formation of a new European Commission; a new opportunity to get migration policy back on track, to rationalise the public debate and to improve the policymaking process. Much was to be said about the crisis of 2015 and 2016. Through concerted efforts and changed circumstances the numbers have gone down to pre-crisis levels, suggesting that immediate effects of the crisis have been overcome. Considering the challenges ahead, it is time for the EU to go beyond crisis management mode and focus on building a functional and crisis-resistant migration system.

VIENNA MIGRATION CONFERENCE 2019

Ilkka Salmi, Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Interior of Finland, explained the priorities of the Finnish EU Presidency in the second half of 2019. The aim was to make good use of this transition period and paint with a bigger brush than normally. Finland is a firm believer in the comprehensive approach to migration. So, with regard to the external dimension, pre-emptive action and sustainable partnerships were the key words. The deepening of cooperation with key partner countries has led to a substantial reduction in irregular arrivals. However, this big picture conceals continuous pressure faced by many EU Member States. Addressing the root causes of irregular migration such as climate change, population growth and youth unemployment is, by definition, a long-term task but one the EU must assume with determination and a sense of good cooperation across sectors. The aim is to integrate migration as a permanent and structural component of EU foreign policy. The continent-to-continent dialogue with Africa is the newest key element of this common approach. Legal pathways have to be an essential element of the EU's migration management as well. They work as a disincentive to using irregular routes and demonstrate the commitment to long-term partnerships with third countries. Promoting the use of legal pathways is also essential for the EU in meeting current and future needs for skills. Resettlement of refugees provides a safe and controlled route to Europe for those entitled to international protection. Finland has a long-standing tradition in resettlement and wishes to see this activity take root in all EU Member States. The other side of the coin is being able to return persons with no right to stay in the European Union. If the EU does not manage to raise returns, its policies lack credibility and encourage irregular migration and secondary movements across Member States. A combination of internal and external measures is needed to meet this challenge. It seems clear that a wider range of incentives should be mobilised from all relevant EU policy areas in order to encourage

better cooperation on return and readmission, such as visa, trade and development policies. The Finnish Presidency launched cross-sectoral discussions on the use of trade policy in order to obtain a realistic picture on its potential for advancing migration related objectives. Looking at measures within Member States, the recast of the Return Directive is considered as important as the new Regulation on the European Border and Coast Guard. A third central element of the comprehensive approach to migration is the reform of the Common Asylum System. It is evident that solutions must be found at European level. These issues simply cannot be addressed solely through action by individual Member States. It is time to work towards restoring trust and a spirit of cooperation among Member States. This will be the basis on which the EU can move forward and find a compromise in a spirit of fair responsibility sharing, so that no one is left alone to deal with migratory pressure.



Towards a comprehensive European migration governance system: breaking internal gridlocks and moving forward

Panel I

The next panel of the conference dealt with the internal dimension of the EU migration policy. Over the last five years it was this area where EU Member States found it most difficult to reach common ground. Differing and divergent views on the issues of solidarity and responsibility were mainly responsible for the gridlock in EU migration policy.

Ralph Genetzke, Director and Head of ICMPD's Brussels Mission, introduced the panellists and underlined that it is quite ambitious to discuss the whole of the internal dimension of EU migration issues on a single panel. Thus, it would be important to consider – within the political realities in Europe – the views from first-line Member States, from the main destination countries in the EU and from those Member States critical towards obligatory common approaches. The question of "what" has to be solved is largely answered, the real question at the moment is "how" to solve it. There will be a New Pact on Migration tabled, there is the need for an ambitious agenda, there is the need to rebuild trust, there is the wish not to reinvent the wheel. Nonetheless, the European elections and the incoming of a new Commission create an ideal moment to come up with new ideas and proposals that contribute to overcoming the political gridlock among the EU Member States that has stalled progress in European migration policymaking.

A first recommendation was made by Daan Huisinga, Deputy Director General in the Ministry of Justice and Security in the Netherlands, who suggested that the new Commission might want to "go slow" with the new Migration Pact. If things are rushed, there is a high risk that Member States will return to the trenches again, repeating the same discussion of the previous five years. The EU indeed needs a new narrative, a new understanding and perhaps a new vision on migration. The problems are all the same and the problems are known. Recognising each other's problems and coming to an understanding where the general position is that everyone respects everyone else's problems and is ready to help the others on their problems will be the key to a new vision. Secondary migration is another major issue and according to Mr Huisinga, still a much neglected problem. Its scale has hardly ever been measured, and there is no aggregated picture of what is happening EU-wide. To come to such an aggregated picture and to discuss the issue at EU level should be two of the first priorities of the new Commission. Moreover, the current Common European Asylum System is not designed in a way that it could cope with mixed flows of the magnitude facing Europe. Closely linked to this problem is the issue of return. Of course, the new Commission should also go for the low hanging fruit where common ground can be found more easily. Last but not least, the Commission should be tougher on Member States and start infringement procedures in cases where this is provided. Thus, the EU should also go back to Qualified Majority Voting on migration issues where it is provided by the Treaty.



, main issue is secondary migration in the EU, and I think nis is very much a neglected problem.

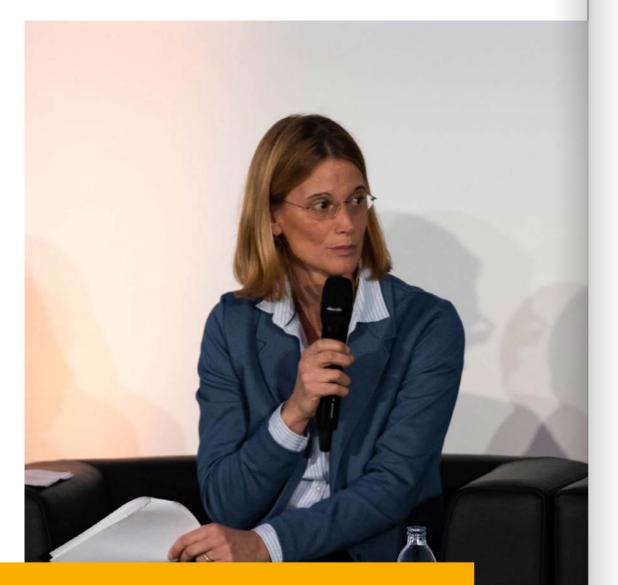
Daan Huisinga

Deputy Director General, Directorate-General International Migration, Ministry of Justice and Security, The Netherlands



We know a lot about the whole spectrum of the "what" that needs to be solved, but we need to discuss a lot more about "how" we approach the various topics at stake.

Ralph Genetzke Director, Head of Brussels Mission ICMPD



The second and maybe most important point is that we think that we need a new regime on the responsibilities of Member States based on a fair-share approach.

Jessica Däbritz

Head of Directorate, Directorate for Migration, Refugees, European Harmonisation, Federal Ministry of the Interior, Building and Community, Germany





Jessica Däbritz, Head of the Directorate for Migration, Refugees, European Harmonisation in the German Federal Ministry of the Interior, Building and Community,

reiterated the main priorities of the German government for the next five years as regards EU migration policy. Germany wants an asylum system that meets humanitarian standards, guarantees legal pathways to Europe, secures an effective implementation of the current acquis and promotes resettlement. Germany is already strongly engaged in the latter and wants to encourage other Member States to do more in this area. Naturally, Germany also wants better protection at the external borders and more reliable cooperation with third countries of origin and transit. Moreover, the EU has to tackle the root causes of migration and to do its utmost to preserve a Schengen area without internal borders. Germany also thinks that any reform of the EU system must reorganise responsibilities and solidarity, ensure that no Member State is overburdened and end wrong incentives for Member States and for asylum applicants. Last but not least, the reform has to work in practice. To this end, the Ministry of the Interior proposes a new approach that could overcome the current Dublin System and create a truly fair sharing of responsibility among the Member States. Three elements are key to this proposal. First, there should be a mandatory initial assessment of asylum applications at the external borders. Manifestly unfounded or inadmissible claims should be denied immediately. The exact scope of this kind of examinations should be agreed with the first-line Member States in order not to overburden them. The second point is a new regime on determining responsibilities among the Member States. Burdens should be distributed fairly among Member States based upon a yet to be agreed distribution key. The third point is the guestion of how to enforce this new regime. Provisions of accommodation and benefits should be granted only in the responsible Member State to minimise secondary movements. There should be no parallel proceedings. The application should be inadmissible in all Member States other than the one responsible in order to send a clear signal that there is a functioning European system. Ms Däbritz concluded that Germany is aware that these proposals are ambitious but at the same time is convinced that they can bring Member States together, address several burning and common challenges, and meet a number of common interests and objectives.

The lack of crisis resilience of the European Asylum System is neither a novelty nor a result of the 2015 migration crisis. It was already at the centre of the debate many years before that. Vincenzo Mascioli, Director at the International Cooperation Directorate of the State Secretariat for Migration in Switzerland, acknowledged the broad range of steps that have been taken in Europe to address the migration issue but stated that the current European system is still not crisis resistant. Ultimately and in addition to all the measures that had been proposed by previous speakers, Mr Mascioli concluded that some form of distribution mechanism and responsibility sharing will be needed to develop such a crisis resistant system. Switzerland has learned that at times the key to overcoming gridlocks lies not in a single brilliant idea but in the



We fully agree with the need for a comprehensive approach and cooperation with third countries. However, this cooperation can never replace a well-functioning internal system. In order to be a reliable partner in cooperation with third countries, we must also be able to show that we can agree on a system internally.

Alexandra Wilton Wahren Director General for Legal Affairs, Migration and Asylum, Ministry of Justice, Sweden



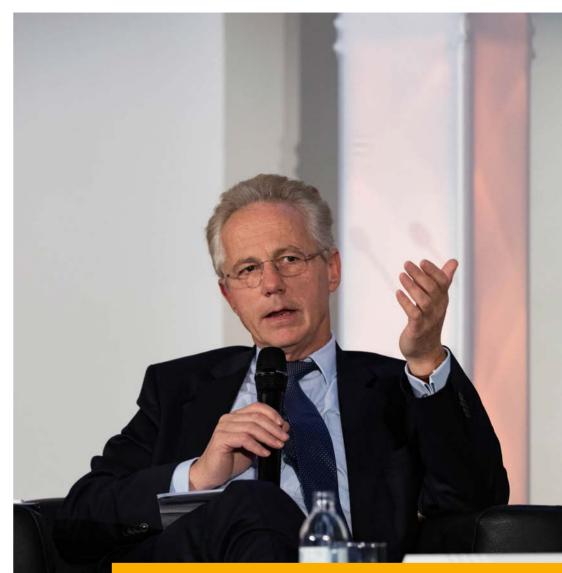
I think in the end we need to have some kind of distribution mechanism, some kind of a sharing of responsibility because otherwise we are not going to have a crisis-resistant system.

> Vincenzo Mascioli Director, International Cooperation Directorate, State Secretariat for Migration, Switzerland

PANEL I

political processes that can be used to achieve the desired results. In the past Switzerland has also been in a situation where no distribution mechanism had been agreed and asylum seekers were mainly concentrated in a few cantons. Initially, the other cantons did not agree to a fairer distribution mechanism. Then the guestion was put to a vote and formulated in a way that if the cantons would not agree on a key, this matter would be taken over by the Federal Government. Consequently, cantons discussed the issue and agreed on it among themselves. This principle of subsidiarity could also be applied in the European Union. A second example from Switzerland is the asylum reform that entered into force in 2019, which defined six regions where reception centres were to be established. The regions had to specify the cantons in which the centres would be opened. This was combined with a mechanism of incentives whereby cantons hosting these centres would receive smaller shares of asylum seekers in the distribution mechanism than cantons without centres. A final example referred to another set of procedures, namely the appeals procedures in the asylum system. It is a given that the fastest asylum procedures are widely useless if subsequent appeals end up taking several months or even years. Since the last reform, there has been only one instance of appeal and this instance decides normal cases within one week and complicated cases within one month. This has proven to be very effective. As a result, there are very few manifestly unfounded asylum claims now, which increases the acceptance of the asylum system in the population and influences voluntary returns as well. The new system came into force in March 2019 and voluntary returns have increased by more than 30%.

Most panellists at the 2019 VMC highlighted the establishment of a new Commission and its commitment to a relaunch of the migration and asylum policy as creating the ideal moment in time to take a step back and reflect on what has worked over the last couple of years and what has not worked so well. In this regard, Alexandra Wilton Wahren, Director General for Legal Affairs, Migration and Asylum at the Ministry of Justice in Sweden, noted that her home country had to learn the lesson in 2015 that the current EU system does not work. Sweden received a total of 163,000 asylum applicants in that year and given its position in the very north of Europe that would not have happened in a functioning system. Consequently, Sweden had to adapt its guite generous standards and is currently discussing what form the Swedish asylum legislation should take in the long run. As regards the Common European Asylum System, a main priority for the Swedish government is to agree on a well-functioning system that leads to a more even distribution of asylum seekers among the Member States. Finding a balance between solidarity and responsibility is seen as a key and also as a pre-requisite for a well-functioning Schengen System. Aside from responsibility and solidarity, the issue of secondary movements of asylum seekers must be further discussed. Sweden believes that a lot can be achieved with swifter registrations, a more efficient Dublin procedure and a durable Dublin responsibility. Secondary movements, however, will never be tackled with sanctions alone. The problem with



We have to find the equation between the integration capabilities and the economic requirements and interests, and that's what we currently don't do in an open-minded discussion.

> **Georg Kapsch** President, Federation of Austrian Industries

differing standards of the asylum and reception systems in the Member States must be addressed as well. Thus, the aim should not be to fully harmonise but rather to set standards that ensure that the rights during the procedure and the outcome of an application do not depend on which Member State handles the application. Such approximation will also make it easier to justify and implement the relocation of asylum applicants. In general, implementation is a crucial point, Common rules that are not abided by are of no use and will not lead to a better functioning system. Sweden therefore thinks that an efficient monitoring mechanism is a priority as well. The final vet decisive point for a functioning system is of course the effective return of those who are not eligible for international protection or otherwise have no right to stay. Much has been achieved in this area. There are already common legal, operational, financial and practical tools in place or under development. Still, the low rates of return confirm the need to continue this work. Last but not least, Sweden fully agrees with the need for a comprehensive approach and cooperation with and support to third countries. However, such cooperation can never replace the need for a well-functioning internal system. In order to be a reliable partner in cooperation with third countries, the European Union must be able to show that its Member States can agree on a system internally.

Much of the debate at the 2019 VMC centred around issues related to protection, irregular migration or return. In view of demographic ageing and economic transformation. however, questions are getting louder about the future of labour migration and about what European countries must do to remain attractive destinations in the hunt for global talent. Georg Kapsch. President of the Federation of Austrian Industries, took up this point and tried to move the debate away from its problem-centred approach and give it a spin of opportunity. The debate needs to distinguish more clearly between refugees and asylum seekers on the one hand and labour migration on the other. Mixing up the two concepts is one of the core problems of the public notion of migration. Notwithstanding this notion, a lack of skilled labour is a problem for most EU Member States, a European problem and also a problem in the United States, Also, the U.S. is dealing with the problem and has the same weak answers Europe has. Consequently, there is a need for national and European solutions. Despite lots of differences in the approaches between the different countries, there are many similarities in the requirements they have. Europe currently accounts for about 8% of the world population. And it will decrease to about 6% within the next twenty to thirty years. This has a negative impact on the economy and on social welfare schemes. So, what is needed? First, European countries must transform their collective mind-sets and measures from just purely and poorly managing the topic of migration to actively shaping it as an opportunity. Second, they should see migration from a long-term perspective as a way of increasing creativity and innovation by bringing in different individuals with different backgrounds and mind-sets. And third they must figure out the right equation between two aspects. One is the integration capabilities of societies.

This requires explaining to people the benefits of migration instead of always bemoaning only the problems of migration. The other aspect has to do with the economic requirements and interests involved. In order to remain economically successful and to keep its wealth, the EU needs to maintain a highly skilled labour force and, in the future, this labour force will not be sufficiently available in Europe alone. To this end, Mr Kapsch concluded, Europe needs to increase its attractiveness to people looking for excellence, to cooperate with selected third countries on skills partnerships for mutual benefit, to increase mobility within Europe and to foster the transferability of social security benefits.

In her remarks. Laura Corrado. Head of Unit. Legal Pathways and Integration. Directorate General for Migration and Home Affairs, European Commission, stressed that rebuilding trust among the Member States but also among the EU institutions will be one precondition for a better European system. A lesson learned from the past is to avoid divisive measures that have provoked even bigger divisions. One of the priorities of the next Commission is to bring Member States back together to the greatest possible extent and to close the gaps between East and West, North and South, frontline and destination. Of course, there is also a need to address the inefficiencies in procedures where people entitled to protection spend years waiting for their fate to be decided. And there is a need to refocus the debate on legal and labour migration as well and to try to balance the narrative on migration while doing so. A key in all of this will be to find a balance in the "solidarity" and "responsibility" dichotomy. There needs to be thorough reflection on exactly what kind of solidarity the EU should want and what kind of solidarity the EU can have. Another aspect of responsibility is the enforcement and implementation of the whole acquis, which means also the correct implementation of the asylum legislation and all rights to protection. Another important element is the effectiveness of the procedures both on asylum and on return. The Commission has no problem acknowledging that the current system is far from functioning perfectly and is very ready to listen to all concrete suggestions and proposals from Member States regarding the future Migration Pact. The EU should continue to develop true partnerships with third countries, like the ones started in the partnership framework. There has already been a lot of investment in cooperation and dialogue with third countries, but this should be developed into a broader approach, taking into account all the strategic interests of the EU as a geopolitical bloc. Labour migration must be more of a part of relations with third countries, not only as an incentive to safeguard migration policy interests, but mainly with a view to the interest of Member States to attract skills needed on their labour markets. Last but not least, the new Commission will also emphasise the work on the integration of migrants and refugees on all levels and will continue to support the Member States but also work with the private sector, with the employers, economic and social partners and with the local and regional authorities on successful integration.

PANEL I



I think a lesson learnt is that we should avoid divisive measures in the EU, which have provoked even bigger divisions in the past.

Laura Corrado Head of Unit, Legal Pathways and Integration, Directorate General for Migration and Home Affairs, European Commission



The sense that rules and regulations are not enforced properly is really damaging to the entire debate. If there were solutions to strengthen the institutional framework, that would be extremely helpful and would actually open up a lot of policy space for better migration policies.

Mark Schieritz Political Correspondent, Die Zeit Mark Schieritz, Political Correspondent at Die Zeit, completed the panel on the internal dimension of the future EU migration policy. As someone whose task it is to translate migration policies and migration realities into a language the general public understands, he started his remarks by stressing that in his experience, the public is not against migration per se. People seem to understand that there are labour shortages in certain sectors, in the care sector, in the construction sector, People also feel that there is a need for basic human decency and the protection of human rights. There is not a massive front against migration, at least not in Germany. This notion would misrepresent what the general public thinks. According to Mr Schieritz the real issue is the credibility of the system and the institutions. The 2015 crisis has dented the trust in the system and the institutions to deliver the kind of outcomes the public expects. The term "institutions" explicitly includes the media, which also have lost a lot of credibility in recent years. And credibility is needed to increase the policy space for measures that allow countries to better manage migration and to harness its benefits. Restoring credibility is closely linked to changing the narrative. First, the debate must "relink" issues again. No EU Member State can benefit from participating in the Single Market without shouldering some of the burdens that come along with it. This needs to be made clear by politicians but also by the media. On the external dimension, there is the expectation from the public that if a third country wants to have access to the EU Single Market and preferential treatment it should be more forthcoming with respect to returns and other migration issues. A third point involves implementation and enforcement. It is very damaging for the entire debate when existing laws are not enforced at the European level. A strengthening of the institutional framework would be very helpful and free up a lot of policy space for better migration policies. A fourth and final point is that the business community should assume more of its role as a crucially important actor in conveying the fact that migrants are beneficial for a receiving country, that these are people building companies, creating opportunities and bringing in a lot of jobs and well-paid jobs for the domestic population.

CONCLUSIONS

The second panel also stressed that the reform of the Common Asylum System is the central element of a comprehensive European approach to migration and must be the absolute priority when it comes to reforming the migration system. Thus, it is evident that solutions need to be found at European level because challenges cannot be met through the actions of individual Member States alone.

46

- Finding a balance between solidarity and responsibility is seen as the key to any reform of the system but also as a pre-requisite for a well-functioning Schengen System. Aside from responsibility and solidarity, the issue of secondary movements of asylum seekers between Member States must be further discussed at EU level.
- Germany presented a new approach that could overcome the current gridlock towards cooperation among Member States based on the principle of solidarity. A mandatory initial assessment of asylum applications at the external borders should be coupled with a new regime on determining responsibilities among the Member States. Burdens should be distributed fairly based upon an agreed distribution key.
- Again, the external dimension, namely the cooperation with countries of origin and transit, was seen as essential to making the internal dimension of the system work as well. Panellists called for the mobilisation of an even wider range of incentives from all relevant EU policy areas in order to encourage better cooperation on migration and readmission, such as visa, trade and development policies. In this regard, the Finnish EU Presidency launched cross-sectoral discussions on the use of trade policy in order to obtain a realistic picture on its potential for advancing migration-related objectives.
- However, cooperation with third countries can never replace the need for a well-functioning internal system. In order to be a reliable partner in cooperation with third countries, the European Union must be able to show that its Member States can agree on a system internally.
- In view of demographic ageing and economic transformation, however, questions are getting louder about the future of labour migration and about what European countries must do to remain attractive destinations in the hunt for global talent. Panellists stressed that Europe needs to increase its attractiveness to people looking for excellence, to cooperate with selected third countries on skills partnerships, to increase mobility within Europe, and to foster the transferability of social security benefits.
- Closely related to the issue of labour migration, the new Commission expressed its commitment to the work being done on the integration of migrants and refugees on all levels and its continued support for these efforts.



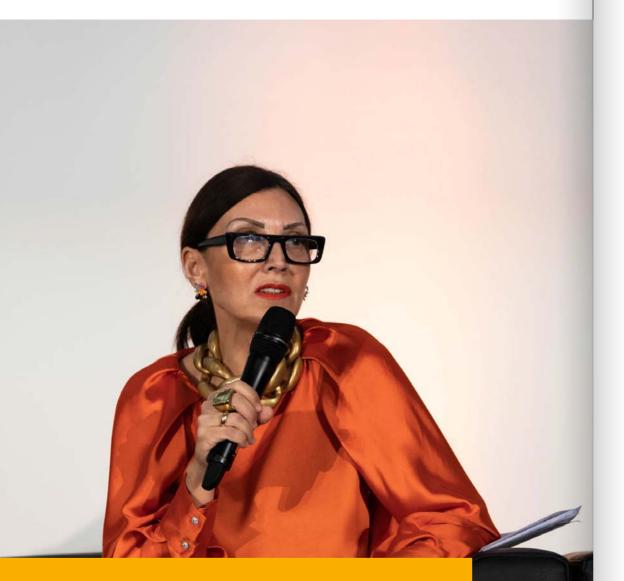
Europe, the neighbourhood and migration routes: joint ways forward for sustainable migration partnerships

Panel II

The final panel of the conference was devoted to the external dimension of the EU migration policy and the question of how sustainable partnerships can be built along the main migration routes.

Sedef Dearing, Head of the Budapest Process Secretariat and Regional Coordinator for the Silk Routes Region at ICMPD, welcomed the participants and pointed out that the purpose of the panel was to define cornerstones for the external dimension of the EU migration policy, such as whole of migration routes approach, mutually beneficial and sustainable partnerships, operational cooperation and global solidarity. Ms Dearing emphasised that a lot of progress has been made in the EU's external dimension. Nevertheless, there is still a lack of commonly agreed policy objectives. a situation that leads to political gridlock and undermines the development of a coherent external dimension. The internal dimension and the external dimension of EU migration policy are closely interconnected, so the question is to what extent the lack of agreement on the inside hampers the development of a coherent position towards the outside. Against this background Ms Dearing raised a number of principle guestions to frame the subsequent discussion. What political gridlocks exist in the external dimension? Are there promising ways to break those gridlocks that are hampering the EU's cooperation with external partners, especially in the neighbourhood and with the enlargement countries? What form should cooperation between the EU and its partners take? What priorities should a new European agenda on migration follow and what should a new European vision of migration look like when it comes to its external dimension?

One topic that came up frequently during the whole conference was the question of whether the current international and European protection system allows for making real progress in achieving political agreement in the EU. In this regard, Peter Webinger, Director General, Directorate-General for Migration in the Federal Ministry of the Interior in Austria, spoke about a protection system that was developed in a pre-globalised world but is still used today in a globalised world. It does not really fit today's realities and produces outcomes that dominate and paralyse the political and public debate. There might be too much talk about migration because migration is only a symptom; there are always root causes for migration. There are many interdependencies and maybe there should be more talk about the root causes and the effects of migration instead of the phenomenon itself. Austria tries to do that by shifting the debate and by asking the question what goals a society should develop when it attempts to manage and steer migration. In Austria, the answer to this question is that the overarching goal should be to ensure social peace in the long run. Social peace is based on the functioning of cooperation systems like the pension or welfare systems. The main question must be how migration contributes to these systems and how it affects these systems in a positive or not so positive way. Seen from this angle, the question is not whether migration is needed or not but how much migration



The drivers of migration are very diverse, manifold and so the responses and partnerships also should also be diversified. So, maybe we should look into more and different comprehensive, broader partnership approaches

Sedef Dearing

Head of the Budapest Process Secretariat and Regional Coordinator for the Silk Routes Region, ICMPD



Of course, we need migra and what kind of migratic is it steered migration? Peter Webinger

Director General, Directorate-General for Migration, Federal Ministry of the Interior, Austria

PANEL II

is needed and in what form. When it comes to protection, all sides should start to address the issue much earlier and re-think the existing strategies and approaches. The EU engages in a lot of discussion about the issues of solidarity and responsibility in Europe itself. In a globalised world, however, the discussion on solidarity and protection should not just start once migrants and refugees try to cross the Mediterranean. It must start much earlier and focus on the regions and countries where situations of forced displacement arise in the first place. In a globalised world a holistic approach is needed, and this is what the EU and the international community must work toward and focus on.

Amr El-Sherbini, Deputy Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs for Refugees, Migration and Combatting Trafficking in Persons, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Egypt, opened his remarks with a short description of the migration situation in his home country and the state of cooperation between Egypt and the EU. Egypt is a country of transit and destination and is estimated to host up to 5 million migrants and persons who are in refugee-like situations, including around 1 million who are in a vulnerable situation. Egypt pursues an inclusive approach to integration and access to labour and education but at the same time the large number of migrants is putting a big burden on Egypt. Regionally and internationally, Egypt is contributing effectively to the regional discussion on the African level and the Arab level. Egyptian shores are well-protected and there has not been a single case of illegal departure from Egypt to the EU since September 2016. Additional support, however, would enhance migration control capacities and protection system as well as the governance of migration. Closer cooperation between Egypt and the EU started in 2016 with the adoption of mutual partnership priorities, which include a dimension concerning migration. In 2017 the dialogue continued also with a view to enhancing the capacity of Egypt in migration governance. The dialogue also emphasises cracking down on smuggling and illegal migration networks and stresses border control, development cooperation, visas and labour migration. Egypt believes that there is a need to address labour migration as well as visas and to cooperate particularly in the area of skills development and skills partnerships. Finally, Deputy Minister El-Sherbini highlighted the issue of root causes and addressed the political crises that push people to leave, both in their political and their economic dimensions. The international community, Egypt and the EU need to seek a solution for the situation in Syria and Libya. Real progress on migration will be possible only if those conflicts are resolved.

Turkey hosts more refugees than any other country in the world, with 3.7 million Syrian nationals and around 400,000 Afghan, Pakistani and other nationals under the country's protection regime. At the same time, it is the most important partner of the EU in joint attempts to tackle irregular migration in the Eastern Mediterranean. Ece Özbayoğlu Acarsoy, Deputy Director General in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Turkey, saw major gridlock for enhanced cooperation with the EU in the lack of





We believe that there is a need to address labour migration as well as visas and to have ideas about how to train people, so they can go and work in the EU and then return. We need to find ways of doing that.

Amr El-Sherbini

Deputy Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs for Refugees, Migration and Combatting Trafficking in Persons, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Egypt



It is of utmost importance to focus on the root causes triggering irregular migration in the first place. It is not realistic to expect this trend to reverse unless the destination countries help source countries to overcome their political and economic problems.

Deputy Director General, Deputy Directorate General for

Immigration Asylum and Visa, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey



VIENNA MIGRATION CONFERENCE 2019

harmony of migration policies within the EU itself. Although various EU countries do engage in bilateral partnerships with source and transit countries, Ms Özbayoğlu Acarsoy stated that in Turkey's view the EU as a whole is not in a position to take common decisions due to the widely diverging positions of its Member States. This has repercussions for Turkey as well. The 18 March Statement with the EU from 2016 is the most prominent example of Turkey – EU cooperation on migration. Since the agreement entered into force, the Turkish law enforcement agencies have managed to decrease irregular migration significantly by more than 94 percent. However, the authorities also know that they cannot totally stop irregular migration due to Turkey's geographic position. Since 2016 over one million irregular migrants have been apprehended in Turkey; in 2019 alone this figure stood at 400,000. With reference to this enormous challenge and to aspects of the 18 March Statement, Ms Özbayoğlu Acarsoy expressed the expectation that EU Member States would do more regarding a voluntary humanitarian admission scheme to open legal pathways to the EU and provide more support for the Turkish efforts in solving the Syrian refugee crisis. Thus, the dignified and safe return of Syrian refugees in Turkey to their homeland is perceived as one of the durable solutions for these individuals. No one will be forced but the necessary conditions should be prepared in Syria and if this is the case, refugees will also be willing to return. This has been true of all 368,000 Syrians who have voluntarily returned to certain areas in Syria. Turkey is planning to hold an international conference to this end with the neighbouring countries. Finally, Turkey considers it of the utmost importance to focus heavily on the root causes that trigger irregular migration in the first place. This trend will not reverse unless destination countries help source countries to overcome their political and economic problems.

The main aim of the European Union must be to manage migration in a beneficial way for European societies but also to manage it for the benefit of the people who migrate, said Christian Leffler, Deputy Secretary General of the European External Action Service. Migration by its very nature is transnational. Countries need to work together, need partnerships, and that is why the EU has invested heavily in these partnerships at the bilateral, regional and global levels. Europe has come a long way since the frenzied debate in 2015, both in numbers and in the kind of partnership approach that the EU has been able to develop. Each partnership is different, each one must reflect the overall relationship between the EU and the partner concerned and the particular situation in the country and its neighbourhood. Based on the experiences so far, the Commission and the EEAS are currently working to present ideas, options and suggestions for the new Commission and the Member States. The key elements are fairly obvious. The development of systems for well-managed regular migration will be one important element. There is the need to address the root causes of irregular migration even more strongly. There is the direct protection agenda, which is also a prevention agenda to fight smuggling and trafficking and to hit hard at those who engage in this dirty trade. There should be emphasis on the benefits of migration, benefits to the

56

Ece Özbayoğlu Acarsoy

host societies, benefits to the societies people left in terms of the links they keep, in terms of remittances. As regards responsibility sharing, there should be more thought given on how to concretely improve reception conditions for refugees wherever they are by working on reception systems and on socio-economic conditions. On partnerships. Mr Leffler referred to the EU – African Union dialogue as a highlight. There is the tri-lateral work between the AU_UN and the FU_which found its most concrete expression in the joint work to relieve the pressures in Libya and to help the migrants stranded there. All these efforts need resources, and the EU has mobilised significant ones for the situation in Syria, in Turkey, for the Trust Fund for Africa and for many special funds for actions in other regions. The next multiannual budget will integrate special provisions to make sure that migration-related issues are properly addressed within a larger envelope for External Action. There should be a stepping up of funds to fight the illegal activities of smugglers and traffickers. There is a need to help countries better control their own borders or maritime areas, to strengthen reception capabilities, to work with the UN and with host countries on resettlement and to work on returns of people who find themselves irregularly in Europe or other countries. This is of utmost importance in order to create public support for developing further legal pathways as well.

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All statements made at the 2019 VMC confirmed that neither the EU nor the international community as a whole will achieve real progress on migration governance without better addressing the issues of global displacement and access to international protection. Gonzalo Vargas Llosa, Regional Representative of the UNHCR Regional Representation for EU Affairs, opened his remarks by describing the magnitude of the task at hand. Today, there is an unprecedented number of uprooted persons in the world, over 70 million; 41 million of them internally displaced, 26 million displaced across borders and 3 million asylum seekers. And these numbers are rising. In 2018 alone some ten million people had to be added to the forced displacement list. The main challenges are guite obvious also in terms of what the international community can do and what the EU can do. At the end of the day it is all about the root causes. There are already a lot of efforts being carried out to address the root causes of war, persecution, insecurity and aspects of extreme poverty. The main obstacle remains, however, namely, the division in the international community and the division among the major powers. If the major powers come together, think together and align their efforts, some of these apparently intractable situations of conflict can be resolved. If they do not, these situations tend to persist for a very long time. Then there is the issue of support for refugees living in their regions of origin. What can be done to help them, so that they can live in dignity and do not have to move elsewhere? According to Mr Vargas Llosa, there are two key aspects. One is legal security. Refugees need to be registered and documented; this gives them legal security. Many of the countries that host refugees on a large scale have asylum systems that clearly need to be strengthened. The other thing that refugees look for is material support. The key here is not



For the first time last year there were more people returning from Libya to their countries of origin than there were people departing from Libya trying to make it across the Mediterranean. That is a huge change. And that has been achieved through partnership.

Christian Leffler Deputy Secretary General, European External Action Service



I think the key is not just the amount of support but the type of support. The great challenge is to place greater emphasis not just on humanitarian support but also on development support. I think that we are gradually going that way but there is still a long way to go.

Gonzalo Vargas Llosa

Regional Representative of the UNHCR Regional Representation for EU Affairs, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees



One of the ICMPD recommendations is to create a new political vision on migration. And I think that's a right one. It is a tall order, but I think it is exactly that, we need a common understanding of what we are talking about when we talk about migration.

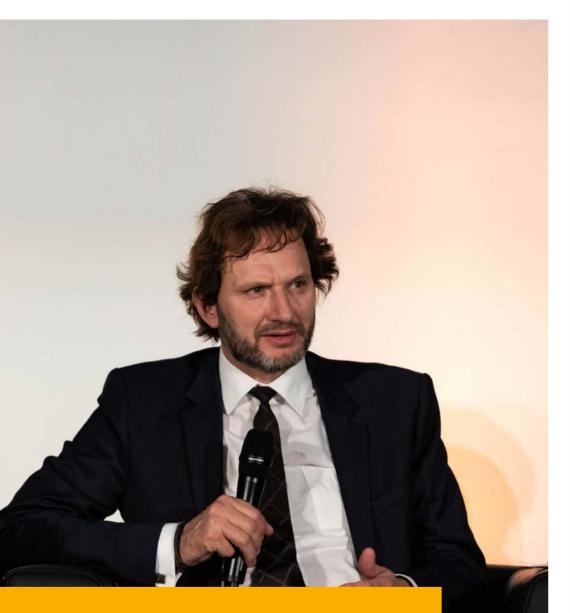
Natasha Bertaud Deputy Chief Spokesperson, European Commission



VIENNA MIGRATION CONFERENCE 2019

just the amount of support but the type of support. The great challenge is to place greater emphasis not just on humanitarian support but on development support. Refugees need to feel that they have a future, whether long-term or at least medium-term; that they are able to be productive and to earn money. The international community has started to move in that direction but there is still a long way to go. Last but not least, it is very important that the EU lead by example in relation to the large refugee hosting countries in other parts of the world and continue to host refugees, as it has been doing for many years.

Natasha Bertaud, Deputy Chief Spokesperson of European Commission, concluded the panel by stating that one of the lessons learned from the past five years but also from the statements made during the conference was that the EU, its Member States but also the international community as a whole must change the way they communicate the issue of migration. There will be no successful European migration policy without a successful communication policy. First and foremost, a successful communication policy must be one that de-dramatizes the issue. Over the past ten years, migration has become somewhat synonymous with irregular migration and that seems to be all that is talked about when one talks about migration. Thus, Ms Bertaud referred to one of ICMPD's recommendations on Breaking Gridlocks, namely the need to create a new political vision on migration. This will be a tall order but a necessary one. Europe needs a new but also a common understanding of what it is talking about when it talks about migration. And this understanding must go beyond looking at migration purely in its irregular manifestation. Secondly, the debate on the global compacts on migration and on refugees has shown that the EU and the European governments must invest more time and energy in discussing and explaining their policies to the public. Here the lesson learned is that it is not just about what is said but about how it is going to be understood when it is said. A final communication recommendation is to talk about figures and to set numerical targets only if there is certainty that the EU and its Member States can deliver on them and can demonstrate their ability to do so. If they fail on this count, then the results can have disastrous effects on the efforts to garner public support for the EU's joint decisions.



There should be no division between the internal and external dimension of migration policies. Regional realities should shape the joint way forward.

> Martijn Pluim Director, Migration Dialogues and Cooperation, ICMPD

Charting the way forward

The conference's final panel concluded two days of plenary and roundtable discussions. The panel summarised the inputs made during the conference and reflected on whether they were suitable for helping to chart the way forward but also on whether there were aspects that had not been touched upon.

In his opening, Martijn Pluim, Director for Migration Dialogues and Cooperation at

ICMPD, referred to the seventy ICMPD recommendations for breaking the gridlocks and moving forward in EU migration policymaking. He stressed that these recommendations were strongly inspired by the experiences that ICMPD had had in the development and implementation of technical assistance work, in capacity-building activities around the globe, and in the support of migration dialogues in various regions. ICMPD is fully convinced of the need for a common understanding of and a coherent approach to migration in all its dimensions. Thus, there need not be any division between the internal and external dimensions of migration policies. Regional realities should always shape the way forward. There are, however, differing perceptions when it comes to migration between the world regions but also within the world regions, a notion that was also confirmed by the discussions at the 2019 VMC. Mr Pluim concluded that EU migration policy has progressed a lot in integrating regional realities and perspectives in its strategies and programmes but that there is still some ground to cover in order to fully unlock the positive potentials of cooperation on migration between the EU and its partners around the world.

Marta Foresti, Director of the Human Mobility Initiative at the Overseas Development

Institute, expressed her conviction that progress can be made in the way the EU is working on migration but that this progress will require fairly different ways of working than the ones Europe is used to in the area of migration policy. Her first point in this regard was that the EU must understand that in many ways solutions for migration challenges must be found outside the realm of migration policy in the narrower sense. Migration policies simply might not provide the space for solutions, and other policy areas might need to come into play. One example is the issue of shifting demographics in Europe. This is an area where there might be more appetite for policy reform and pragmatic approaches and a greater potential for developing a narrative on migration that is convincing and positive for European citizens. Social welfare, the care economy or the health sector are areas where several European countries could cooperate on how to sustain these services for all their citizens and to successfully communicate the contribution of migrant workers to sustaining those services. Another area encompasses jobs, the future of work, skills and the fact that this ageing continent needs to remain attractive for skilled workers. Cooperation might be found in the way European countries shape their labour markets and in how they incentivise workers to come to



There are several areas where selected Member States might find themselves in a convenient space if they were to cooperate. That calls for coalitions of the willing, partnerships, innovative ways of working together, not as an alternative to European-wide engagement but as a pragmatic way to build from what we have and then trying to expand from this to build broader consensus.

Marta Foresti Director, Human Mobility Initiative, Overseas Development Institute CHARTING THE WAY FORWARD

Europe. Another example is international development and cooperation where there is huge opportunity to make the most of financial resources and to use migration as a means to achieve development outcomes. All of this implies that the "migration crowd" needs to go outside of its own circles and to build bridges and alliances with those who work in the areas of welfare, labour markets and development. This would broaden the policy space for managing migration but also contribute to establishing a more balanced narrative on the issue. In all of this, Ms Foresti concluded, one has to acknowledge that there is common ground for charting the way forward on migration in the EU but it is not necessarily very extensive. If common ground needs to be found across all Member States, there might be too little space to really move forward. However, there are several aspects of the issue where selected Member States might find themselves in a more convenient space when it comes to cooperation. This approach calls for coalitions of the willing, partnerships and innovative ways of working together. This should not imply an alternative to European-wide engagement or the abandonment of European projects. Instead, it is a pragmatic way to build on what is there and then try to build broader consensus, which at the moment does not exist in Europe. When it comes to cooperation with partners outside Europe, the new Commission should also explore new ways of working and include migration as part of packages covering trade and other aspects. Migration should form one pillar in this cooperation but never in isolation from other forms of engagement and partnership that the new European Commission will want to build up with external partners.

The need to expand the perspective of the migration debate and to understand that migration is a social phenomenon that is embedded in much larger processes was also stressed by Virginie Guiraudon, Research Director at the National Centre for Scientific Research, Centre for European Studies and Comparative Politics, Sciences Po. She called this expanded perspective a pre-condition for charting the way forward on European migration policy. This is not easy in times when anti-migrant sentiment is high, political populism thrives and social networks play an important role in further narrowing the policy space for finding balanced solutions. Currently, migration is not treated as a migration issue but as a political and electoral issue. At the same time there are conjectural problems, there are structural gridlocks. Twenty years after Tampere, the European migration and asylum policy is not fully developed, on the one hand, and did not anticipate the increase in irregular routes to Europe, on the other. Moving forward, EU migration policy still needs to take the external dimension much more into account. The EU discussion does not reflect enough of what is happening in countries of origin and in the transnational dynamics of migration. Migration is also an issue in countries of origin, which have a migration policy and where migration can also be a political issue. As long as these countries are not treated as equals, it is hard to see where actual progress can be made. Ms Guiraudon also concluded that the EU and the new European Commission need to change and expand the perspective of the debate on migration. Work is changing in Europe, labour markets



I think we still need to take the external dimension into much greater account, I think we still don't know enough in the EU discussion about what is happening in countries of origin and we don't take into account the transnational dynamics of migration as much as we should.

Virginie Guiraudon

Research Director, National Centre for Scientific Research, Centre for European Studies and Comparative Politics, Sciences Po CHARTING THE WAY FORWARD

are changing, Europe has an ageing population and migrants will be part of this issue. In terms of communications, it might be smart to step aside and stop focusing so much on migration as such, which has not worked, but discuss migration in the context of labour markets and welfare systems instead and include social partners, the private sector and trade unions in this discussion.

CONCLUSIONS

- All panellists agreed that the EU has made significant progress since 2015 in the external dimension of its migration policy. On the way forward, however, EU migration policy should consider the external dimension even more. The EU discussion still does not reflect enough of what is happening in countries of origin and in the transnational dynamics of migration. Migration is also an issue in countries of origin, which have their own migration policy and related political issues and need to be treated much more as equals to make actual progress in achieving cooperation.
- Another important observation was that the EU and its Member States must understand even more fully that solutions to migration challenges must be found outside the realm of migration policy in the narrower sense. Migration policies simply might not provide the space for solutions, and other policy areas might need to come into play more prominently than in the past.
- Tackling the root causes will be key. This, however, requires more awareness of the relevance of conflict as the main driver of displacement and irregular migration. This trend will not reverse unless the international community becomes more successful in conflict resolution and unless destination countries help source countries to overcome their political and economic problems.
- All statements made at the 2019 VMC confirmed that neither the EU nor the international Community as a whole will achieve real progress on migration governance without more effectively addressing the issues of global displacement and access to international protection.
- As regards responsibility sharing, more thought should be given on how to concretely improve reception conditions for refugees wherever they are, by working on reception systems and on socio-economic conditions. Thus, the main challenge is to place greater emphasis not just on humanitarian support but on development support.

- Of course, there is also a need to address labour migration and to cooperate particularly in the area of skills development and skills partnerships.
- In this regard it was stressed that the next multiannual budget will integrate special provisions to make sure that migration-related issues are properly addressed within a larger envelope for external action.
- There should be an increase in funds to fight the illegal activities of smugglers and traffickers. There is a need to help countries better control their own borders or maritime areas, to strengthen reception capabilities, to work with the UN and with host countries on resettlement and to work on returns of people who find themselves irregularly in Europe or other countries. This is of utmost importance in order to create public support for developing further legal pathways as well.

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Conclusion

Vienna Migration Conference 2019

VIENNA MIGRATION CONFERENCE 2019

Five years after the emergence of the so-called refugee crisis, the European Union is still struggling to find a common, unified and cohesive answer on what form its common migration and asylum policy should take in the future. The debate is dominated by the issues of protection and irregular migration. The question of how to distribute burdens more equally among the Member States is unanswered and the political disagreement on relocation and a mandatory distribution key remains the major roadblock to a reform of the common European system. Nonetheless, all Member States participating at the 2019 VMV confirmed their willingness and commitment to cooperate with the new Commission on exploring new ways of working together, with particular emphasis on finding better solutions for the Member States situated at the external borders of the EU.

In this regard, Germany has tabled a proposal that should help in overcoming the current gridlock and that is based on the principle of solidarity. A mandatory initial assessment of asylum applications at the external borders should be coupled with a new regime on determining responsibilities among the Member States. Burdens should be distributed fairly based upon an agreed distribution key. The idea of controlled centres at the external borders is not new and it remains to be seen whether they can garner the support of a sufficient number of Member States and whether the emerging coalition of willing states can manage to develop a system that goes beyond declarations of intent. Thus, the discussion on solidarity and responsibility sharing should not stop at the doorstep of the European Union. Some of the EU's neighbours are even more affected by the global displacement and migration crises.

All participants at the 2019 VMC agreed that tackling the root causes of displacement and irregular migration will be key to overcoming the gridlocks. This, however, requires more awareness of the relevance of conflict as a main driver of the current situation. The trends will not reverse unless the international community becomes more successful in conflict resolution and unless destination countries help source countries to overcome their political and economic problems. There was unanimous agreement that the EU should further step up its cooperation with its neighbours, partners and the international community as a whole to better address the political and economic root causes of displacement and irregular migration, and that it should base this cooperation on an approach of genuine partnership.

Thus, the debate should always also address the equally important aspects of legal and labour migration. In view of demographic ageing and economic transformation, the European discussion is getting louder on the subjects of the future of labour migration and of what European countries must do to remain attractive destinations in the hunt for global talent. Many speakers stressed that Europe needs to increase its attractiveness to people looking for excellence, to cooperate with non-European partner countries on skills partnerships, to increase mobility within Europe, and to foster the transferability of social security benefits.

Cooperation on labour migration should also feature as a main pillar in the cooperation with partners outside the EU. Over the last five years, the external dimension of the EU migration policy has made more headway than the internal one. In the future, partnerships with countries of origin and transit will also be essential. Participants called for the mobilisation of an even wider range of options from all relevant EU policy areas in order to encourage better cooperation on migration, such as visa, trade and development policies. But cooperation should not only focus on achieving short-term migration objectives but also be embedded in a broader set of relations that are beneficial to all parties involved and safeguard their interests based on a partnership approach. In enhancing its external dimension, EU migration policy should reflect more of what is happening in countries of origin and in the transnational dynamics of migration. Migration is also a hotly debated issue in countries of origin, which have their own migration policy and related political issues and need to be treated much more as equals and partners in order to make actual progress in achieving cooperation.

Last but not least, the participants of the 2019 VMC widely agreed that the European Union indeed needs a new narrative, a new understanding and perhaps a new vision on migration and that the EU and the European governments must invest much more time and energy in discussing and explaining their policies to the public. Migration policy is also communication policy and the latter is an inevitable key to breaking the gridlocks and moving forward with migration policy in Europe.

Roundtables

ROUNDTABLE 1 GEOPOLITICAL OUTLOOK: MIGRATION TRENDS AND REGIONAL RESPONSES

ROUNDTABLE 2 GETTING TO A CREDIBLE NARRATIVE ON MIGRATION AND MIGRATION POLICIES

ROUNDTABLE 3 THE WAY FORWARD ON SKILLS SHORTAGES AND THE GLOBAL COMPETITION FOR TALENT

ROUNDTABLE 4 SECONDARY MOVEMENTS – DIMENSION, MOTIVES & POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

ROUNDTABLE 5 A COMPLEMENTARY MIGRATION RESEARCH AGENDA QUO VADIS FOR THE NEXT FIVE TO TEN YEARS?



ROUNDTABLE 1 GEOPOLITICAL OUTLOOK: MIGRATION TRENDS AND REGIONAL RESPONSES

International migration is shaped by a variety of factors or megatrends, which need to be understood individually but also in terms of their role in a complex system of interconnectivity and mutual dependence. The actual impact of these factors and their interplay is not always fully clear. What is understood, however, is that regional migration developments and political responses regularly have knock-on effects on other regions, too. Deepened dialogue can mitigate the adverse political effects of such regionalism and provide the basis for better and mutually beneficial solutions.

Roundtable 1 discussed megatrends that shape migration trends and patterns as well as how they might develop in the future and what implications their development might have for regional and global migration policymaking. Thus, the aim was to discuss these expected developments in the context of regional responses but also as they relate to the priorities for cooperation with the EU.

The participants agreed that the main megatrends impacting migration are expected to become even more significant in the future. These megatrends are war, civil war and conflict; the globalisation of economies, values and aspirations; changing technologies and means of communication; shifting demographics; increasing longevity; increasing educational levels; urbanisation; and climate change. Emphasis was also put on the need to consider additional drivers as well, such as the conditions in destination countries and countries of origin; the role of migrants' agency, including migrant networks; individual cost-benefit calculations and household decisions; immigration policies; and the impact of an increased securitisation of migration. All drivers of migration are closely interlinked, which requires a large degree of policy coherence when one attempts to address them in a constructive way. Furthermore, the participants highlighted that each world region has its own specific migration culture and migration dynamics, which need to be understood and which require tailor-made approaches.

Future cooperation on migration will have to include a number of new answers. It will have to address the situation and legal status of increasing numbers of people displaced by climate change. It will have to prioritise support to countries in the global south for them to reap the potential benefit of digitalisation and technological transformation. There should be a shift from the fight against irregular migration to the fight against migrant smuggling networks. There should be a stronger focus on legal migration pathways in parallel to job creation in countries of the global south. Finally, a more comprehensive partnership approach should be applied that addresses migration as one dimension of relations, together with the issues of trade, development, the environment and security.

PARTICIPANTS ROUNDTABLE 1 | VMC 2019

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Ms Alia Ibrahim Mohamed Abdulrahim | Head of Abu Dhabi Dialogue Section, Ministry of Human Resources and Emiratisation, United Arab Emirates **Mr Yohannes Abraha** | Director for Western and Southern European Countries Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ethiopia

Dr Diego Acosta | Professor of European and Migration Law, University of Bristol Ms Caroline Ambiaux | Project Officer, ICMPD

Mr Michele Amedeo | Head of Sector 'Centre for Thematic Expertise (COTE)', Unit B. Task Force 1 (Migration Assistance to Neighbouring Countries), Directorate General for Neighbourhood and Enlargement Negotiations, European Commission

Ms Marija Ancevska | Head of Multilateral Cooperation and Translation, Department for European Union and International Co-operation, Ministry of Interior, North Macedonia **Mr Abdullah Ayaz** | Director General, Directorate General of Migration Management, Ministry of Interior, Turkey

Mr Oleg Chirita | Head of Programme, Global Initiatives, ICMPD Brussels Mission Mr Roberto Forin | Deputy Head and Programme Coordinator, Mixed Migration Centre Dr Gerald Hainzl | Senior Researcher, Institute for Peace Support and Conflict Management, National Defence Academy of the Armed Forces, Austria

Ms Nada Al Hammadi | Senior Administrator International Organisations, Ministry of Human Resources and Emiratisation, United Arab Emirates

Mr Martin Hofmann | Principal Advisor, ICMPD

Ms Daria Huss | Project Officer, ICMPD

Ms Audrey Jolivel | West Africa Focal Point, ICMPD

Mr Tamer Kilic | Regional Coordinator, Western Balkans and Turkey, ICMPD Dr Mohamed Kriaa | Senior Advisor, ICMPD and Professor, Université de Tunis Mr Karl Lorenz | Head of Section Third Countries and Multilateral Affairs, Directorate for International Cooperation, State Secretariat for Migration, Switzerland Ms Silvena Pesta | Deputy Head of Unit, International Coordination,

Directorate-General for Migration and Home Affairs, European Commission **Ambassador Dr. Hannes Schreiber** | Director, IV.5, Visa, Residence, Asylum, Migration, CTHB, IV. Consular Affairs, Federal Ministry for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs, Austria

Mr Axel Wech | Head of Unit IV.5c, Asylum and Migration, Federal Ministry for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs, Austria

Mr Radim Zak | Regional Coordinator, Eastern Europe and Central Asia, ICMPD Mr Alex Zalami | Advisor to H.E. the Minister, Ministry of Human Resources and Emiratisation, United Arab Emirates

Ms Monica Zanette | MMD Senior Coordinator, ICMPD



ROUNDTABLE 2 GETTING TO A CREDIBLE NARRATIVE ON MIGRATION AND MIGRATION POLICIES

Narratives on migration and migration policies are the result of complex processes and interactions between political systems, the media and the public. In view of the polarisation of the political debate on migration and the ever-increasing proliferation of digital and social media, policymakers operate in a fast-paced environment that hampers long-term and broader reflections on migration-related communication strategies. The link between policymaking and attitudes on migration is twofold: on the one hand policymaking is often motivated by prevailing attitudes; on the other, public opinion is shaped by how political actors frame the issues and challenges at hand. Governments in their policies and in their own discourse have an important role in setting the tone for the national debate. European citizens rate migration and integration among the most important topics, which is also a result of the extensive coverage of these topics in media outlets.

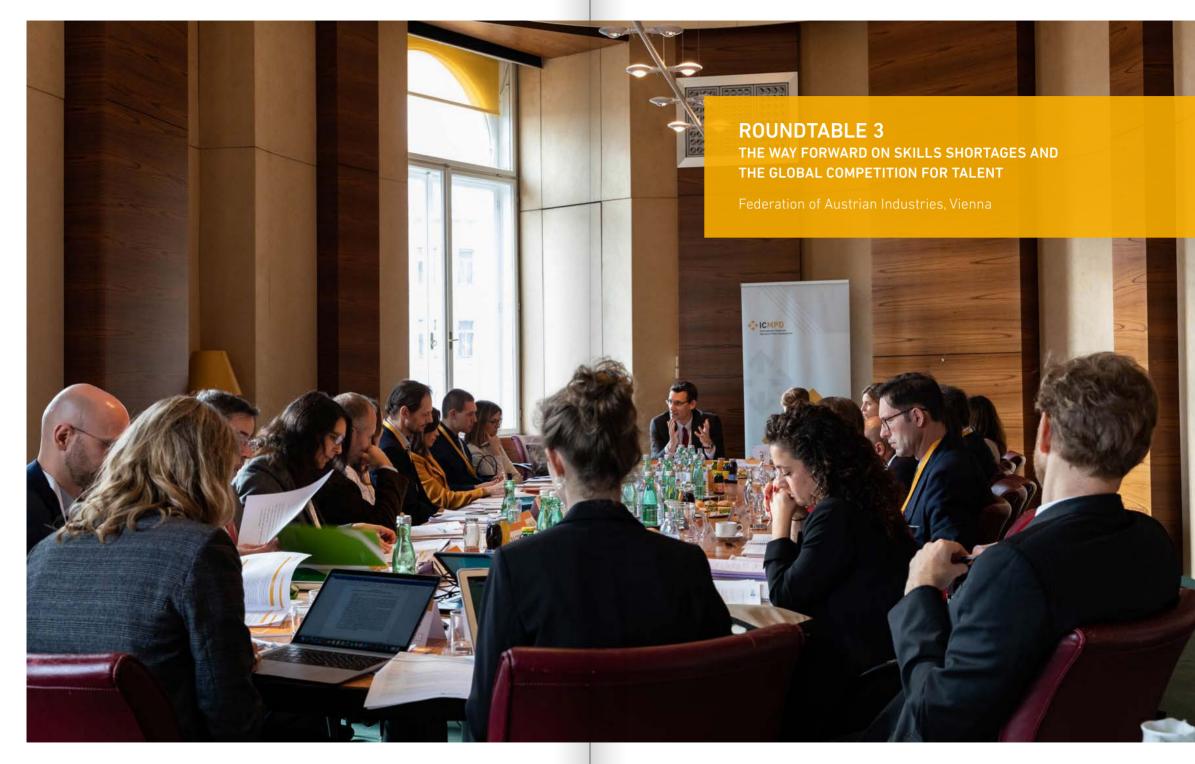
Roundtable 2 discussed various issues related to effective communication on migration and migration policies, with the underlying question of how the next EU agenda on migration and the Member States' migration policies can be best supported by strategic communication.

There was wide agreement that both the EU and the Member States need to engage in more strategic communication on migration. Thus, there will be no quick fix or single solution. Strategic communication must become an integral part of migration policymaking as such, must cover all its phases and manifestations and ensure constant exchange with the public and media. It needs to be based on a common understanding within the EU on migration and migration policy objectives. A common understanding of this kind is still missing, a fact that contributes to the huge gap between public expectations and actual delivery. Moreover, communication on migration should create a realistic picture of migration, its benefits and challenges but also the scope of what can be reached with migration policy. It should talk less about migration itself and more about its effects on societal goals for the economy, welfare systems and social cohesion. It should duly consider the impact of emotions and not rely solely on facts. It should identify the right messengers, work with journalists specialising in the topic but also train migration experts, academics and policymakers on the formation of perceptions and successful communication techniques in the era of social media. Finally, a coherent but simple terminology and strong visuals on migration form an important part of successful communication as well.

PARTICIPANTS ROUNDTABLE 2 | VMC 2019

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Ms Natasha Bertaud | Deputy Chief Spokesperson, European Commission Ms Jessica Bither | Migration Fellow & Senior Program Officer, The German Marshall Fund of the United States Mr Rene Böcker | Head of Directorate, Directorate 91 – international cooperation and migration policy, Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, Germany Ms Camilla Fogli | Policy Unit Intern, ICMPD Ms Marta Foresti | Director of the Human Mobility Initiative. ODI Ms Hedwig Giusto | Senior Policy Advisor, Foundation for European **Progressive Studies** Ms Olga Gyárfášová | Associate Professor and Director, Institute of European Studies and International Relations, Comenius University, Bratislava Ms Leila Hadj Abdou | Research Fellow, Migration Policy Centre, European University Institute Mr Daniel Howden | Journalist and visiting research fellow at Refugees Studies Centre Ms Aneliya Ivancheva | Head of Department Bilateral and Multilateral Cooperation, Ministry of Interior, Bulgaria Mr Victor W. Jensen | Policy Officer, Department V/5, International Migration, Federal Ministry of the Interior. Austria Ms Martina Kamenická | Communication Unit, Department for Asylum and Migration Policy, Ministry of Interior, Czech Republic Mr Rob McNeil | Deputy Director, The Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford Ms Marion Noack | Policy Analyst, ICMPD Ms Xenia Pilipenko | Project Officer, ICMPD Mr Mark Schieritz | Political Correspondent, Die Zeit Ms Hind Sharif | Communications and Community Coordinator, Migration Policy Group Mr Julien Simon | Regional Coordinator for the Mediterranean, ICMPD **Mr Peter Webinger** | Director General, Directorate-General for Migration, Federal Ministry of Interior, Austria



ROUNDTABLE 3 THE WAY FORWARD ON SKILLS SHORTAGES AND THE GLOBAL COMPETITION FOR TALENT

European employers and companies are facing increasing challenges in their efforts to find enough workers with the required skills profiles in the domestic labour markets. The size and shape of any country's workforce will be further affected by demographic changes, digitalisation and automation, although this will not similarly affect all EU Member States.

Since Europe's position in the global economy will depend on its ability to attract global talent, the Roundtable 3 participants discussed how skills shortages can be effectively addressed by various legal and practical measures aimed at attracting migrants with necessary qualifications at local, regional, national or EU-level.

The assessment of labour needs differs across European countries. Most suffer from demographic decline but some lack specific skills, while for others it is labour force as such – people – who are missing. The latter is caused by high emigration rates in some EU States due to higher wages and better economic opportunities in other Member States. For example, countries like Lithuania or Portugal struggle to retain their own graduates, and it is problematic for authorities to invest in their workforce only to see them leave once they are qualified. In order to address these issues, European governments have adopted different strategies from increasing the minimum wage to policies and campaigns aimed at re-attracting their own nationals established abroad.

In terms of cooperation with countries of origin, the conclusion of skills and training partnerships was identified as the best option for all parties involved: migrant workers, country of origin and country of destination. Regarding talent attraction in third countries, participants recommended focusing on the entire 'ecosystem' or 'process chain'. This implies targeted promotion in countries of origin, pre-departure training and post-arrival integration measures, as well as support to partner authorities if required. For talent attraction following the 'skills partnership model', the public sector should become increasingly involved. Instead of providing only ad hoc help to the private sector, the public sector should have a central role as a coordinating actor between the various parties involved, and maintain long-term, inter-institutional cooperation with countries of origin. Finally, several participants noted that a negative political discourse on migration adversely affects the EU's attractiveness, which has hurt the ecosystem over the past couple of years. This should be taken into consideration if the EU or its Member States increasingly rely on foreign workers. The private sector could therefore contribute to communication efforts regarding the need for skilled labour, and regarding the possibilities that legal migration pathways have to offer.

PARTICIPANTS ROUNDTABLE 3 | VMC 2019

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Mr Vytautas Adomaitis | Officer for Regulatory Affairs, Enterprise Lithuania Ms Stephanie Deubler | Senior Planning Officer Migration and Forced Displacement, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ). Germanv Ms Ekaterina Belukova | Project Officer, ICMPD Mr Wilhelm Brunner | Managing Director, ORS Austria Mr Ondřej Brychta | Analyst, Ministry of Interior, Department for Asylum and Migration Policy, Czech Republic Ms Olivia Carniel | Associate Policy and Liaison Officer, ICMPD Ms Gladvs Rov Chicarro | Head of Service. General Direction for Migration. Ministry for Labour, Migration and Social Security, Spain Ms Laura Corrado | Head of Unit, Legal Pathways and Integration Unit, Directorate General for Migration and Home Affairs. European Commission Ms Helen Dempster | Assistant Director and Senior Associate for Policy Outreach for Migration, Displacement and Humanitarian Policy, Centre for Global Development Mr Grégoire Douxchamps | Intervention Manager - PALIM project, Belgian Development Agency Mr Viktor Fleischer | Expert, Industriellenvereinigung Dr Christian Friesl | Head of Education and Society, Industriellenvereinigung Mr Ralph Genetzke | Director, Head of ICMPD Brussels Mission Mr Martin Hörmann | Expert, Industriellenvereinigung Ms Renate Hornung-Draus | Managing Director, Confederation of German Employers' Associations (BDA), Regional Vice-President for Europe & Central Asia at the International Employer's Organisation (IOE) **Mr Ulrich Kober** | Director, Program Integration and Education, Bertelsmann Stiftung, Germany Ms Aleksandra Lange | Head of Labour Migration Policy Unit, Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Policy, Poland Mr Antonio Leite | Expert, Northern Regional Delegate, Institute for Vocational Training and Employment, Portugal Mr Nikolaj Lubanski | Director for Talent Attraction, Copenhagen Capacity, City of Copenhagen, Denmark Mr Wolfgang Müller | Managing Director for European Affairs of the German Federal Employment Agency Mr Salvatore Petronella | Project Manager, Mobility Partnership Facility, ICMPD Ms Jana Raith | Expert, Education and Society, Industriellenvereinigung Ms Justyna Segeš Frelak | Policy Analyst, ICMPD Ms Diana Stefanescu | Project Officer, Mobility Partnership Facility, ICMPD



ROUNDTABLE 4 SECONDARY MOVEMENTS – DIMENSION, MOTIVES & POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

The Common European Asylum System (CEAS) exists in a complex symbiotic relationship with the Schengen system. The EU itself has developed from the idea of suppressing internal borders and strengthening its external borders; while the Dublin Regulation aims to establish norms for Member States' responsibilities for processing asylum applications. In this light, the EU system has limited the freedom of movement for third-country nationals, including applicants for and beneficiaries of international protection, in order to compensate and allow for the dissolution of internal borders for the benefit of EU residents' mobility. However, not only do EU citizens seize the opportunity of free movement, but migrants and applicants for and beneficiaries of international protection do so as well. Against this background, Roundtable 4 had a two-fold aim: first, to capture the dimensions of secondary movements by identifying ways to monitor the phenomenon, and second, to examine workable ways to address secondary movements in the context of Schengen, Dublin, secure borders and fundamental rights.

It was apparent from the discussion that sensible data that could quantify the phenomenon of secondary movements are not available. Data collected by Eurostat, eu-LISA or Eurodac, among others, each focus on different but isolated issues. To this end, each dataset has significant shortcomings and does not fully grasp the nature of secondary movements due to the irregularity of the phenomenon.

Possible consequence to address secondary movements require distinguishing responses by the point in time at which an applicant or beneficiary of international protection moves on: before the application for international protection has been lodged; during an asylum procedure; or after a decision on the asylum claim has been made. In addition, solutions may strongly depend on individual motives for which applicants or beneficiaries of international protection move on from one country to another. Family ties and seizing opportunities in another country are just two of the more prominent reasons that emerged from research in this area. Responses that should translate into tangible results therefore need to consider these different aspects. Finally, secondary movements can be addressed through punitive actions or through establishing positive measures. As opposed to restrictive measures, positive incentives aim to improve conditions for applicants and beneficiaries of international protection ex ante, in order to prevent secondary movements.

In conclusion, there was a general consensus among participants that reliance on either reactive enforcement alone or on positive incentives alone would not be sufficient. As such, smart policy design should complement enforcement with incentives to ensure compliance, covering both positive and negative incentives.

PARTICIPANTS ROUNDTABLE 4 | VMC 2019

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Mr Paul Baumgartner | Policy Analyst, Policy and Research, ICMPD Mr Hugo Brady | Advisor, Cabinet of the President of the European Council Ms Marie de Somer | Head of Programme - European Migration and Diversity, European Policy Centre **Mr Volker Helmert** | Federal Chancellery, International Migration Policy, Germany Mr Yigit Kader | National Project Manager, ICMPD Mr Sergo Mananashvili | Senior Advisor, Migration Dialogues and Cooperation, ICMPD **Mr Tamas Molnar** | Legal Research Officer, Fundamental Rights Agency Mr Lambert Obermann | Advisor, Advisory Committee on Migration Affairs (ACVZ) Ms Laura Rappold | Project Assistant, ICMPD Mr Vladimir Simonak | Justice and Home Affairs counsellor, Slovak Permanent Representation to the EU Mr Alexander Sorel | Senior Adviser to the Executive Director, EASO Mr Daniel Thym | Deputy Chairperson of The Expert Council of German Foundations(SVR) Ms Jaana Vuorio | Director General of the Finnish Immigration Service (Migri), Finland

Mr Martin Wagner | Senior Policy Advisor, Policy Unit, ICMPD

Lionel KAPFF



A COMPLEMENTARY MIGRATION RESEARCH AGENDA, QUO VADIS FOR THE NEXT FIVE TO TEN YEARS?

ICMPD Headquarter, Vienna

ROUNDTABLE 5 A COMPLEMENTARY MIGRATION RESEARCH AGENDA, QUO VADIS FOR THE NEXT FIVE TO TEN YEARS?

Against the background of the global and regional migration challenges, the aim of the roundtable was to discuss the specific topical areas on which migration research should focus in the future, new and emerging research fields of particular relevance, and ways to ensure that migration research has a positive impact on migration policymaking. Thus, the discussion was intended to go beyond the question of what is already known and highlight where new perspectives are needed for a new EU migration policy. Over the past decades, migration has become a flourishing academic research field producing robust results in several areas. Migration studies shifted their attention from questions of "who" and "what" to questions of "how" and "why". While this implies a more nuanced understanding of the interconnectedness between migration processes, international policymaking, and economic and societal megatrends, it also has the potential of informing evidence-based policymaking. Still, while research results and expert knowledge have influenced migration policies at both EU and national levels to a certain extent, a systematic link between the research agenda and migration policy-making has not yet been developed.

Roundtable 5 tried to identify and discuss where further research in existing areas or new research in largely uncharted areas is needed to support EU migration policymaking over the next decade. As regards research topics, the participants identified a number of understudied areas and phenomena: secondary movements; non-crisis induced drivers; sedentary populations – those who decide to stay and not migrate; the impacts of emigration on home communities; sending and transit countries' perspectives; the functioning of multilevel and multi-layered governance processes and structures; and the impacts of climate change.

The second part of the roundtable focused on the question of how migration research can inform policy in a mutually beneficial way and what practical models exist in this regard. In all successful arrangements, bridging formats between policymakers and researchers were considered crucial. Both worlds must learn that they follow their own internal rules and logic, but still find formats in which they are able to communicate with each other. These bridging formats are essential for the development of trust and the conceptual understanding of the other's world. Thus far, however, even the best arrangements between academia and politics leave out the decisive actors when it comes to shaping the content of migration policy in Europe: the public, the media and the voters. A real change in the link between migration facts and migration policies can only occur when politics and academia manage to bring the evidence to the public and when voters start supporting the politicians who base their decisions on evidence.

PARTICIPANTS ROUNDTABLE 5 | VMC 2019

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Ms Veronika Bilger | Head of Research, ICMPD

Ms Maria Lucinda Fonseca | Full Professor, Dean of the Institute of Geography and Spatial Planning (IGOT), Coordinator of the MIGRARE research group, Director of the PhD Programme in Migration Studies, University of Lisbon, Portugal Ms Raffaella Greco Tonegutti | Migration and Development Expert, Belgian Development Agency, Belgium

Ms Julia Große-Wilde | ORS Germany, Head of Legal and Regulatory Affairs, Germany

Ms Virginie Guiraudon | Research Director at the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS), Centre for European Studies and Comparative Politics (CEE), Laboratory for Interdisciplinary Evaluation of Public Policies (LIEPP), SciencesPo, France

Ms Katharina Hahn-Schaur | Researcher, ICMPD

Ms Natalie Herold | Deputy Director Department VIII.2 - Integration Coordination, Head of Unit VIII.2.a - Research, Knowledge Management and Integration Monitoring, Federal Ministry for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs / Austria Mr Paweł Kaczmarczyk | Director of the Center of Migration Research;

Adjunct Professor at the Faculty of Economic Sciences (Chair of Demography), University of Warsaw, Poland

Mr Lionel Kapff | Chief of Staff for Governance and Research, Research and Evaluation Coordinator, Swiss Confederation Federal Department for Justice and Police FDJP State, Secretariat for Migration SEM, Switzerland

Mr David Kipp | Associate at the Global Issues Research Division, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), Germany

Mr Albert Kraler | Assistant Professor at the Department for Migration and Globalisation, Donau University Krems, Austria

Mr Luca Lixi | Migration and Mobility Policy Officer, DG Research and Innovation, E4 – Fair Societies and Cultural Heritage, European Commission

Mr Wolfgang Lutz | Founding Director, Wittgenstein Centre for Demography and Global Human Capital (Univ. Vienna, IIASA, VID/ÖAW); Professor of Demography, Department of Demography, University of Vienna; Leader, World Population Program (IIASA); Scientific Director, Vienna Institute of Demography (VID), Austrian Academy of Sciences, Austria

Mr Bernhard Perchinig | Senior Researcher, ICMPD

Ms Madalina Rogoz | Researcher, ICMPD

Ms Djamila Schans | Senior researcher on Asylum and Migration, Research and Documentation Center (WODC), Ministry of Justice and Security, The Netherlands

VIENNA MIGRATION CONFERENCE 2019 TEAM

VMC Director

Lukas Gehrke

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AGENDA VIENNA MIGRATION CONFERENCE 2019 | AULA OF SCIENCES

Thursday, 21 November 2019

Welcoming and Opening

H.E. Michael Spindelegger | Director General
 International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD)

High-Level Political Panel – Priorities and goals for sustainable and comprehensive European migration responses

- **Mr Péter Szijjártó** | Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Hungary
- Hon Carmelo Abela | Minister, Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Trade Promotion, Malta
- → Mr İsmail Çataklı | Deputy Minister, Ministry of Interior, Turkey
- Mr Giorgos Koumoutsakos | Alternate Minister for Migration Policy, Ministry of Citizen Protection, Greece
- Ms Cláudia Pereira | State Secretary for Integration and Migration, Ministry of State and Presidency, Portugal
- → Ms Nina Gregori | Executive Director, European Asylum Support Office

Moderator: H.E. Michael Spindelegger, Director General, ICMPD

Reception by invitation of the Mayor and Governor of Vienna

 Welcome remarks by Ms Alena Sirka-Bred, European and International Affairs, City of Vienna, on behalf of the Mayor and Governor of Vienna, Dr Michael Ludwig

Friday, 22 November 2019

Opening of 2nd day

- + H.E. Michael Spindelegger | Director General, ICMPD
- > Mr Wolfgang Peschorn | Federal Minister, Federal Ministry of the Interior, Austria
- → Mr Lukas Gehrke | Director, Policy, Research and Strategy, ICMPD

Setting the scene – EU migration policy priorities of Finland's presidency of the Council of the EU $\,$

→ Mr Ilkka Salmi | Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Interior, Finland

Panel I – Towards a comprehensive European migration governance system: breaking internal gridlocks and moving forward

- Ambassador Vincenzo Mascioli | Director, International Cooperation Directorate, State Secretariat for Migration, Switzerland
- Ms Alexandra Wilton Wahren | Director General for Legal Affairs, Migration and Asylum, Ministry of Justice, Sweden

- Mr Daan Huisinga | Deputy Director General, Directorate-General International Migration, Ministry of Justice and Security, The Netherlands
- Ms Jessica Däbritz | Head of Directorate, Directorate for Migration, Refugees, European Harmonisation, Federal Ministry of the Interior, Building and Community, Germany
- **Mr Georg Kapsch** | President, Federation of Austrian Industries
- Ms Laura Corrado | Head of Unit, Legal Pathways and Integration,
 Directorate General for Migration and Home Affairs, European Commission

Commentator: Mr Mark Schieritz, Political Correspondent, Die Zeit Moderator: Mr Ralph Genetzke, ICMPD

Panel II – Europe, the neighbourhood and migration routes: joint ways forward for sustainable migration partnerships

- Mr Peter Webinger | Director General, Directorate-General for Migration, Federal Ministry of the Interior, Austria
- Mr Amr El Sherbini | Deputy Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs for Refugees, Migration and Combatting Trafficking in Persons , Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Egypt
- Ms Ece Özbayoğlu Acarsoy | Deputy Director General, Deputy Directorate General for Immigration Asylum and Visa, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey
- Mr Christian Leffler | Deputy Secretary General, European External Action Service

Mr Gonzalo Vargas Llosa | Regional Representative of the UNHCR Regional Representation for EU Affairs, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Commentator: Ms Natasha Bertaud, Deputy Chief Spokesperson, European Commission Moderator: Ms Sedef Dearing, ICMPD

Charting the way forward

- → Ms Natasha Bertaud | Deputy Chief Spokesperson, European Commission
- Ms Marta Foresti | Director, Human Mobility Initiative, Overseas Development Institute
- Ms Virginie Guiraudon | Research Director, National Centre for Scientific Research, Centre for European Studies and Comparative Politics, Sciences Po

Moderator: Mr Martijn Pluim, ICMPD

Closure of the VMC 2019

+ H.E. Michael Spindelegger | Director General, ICMPD

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