

# 1

JOSÉ LUIS BAZÁN  
COMECE BRUKSELA  
INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF LA RIOJA

## A Refugee Crisis in Europe? Questioning perceptions in the current migration debate

### Introduction

This contribution aims at questioning some insights on the current crisis of migration and refugees in the European Union, including its demographic composition and the possible impact on societies of destination, taking into account the cultural background of the newcomers and the difficulties already observed in their social integration, in particular when their culture contradicts the cultural ethos and traditions of the hosting societies. This crisis should not be qualified as “only” European, but other countries should also adopt a responsible attitude. The religious factor is an equally important element in the analysis, particularly when it comes to the persecuted Christians who continue to be harassed in refugee camps and detention and reception centres in Europe. Finally, we will discuss the question of the debate on European identity and values that has emerged from the cultural contrast between the societies of transit or destination and newcomers.

## 1. A refugees' crisis?

The massive influx of migrants and refugees in recent months is triggering a political battle and unprecedented social debate and tensions in recent decades in Europe. Due to the scale, background and complex nature of the movements of people, the issue goes beyond the strictly migratory analysis and has entered into the realm of security assessments<sup>1</sup> and, even, geopolitics.<sup>2</sup>

There is a general perception that EU Member States have lost control over the massive influx of people crossing illegally their external borders and that current EU tools and new reactive measures to re-stabilize the situation have failed (in particular: Dublin system, mandatory relocation, borders control and return policy). Internal tensions amongst Member States are increasing, putting the Schengen system at risk because of inefficient borders' control and suspension of freedom of movement. At the same time, the EU position towards neighbouring countries such as Turkey has been enormously weakened.

As Gabor expresses, "it is entirely clear that being humane, compassionate, and generous *towards Syrian asylum seekers is as important as being honest, realistic, and prudent with what the EU member states and their citizens capable and willing to offer to them.*"<sup>3</sup> Therefore, political and legal decisions should be fact-based, after integral assessment of all relevant factors, looking for permanent and sustainable solutions, and avoiding ideological bias that might distort analysis and proposed solutions.

In spite of certain perceptions and the labels used to name the current influx of people to Europe, the current crisis is not properly and exclusively a refugee crisis.

.....  
<sup>1</sup> "How can Western states guarantee fair procedures and humane treatment of all asylum seekers and simultaneously prevent human rights violators or terrorists from wrongfully being granted refugee status?" (...) Part of the answer to this new asylum dilemma might be found in a common approach to the exclusion clauses in international law." CMI Chr. Michelsen Institute, CMIBrief: The new asylum dilemma: refugee, war criminal or terrorist?, vol. 5, n°. 1, May 2006, p. 1: [bit.ly/1JO5NCU](http://bit.ly/1JO5NCU). IOM, International Terrorism and Migration, Geneva, 2010, p. 46: [bit.ly/1OUKm6q](http://bit.ly/1OUKm6q). European Commission, Communication on the State of Play of Implementation of the Priority Actions under the European Agenda on Migration, 10 February 2016, p. 2: [bit.ly/21G3FC2](http://bit.ly/21G3FC2).

<sup>2</sup> See: K. M. Greenhill, "Weapons of Mass Migration: Forced Displacement as an Instrument of Coercion", *Strategic Insights*, vol. 9 (1) Spring/Summer 2010, pp. 116-159: [bit.ly/1Kw3i32](http://bit.ly/1Kw3i32). K. M. Greenhill, *Weapons of Mass Migration: Forced Displacement, Coercion, and Foreign Policy*, Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, 2010.

<sup>3</sup> Z. Gabor, *Migration: Crisis in Europe – Europe in Crisis*, Centre for Geopolitics & Security in Realism Studies, 17 September 2015, p. 15: [bit.ly/1RpZZID](http://bit.ly/1RpZZID).

“Refugee” is a third-country national that “owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership of a particular social group, is outside the country of nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of that country.”<sup>4</sup> A big part of newcomers to EU countries are, understandably, looking for an improvement in their lives and that of their families, but not escaping from persecution. Poverty is recognised as one of the major factors for this movement of more than million people fleeing to Europe, by UNHCR and IOM.<sup>5</sup> Legally, both types of situations have a clear and differentiated legal treatment, both in international law and in EU law. However, national authorities of the countries of transit or destination have frequently serious difficulties to distinguish among newcomers between migrants and refugees. Lack of resources in national migration administrations to handle dozens of thousands of new cases, but also other more complex factors, complicate the task to give an appropriate legal answer to each single case and application.<sup>6</sup> Attitudes by certain economic migrants who improperly seek legal refugee status also mislead and hamper national efforts to grant asylum to genuine applications. For example, the fact that Eritrean applicants obtain a 87% rate of first instance recognition as refugees in the EU, and other nationalities as Syrian obtain 98% (88% in the case of Iraqis) explain the reason why some people from Sub-Saharan or North African/Middle East neighbouring countries with low level of recognition rates falsely claim to be either Eritreans or Syrians/Iraqis.<sup>7</sup> A look into the asylum recognition’s rate of some countries is illustrative: Algeria (7%), Ghana (24%) Nigeria (23%) or Pakistan (26%).<sup>8</sup> In any case, the popular idea

.....  
<sup>4</sup> See Article 2 (d) of Directive of 2011/95/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 13 December 2011 on standards for the qualification of third-country nationals or stateless persons as beneficiaries of international protection, for a uniform status for refugees or for persons eligible for subsidiary protection, and for the content of the protection granted.

<sup>5</sup> UNHCR & IOM, *A million refugees and migrants flee to Europe in 2015*, 22 December 2015: [bit.ly/1RSJz3G](http://bit.ly/1RSJz3G).

<sup>6</sup> The so-called “asylum shopping” is also a phenomenon to be taken into account to avoid several administrations working simultaneously in the same asylum cases. UNHCR report explicates this problem: “statistical picture of the number of people seeking international protection in Europe is partially distorted because of the reported instances of the same individual being registered as asylum-seeker multiple times across the continent” (UNHCR, *Mid-Year Trends 2015*, Geneva 2015, p. 10).

<sup>7</sup> Eurostat, First instance decisions by outcome and recognition rates, 30 main citizenships of asylum applicants granted decisions in the EU-28, 3rd quarter 2015: <http://bit.ly/1Okuzt2>. On the other hand, about 10,000 cases of fraudulent documents in 2014 have been reported by Frontex in its Annual Risk Analysis 2015, Warsaw, April 2015, p. 26.

<sup>8</sup> Eurostat, First instance decisions by outcome and recognition rates, 30 main citizenships of asylum applicants granted decisions in the EU-28, op. cit.

prefabricated by some media that most of refugees coming to the EU are Syrians is very far from reality: only one out of five asylum seekers are Syrians.<sup>9</sup>

On the other hand, the question of migrants from Balkan countries who are misusing asylum system has led to propose a EU common list of safe countries of origin.<sup>10</sup> Safe country is considered any state recognised as democratic and that generally and consistently doesn't persecute nor practice torture or inhuman treatment or punishment, and where threat of violence or armed conflict is inexistent.<sup>11</sup> The EU proposed list includes: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), Kosovo, Montenegro, Serbia and Turkey. Around 17% of the total number of applications lodged in the EU comes from citizens of these seven countries, but the recognition rate is very low (except in the case of Turkey). In 2014, for example, the rates were 0.9% (FYROM), 1.8% (Serbia) 3% (Montenegro), 4.6% (Bosnia and Herzegovina), 6.3% (Kosovo) and 7.8% (Albania), but 23.1% in the case of Turkey.<sup>12</sup> The "Safe Country of Origin" list does not exclude citizens of these countries to apply for asylum and EU Member States are obliged to examine individual cases and recognise the right to appeal. But, certainly, it will also allow EU Member States to devote greater resources to genuine asylum applications.

Another proposal that can alleviate the consequences of the crisis, suggested by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) is the identification of people in need of international protection and organising external processing of asylum applications through hotspots set up outside Europe.<sup>13</sup> Now hotspots in EU territory started to work in Greece and Italy, where EU officers assist national authorities to properly register and fingerprint, tackling

.....  
<sup>9</sup> Eurostat, *Countries of origin of (non-EU) asylum seekers in the EU-28 Member States, 2013 and 2014*: [bit.ly/1SIV8Sp](http://bit.ly/1SIV8Sp).

<sup>10</sup> J. Apap and A. Orav, *Safe countries of origin Proposed common EU list*, European Parliament Briefing, 8 October 2015: [bit.ly/1iO1dYk](http://bit.ly/1iO1dYk).

<sup>11</sup> European Commission, *An EU 'Safe Countries of Origin' List*: [bit.ly/1EOoIuX](http://bit.ly/1EOoIuX).

<sup>12</sup> The inclusion of Turkey in this list is very doubtful, and seems to be part of the current negotiations between the EU and that country to control the 2 million migrants and refugees living in Turkey, many of them wishing to move to the EU. See: United States Department of State, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2014: Turkey*, in: [1.usa.gov/1ldm7Bj](http://1.usa.gov/1ldm7Bj). The European Commission, in its 2015 Report on Turkey stated that concerning the human rights situation in that country "major shortcomings remain. The enforcement of rights stemming from the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) and the case law of the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) is not yet fully ensured." European Commission Staff Working Paper, *Turkey 2015 Report*, 10 November 2015, p. 21: [bit.ly/1OBg3zD](http://bit.ly/1OBg3zD).

<sup>13</sup> Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, *PACE calls for 'hotspots' outside Europe to process asylum applications – and save lives*, 27 January 2016: [bit.ly/1Sj2QM1](http://bit.ly/1Sj2QM1).

also secondary movements.<sup>14</sup> But to be efficient, material and human resources should be proportionated to the scale of arrivals.<sup>15</sup>

Regardless of being migrant or refugee, regular or irregular, certain situations are legally and morally unacceptable, such as: people dying on the sea because reasonable means at disposal are not used by States to rescue them; not fighting against traffickers and smugglers; or permitting indecent living conditions in countries with means and resources to cover minimum needs with dignity (e.g. in Calais, France).

## 2. Families seeking refuge?

Demographic composition is a relevant factor to better understand the nature and dynamics of the influx of migrants and asylum seekers coming to Europe. Media cover cases, situations and even tragic incidents where frequently families or minors are protagonists. This approach is partial and doesn't make visible the core composition of the groups moving to the EU. Statistics show that the share of male asylum applicants in the EU-28 is 70% (including minors).<sup>16</sup> On the contrary, Syrian refugees in neighbouring countries such as Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, Egypt and Turkey have a more balanced demographic composition: 49,3% are male and 50,7% are female.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, young men are the ones making the long travel to the EU in most cases. This fact has wide implications, including the final number of newcomers that can legally enter and remain in the EU when each settled refugee becomes "sponsor" and exercises his right to family reunification.<sup>18</sup> The UNHCR

.....  
<sup>14</sup> European Commission, *State of Play of Hotspot capacity*, 24 January 2016: <http://bit.ly/1MYNCow>.

<sup>15</sup> European Commission, *State of Play of Hotspot capacity*, 29 January 2016: [bit.ly/1V1J6f6](http://bit.ly/1V1J6f6). EU presence in Greece: FRONTEX officers: 178 (Lesvos), 93 (Chios), 40 (Samos), 29 (Leros), 41 (Kos); EASO (7 Member State experts and 1 member staff of EASO in Lesvos). EU presence in Italy: FRONTEX officers (24 in Lampedusa; 21 in Pozzallo; 6 in Taranto; 14 in Trapani), and EASO (2 experts in Lampedusa; 2 experts and 1 EASO member staff in Pozzallo; 2 Member States experts in Trapani).

<sup>16</sup> The international legal concept of minor is any person below 18 years old. In reality, most of minors are 14 to 18 years old, particularly unaccompanied ones (near 90% of them are male). See: Eurostat, *YB2015 III*: [bit.ly/1Kh0Woz](http://bit.ly/1Kh0Woz).

<sup>17</sup> UNHCR, *Syria Regional Refugee Response, Last Update: 31 December 2015*: [bit.ly/1jsBiUu](http://bit.ly/1jsBiUu).

<sup>18</sup> Article 4.1 of Council Directive 2003/86/EC of 22 September 2003 on the right to family reunification. In accordance with Article 4.3 of this Directive, Member States may authorise the entry and residence of the unmarried partner, being a third country national, with whom the sponsor is in a duly attested stable long-term relationship, or of a third country national who is bound to the

has made a research collecting data on the profile of Syrian and Afghan refugees arriving at Greece showing that 72% of Afghan and 60% of Syrian respondents with close family members that were left behind plan to eventually bring them to the country of destination.<sup>19</sup>

Eventually the number of newcomers could also increase when Member States authorise the entry and residence of: first degree relatives in the direct ascending of the sponsor or his or her spouse;<sup>20</sup> and adult unmarried children of the sponsor or his or her spouse, where they are objectively unable to provide for their own needs on account of their state of health.<sup>21</sup> As an example: if one male refugee is married and has 3 children in his country of origin, after having been granted asylum status in the country of destination, he will be able to legally request that particular EU Member State where he resides the entrance and stay of 4 more persons. Current statistics show numbers of persons entering and applying for asylum, but positive decisions adopted by migration/refugees' authorities to grant legal status to the applicants will certainly increase those numbers of newcomers in very short time through the family reunification channel.<sup>22</sup> Family reunification is in fact the most usual legal title to enter and reside in the EU: more than one third of first residence permits to third country nationals are issued to reunify family members. The EU-28 issued in 2014 a total of 2,305,758 resident permits, of which family reunification ground represented 29.5% of the total (680,025), followed by employment (572,414; 24%) and other grounds (576,502; 25%).<sup>23</sup> In some EU Member States, family reunification permits represent more than half of all issued ones: Austria and Croatia (57.8%), Luxembourg (57.6%), Greece (56.3%), Spain (53.5%), Belgium (52.7%) and Slovenia (51.6%).<sup>24</sup> Every single decision accepting a migrants or refugees in the EU entails a legal commitment to accept at least his/her spouse and minor children.

Even though the impact of family reunification in numbers might be limited in the medium / long term, this predominantly male current migration movement

.....  
 sponsor by a registered partnership in accordance with Article 5(2), and of the unmarried minor children, including adopted children, as well as the adult unmarried children who are objectively unable to provide for their own needs on account of their state of health, of such persons.

<sup>19</sup> UNHCR, *Profiling of Syrian Arrivals on Greek Islands in January 2016*: [bit.ly/1QhHBtw](http://bit.ly/1QhHBtw); UNHCR, *Profiling of Afghan Arrivals on Greek Islands in January 2016*: <https://t.co/qawmiFXu7D>.

<sup>20</sup> Where they are dependant on them and do not enjoy proper family support in the country of origin.

<sup>21</sup> Article 4.2 of Council Directive 2003/86/EC of 22 September 2003.

<sup>22</sup> J. K. Melchior, "Why So Many of Europe's Migrants Are Men", *National Review*, 12 October 2015: [bit.ly/1Jhxy6X](http://bit.ly/1Jhxy6X).

<sup>23</sup> Eurostat, *Total number of first residence permits issued by reason, in 2014 VI*: [bit.ly/1npD5OH](http://bit.ly/1npD5OH).

<sup>24</sup> Eurostat, *Total number of first residence permits issued by reason, in 2014 VI*, op. cit.

to the EU could also create in the long run a disproportion between male and female population in hosting societies, as some reports suggest.<sup>25</sup> Valerie Hudson argues that

*“according to official counts, a disproportionate number of these migrants are young, unmarried, unaccompanied males. In fact, the sex ratios among migrants are so one-sided—we’re talking worse than those in China, in some cases—that they could radically change the gender balance in European countries in certain age cohorts.”*<sup>26</sup>

The case of Sweden is an example of this potential problem: a relatively small population (9.8 million) that receives high number of asylum seekers, 71% of which are male.<sup>27</sup> This disproportion is especially evident in Afghanis’ applicants in Sweden: 82,5% are male.<sup>28</sup> Hudson calculates that

*“as of the end of 2015, there were 123 16- and 17-year-old boys in Sweden for every 100 girls of that age (...) and over time the abnormality will become an established fact of the broader young adult population in Sweden”.*<sup>29</sup>

The relevance of this ratio can be understood when comparing with other regions and States’ rates. For example, in 2014 the female population in the EU was 51.1% (50.1% in Sweden), but only 48.5% in China (due to the one-child policy’s side effects, amongst others, abortion of female), and 48.2% in India and in the Arab World.<sup>30</sup> As suggested by Hesketh and Min:

*“There is empirical support for this prediction: gender is a well-established individual-level correlate of crime, especially violent crime. A consistent finding across cultures is that most crime is perpetrated by young, single males, of low socioeconomic status”.*<sup>31</sup>

Little attention has been paid to this particular effect derived from the sex-composition of the influx of migrants and refugees. This argument is, moreover,

.....  
<sup>25</sup> The Economist, *Oh boy*, 16 January 2016: [econ.st/1PgJeZO](http://econ.st/1PgJeZO).

<sup>26</sup> V. Hudson, *Europe’s Man Problem*, Politico Magazine, 5 January 2016: [politi.co/1RgmI3H](http://politi.co/1RgmI3H).

<sup>27</sup> Migrationsverket (Swedish Migration Agency), *Applications for asylum received*, 2015: 162,877; of which, 114,728 are male applicants; in: [bit.ly/1RxL60N](http://bit.ly/1RxL60N).

<sup>28</sup> Ibidem: 41,564, of which 34,251 are male applicants.

<sup>29</sup> V. Hudson, “Europe’s Man Problem”, op. cit.

<sup>30</sup> World Bank, *Gender Indicators Report* (Population, female, % of total), 2014: [bit.ly/1Ow7IL3](http://bit.ly/1Ow7IL3).

<sup>31</sup> Th. Hesketh and J. Min Min, *The effects of artificial gender imbalance*, Science & Society Series on Sex and Science, *EMBO Rep.* 2012 Jun, 13 (6), pp. 487-492. Published online 2012 May 15: [10.1038/embor.2012.62](http://10.1038/embor.2012.62).

reinforced by security reasons, leading to political decisions such as that to be adopted by Canada, which is planning to exclude single male (excepting “GBTI” male)<sup>32</sup> amongst the 25,000 Syrian refugees to be resettled because women, children and families represent a “low risk”.<sup>33</sup>

### 3. A European crisis?

According to UNHCR there are 4,718,279 registered Syrian refugees: 2.1 million Syrians in Egypt, Iraq, Jordan and Lebanon,<sup>34</sup> more than 2,6 million Syrians registered by the Government of Turkey, as well as more than 28,027 Syrian refugees registered in North Africa.<sup>35</sup> The majority of Syrian refugees escaped to neighboring countries, and only a limited part of them were able to enter the EU. Asylum seekers and migrants see the EU idealistically as the “promised land” where not only social protection but also economic prospects are incomparable better than other countries. Rightly or not, those who are able to leave their countries of origin or refugee camps and wish to initiate a new life, take the risk to make the journey to the final destination, usually Germany or Sweden.

This migration and refugees’ crisis is not just a world regional problem affecting MENA countries<sup>36</sup> and the EU: for a number of reasons, responsibility to provide international protection to asylum seekers goes much beyond, and should include other Western countries (especially the USA) and, not less, other Muslim states, in particular Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Kuwait, Oman, Bahrain and U.A.E. These six Gulf countries seems to have received nearly no refugees in their territories in spite of their relative proximity to Syria as well as the resources at their disposal: 1,760 refugees and 1,957 asylum seekers, in total.<sup>37</sup> According to UNHCR these are the registered numbers:

.....  
<sup>32</sup> D. Faloyin, *Canada will welcome 25,000 refugees, but no single straight men*, Newsweek, 24 November 2015: [bit.ly/1oMHegu](http://bit.ly/1oMHegu).

<sup>33</sup> See: E. Henderson, *‘Canada to turn away single male refugees’ amid fears over Paris attacks*, The Independent, 24 November 2015: [ind.pn/1TnCNha](http://ind.pn/1TnCNha).

<sup>34</sup> Egypt (118,512), Iraq (245,543), Jordan (637,859) and Lebanon (1,067,785). Source: UNHCR, *Syria Regional Refugee Response, Last Update*: 17 February 2016: [bit.ly/1jsBiUu](http://bit.ly/1jsBiUu).

<sup>35</sup> UNHCR, *Syria Regional Refugee Response, Last Update*: 17 February 2016, op. cit.

<sup>36</sup> MENA: Middle East and North Africa.

<sup>37</sup> See: A. Fathalla, *Migrant crisis: Why Syrians do not flee to Gulf states*, BBC, 2 September 2015: [bbc.in/1EBd1ay](http://bbc.in/1EBd1ay); I. Tharoor, *The Arab world’s wealthiest nations are doing next to nothing for Syria’s refugees*, The Washington Post, 4 September 2015: [wapo.st/11NYjBw](http://wapo.st/11NYjBw); “Part of the reason the refugees are arriving on Europe’s doorstep is American foreign policy”: S. Hilton, *Who’s Responsible for the Refugees?*, New York Times, 10 September 2015: [nyti.ms/1HbC45V](http://nyti.ms/1HbC45V).

**Table 1. Number of Refugees and Asylum Seekers**

Saudi Arabia	211	93
Kuwait	593	1040
Qatar	133	100
Oman	122	268
Bahrain	277	78
UAE	424	378
Total	1760	1957

Source: UNHCR. June 2015.

Some argue that the official number is misleading because Saudi Arabia and the rest of the countries have not ratified the 1951 UN Refugee Convention and, technically, thousands of real refugees are not counted.<sup>38</sup> There are 500,000 Syrians in Saudi Arabia, according to Nabil Othman, acting regional representative to the Gulf region at the UNHCR. Official sources in Saudi Arabia claim to have received up to 2.5 million Syrians, including more than 100,000 students.<sup>39</sup> On the contrary, NGOs argue that these countries have offered zero resettlement places to Syrian refugees.<sup>40</sup>

High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Federica Mogherini, in her answer to a Parliamentary Question on 27 November 2015 stated that:

*“The Organisation for Islamic Cooperation’s (OIC) meeting on the humanitarian crisis in Syria on 13 September 2015 stressed the common responsibility of all nations, particularly OIC Member States, to open their doors to the Syrian refugees as a mark of compassion and solidarity. The meeting noted that the numbers of Syrians hosted by OIC Member States have exceeded 7 million persons.”*

It is clear that millions of migrant workers (professionals, low-skilled workers, family members and students),<sup>41</sup> including many from refugee-producing

.....  
<sup>38</sup> A. Nowrasteh, *The Gulf States Are Taking Syrian Refugees*, Newsweek, 12 April 2015: bit.ly/1VriS5M.

<sup>39</sup> D. Abu-Nasr, V. Nereim and D. Almashabi, *Syria’s Refugees Feel More Welcome in Europe Than in the Gulf*, Bloomberg.com, 4 September 2015: bloom.bg/1FupOa5; A. Doanvo, *Western Media’s Miscount of Saudi Arabia’s Syrian Refugees*, The World Post, 23 September 2015: huff.to/1HQG8IJ; Al Arabiya News, *Saudi official: We received 2.5 mln Syrians*, 12 September 2015: bit.ly/1ghSqq1.

<sup>40</sup> Amnesty International, *Syria’s refugee crisis in numbers*, 4 September 2015: bit.ly/1KvPB9pARTICEL.

<sup>41</sup> J. Fenton, *Gulf countries face pressure to take in more Syrian refugee*, Al-Jazeera America, 4 September 2015: bit.ly/linuRUB.

countries, live in Gulf countries.<sup>42</sup> Amongst them, hundreds of thousands are Syrians: unofficial estimations mention 300,000 in Saudi Arabia, 150,000 in the UAE and 120,000 in Kuwait. Allegedly, most of Syrians in Gulf States are permitted to extend their stays or to enter because they have family there.<sup>43</sup> Kinninmont suggests that Gulf countries tend to have such demographic protectionists when it comes to refugees due to its population (migrants make up the majority of the workforce in all the Gulf countries; and in Qatar and UAE, more than 85% of the population) and resource structure (wealth concentrated in small group of citizens).<sup>44</sup> The proposed solution by Kinninmont is that these countries become a full part of the international refugee system.

This migration and refugees crisis should be qualified as international one and should be address by regional neighbouring countries with closest cultural links, but also those countries that have historically intervened in the area (in particular, in the last decades) and shaping directly or indirectly the current situation, and others that have the possibilities and resources to give international protection to those fleeing the war, violence and persecution. States whose external policies, including military interventions, have contributed to destabilize Middle East should take their responsibility, first, to alleviate the suffering of victims of conflicts but also to activate available mechanisms and resources to re-stabilize the area.

## 4. Persecuted religious minorities, in particular Christians

Christians are the most persecuted religious group in the world, a fact that has been recognized by the European Parliament in its resolution of 30 April 2015.<sup>45</sup> A paradoxical aspect of contemporary Christianity is that, worldwide, its adherents are a majority, but in many regions of the world, they belong to a minority.<sup>46</sup> Open

.....  
<sup>42</sup> According to ILO, the annual outflow of workers from some Asian countries to GCC countries is 2,997,765. See: ILO, *Labour Market Trends Analysis and Labour Migration from South Asia to Gulf Cooperation Council Countries, India and Malaysia*, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH and International Labour Organization Kathmandu, Nepal 2015, p. 7: [bit.ly/1UouQPpy](http://bit.ly/1UouQPpy).

<sup>43</sup> A. Fathalla, *Migrant crisis: Why Syrians do not flee to Gulf states*, op. cit.

<sup>44</sup> J. Kinninmont, *Why Aren't Gulf Countries Taking in Syrian Refugees?*, Chatham House, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 8 September 2015: [bit.ly/1UE0Ehy](http://bit.ly/1UE0Ehy).

<sup>45</sup> Resolution on Persecution of the Christians around the world, in relation to the killing of students in Kenya by terror group Al-Shabaab, 30 April 2015.

<sup>46</sup> Ph. Perchoc, *Violence and persecution levelled at Christians around the world*, European Parliament, Research Service. Briefing, December 2015, p. 2: [bit.ly/1NfldMB](http://bit.ly/1NfldMB).

Doors has counted the numbers of this persecution: every month 322 Christians are killed for their faith; 214 Churches and Christian properties are destroyed; 772 forms of violence are committed against Christians (such as beatings, abductions, rapes, arrests, and forced marriages).<sup>47</sup>

The situation of Christians in the Middle East, particularly in Syria and Iraq, is horrific. The number of Christians in Iraq has significantly dropped from 1.2 million (beginning of the 1990s) to around 350,000 now. Before the conflict in Syria started, around 1.8 million Christians lived in this country; since then more 500,000 Christians have been displaced. These facts have been duly recognized by the European Parliament in its resolution of 18 September 2014 on the situation in Iraq and Syria, and the IS offensive, including the persecution of minorities, and of 17 July 2014 on the situation in Iraq. More recently, the European Parliament qualified actions perpetrated by the so-called “ISIS/Daesh” against Christians and other religious minorities as “genocide”, and further steps should be taken to stop the on-going genocide.<sup>48</sup> In a similar way, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe stated that “States should act on the presumption that Da’ish commits genocide”.<sup>49</sup> Obviously, this on-going genocide and persecution push Christians to flee and become either Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) or asylum seekers out of their native and homelands.

The vast majority of people in the official camps are Muslims, and Muslims frequently manage them. In this regard, in a Muslim environment where there can be radical fundamentalists and Islamic fanatics Christians are extremely vulnerable,<sup>50</sup> and therefore, it is advisable to take seriously their safety and the protection of their freedom to practice their religion without fear in an environment free of threats and risks.

Christians in many cases avoid entering into refugees and displaced persons’ camps because they are afraid of attacks, discrimination and harassment, particularly by some Muslims.<sup>51</sup> British media reported that ISIS terrorists are

.....  
<sup>47</sup> Open Doors, *Christian Persecution*: [bit.ly/1wzx7fl](http://bit.ly/1wzx7fl).

<sup>48</sup> Resolution on the systematic mass murder of religious minorities by the so-called ‘ISIS/Daesh’, 4 February 2016.

<sup>49</sup> Resolution 2091 (2016) on Foreign fighters in Syria and Iraq, 27 January 2016.

<sup>50</sup> We must remember the attack by Muslims to Christians in a migrant boat crossing the Mediterranean from Lybia to Italy, throwing 12 fellow passengers overboard because they were Christians, in April 2015. See: H. Messia, L. Borghese and J. Hanna, *Italian police: Muslim migrants threw Christians overboard*, CNN 19 April 2015: [cnn.it/1Om0RBp](http://cnn.it/1Om0RBp); J. Akbar, *Muslim migrants threw 12 Christians overboard to their deaths because they were not praying to Allah when they asked God for help when their dinghy suffered a puncture*, MailOnline, 18 April 2015: [dailym.ai/1D1jk0N](http://dailym.ai/1D1jk0N); BBC News, *Migrants killed in ‘religious clash’ on Mediterranean boat*, 16 April 2015: [bbc.in/1FYdROo](http://bbc.in/1FYdROo).

<sup>51</sup> J. Martone, *Syrian Christians turn to Turkish churches, not refugee camps, for help*, CNS News, 20 March 2013: [bit.ly/24nbH56](http://bit.ly/24nbH56). S. Starr, *Bleak Christmas for Christian Syrians in historic Turkish town*, The Irish Times, 28 December 2015: [bit.ly/1WGaakQ](http://bit.ly/1WGaakQ).

infiltrating UN refugee camps to assassinate and kidnap Christians.<sup>52</sup> Christian Aid Mission, an US Christian charity group described that UN refugee camps are “*dangerous because they have ISIS, Iraqi militias and Syrian militias. It’s another place for gangs. They’re killing inside the camps, and they’re buying and selling ladies and even girls.*”<sup>53</sup> This has a direct impact on the opportunities by Christian refugees to be resettled, because UNHCR largely selects refugees from refugee camps, and its rules forbid deliberate distinctions on the basis of religion. As stated by Nina Shea, Director of Hudson Institute’s Center for Religious Freedom and a former commissioner of the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, “*without further action, however, only token numbers of non-Muslim minorities will be among those rescued.*”<sup>54</sup> This new (non-intentional but factual) discrimination against non-Muslim refugees, in particular Christian ones, in resettlement is already taking place.<sup>55</sup> The EU Commissioner on Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection, Christos Stylianides, stated that “*the EU’s humanitarian aid is being delivered to all people in need, including Christians and other minorities, based solely on needs and vulnerabilities and in full respect of humanitarian principles, regardless of religious affiliation or conviction, ethnicity or geographical location.*”<sup>56</sup> UNHCR, the EU Humanitarian services and the rest of national and international authorities and NGOs assisting refugees in camps should specifically address particular needs of Christians and their extreme vulnerability in camps. As stated by Witt, “*Muslim migrants have many places to turn to in the Middle East. But like the Jews under the shadow of Hitler, today’s Middle Eastern Christians under the shadow of radical Islam have precious few options.*”<sup>57</sup>

When reaching Europe, Christian refugees and asylum seekers do not always find the protection they are looking for. Growing difficulties inside asylum seekers’ detention and reception centres have been alleged in certain EU

.....  
<sup>52</sup> N. Gutteridge, *Heading for Britain: ISIS sends ASSASSINS into UN refugee camps to murder Christian*, Express.co.uk, 24 October 2015: [bit.ly/21lfbm5](http://bit.ly/21lfbm5).

<sup>53</sup> Christian Aid Mission, *Militants Bring Islamist Brutality to Refugee Camps*, 8 October 2015: [bit.ly/1QVBnM5](http://bit.ly/1QVBnM5).

<sup>54</sup> N. Shea, *The State Department Turns Its Back on Syrian Christians and Other Non-Muslim Refugee*, National Review, 2 November 2015: [bit.ly/1McSSsY](http://bit.ly/1McSSsY).

<sup>55</sup> G. Sands, *Where are the Syrian Christian Refugees?*, Foreign Policy Association, 18 December 2015: [bit.ly/1PSCk0r](http://bit.ly/1PSCk0r). J. Bingham, *Christians could be excluded from refugee resettlement plans, says Cardinal*, The Telegraph, 17 December 2015: [bit.ly/1p0eP6p](http://bit.ly/1p0eP6p).

<sup>56</sup> Answer given by Mr Stylianides on behalf of the Commission, 24 June 2015, to the Parliamentary question by MEP Pavel Svoboda on *Discrimination of Christian minorities in refugee camps in the Middle East*: [bit.ly/1Oq5l9m](http://bit.ly/1Oq5l9m).

<sup>57</sup> J. Witt, *Why So Few Syrian Christian Refugees? For the Same Reason You Can’t Find Orphans in Haitian Orphanages*, The Stream, 20 November 2015: [bit.ly/1QVRwoI](http://bit.ly/1QVRwoI).

Member States affecting Christian asylum seekers. Overcrowded spaces, unsegregated conditions, and religious and cultural tensions have been identified in Germany,<sup>58</sup> The Netherlands,<sup>59</sup> France<sup>60</sup> and Sweden.<sup>61</sup> Women and children are victims of sexual assault;<sup>62</sup> fanatical Muslims frequently harass Christians (forcing them to practice Ramadan; threatening them when wearing Christian symbols and having bibles and religious images; etc.).<sup>63</sup> Some Muslims convert into Christianity<sup>64</sup> and are victims of threats and coercion. These problems have been unreported and have had very limited visibility. Sexual assaults and attacks by migrants from North African Muslim countries in Cologne<sup>65</sup> have increased the concerns of local populations towards foreigners from Muslim countries. These criminal actions and allegations on the wrong attitude of local

.....  
<sup>58</sup> D. Breitenbach, *Refugees don't leave their conflicts behind*, Deutsche Welle, 28 September 2015: [bit.ly/1LYddOE](http://bit.ly/1LYddOE); H. Farley, *Christian refugees exposed to 'brutal harassment' in German camps*, Christian Today, 14 January 2016: [bit.ly/1PtMPPhk](http://bit.ly/1PtMPPhk). Ch. Pongratz-Lippitt, *Muslims torment Christians in refugee shelters*, The Tablet, 18 February 2016: [bit.ly/1QUbSuj](http://bit.ly/1QUbSuj). The Catholic Herald, *Christian refugees are under threat from other asylum seekers, says German bishop*, 19 February 2016: [bit.ly/1PSxYQC](http://bit.ly/1PSxYQC).

<sup>59</sup> EO Christian TV Channel in the Netherlands, *Christian Asylum Seekers routinely threatened and attacked by Muslims*: [bit.ly/1OyANWv](http://bit.ly/1OyANWv).

<sup>60</sup> H. Samuel, *Religious tensions' spark gunfight in French migrant camp*, Telegraph.co.uk, 27 January 2016: [bit.ly/1mSVgeD](http://bit.ly/1mSVgeD). M. Golla, *Deux interpellations après une rixe dans le camp de Grande-Synthe*, Le Figaro, 27 January 2016: [bit.ly/1QAIVJI](http://bit.ly/1QAIVJI). A. James, *Christian refugees still facing "totally unacceptable persecution in Europe, says charity"*, Premier, 21 February 2016: [bit.ly/1Qc928f](http://bit.ly/1Qc928f).

<sup>61</sup> A. Casanova, *Syrian Christians Flee Swedish Asylum amid Harassment from Muslims*, ChristianHeadlines.com, 24 July 2015: [bit.ly/1SyW2LC](http://bit.ly/1SyW2LC).

<sup>62</sup> Johannes-Wilhelm Roerig, the German Federal Commissioner for child sexual abuse issues, said: "I am most concerned that refugee children in camps, gymnasiums, or former barracks are not sufficiently protected from sexual assault". See: A. Hall, *Rape and child abuse 'are rife in German refugee camps'*, MailOnline.com, 24 September 2015: [dailym.ai/1R4zNtq](http://dailym.ai/1R4zNtq). K. Weber, *German City to Protect Christians Immigrants Facing Harassment in Asylum Camps*, Christian Post, 13 February 2016: [bit.ly/20QoBDV](http://bit.ly/20QoBDV).

<sup>63</sup> F. Peters, *Islamisten bedrohen Christen in Flüchtlingsheimen*, Die Welt, 27 September 2015: [bit.ly/1LWF41J](http://bit.ly/1LWF41J). Crossmap, *Christian Migrants Find Discrimination Follows Them to Europe*, 17 February 2016: [bit.ly/1Oqc5nD](http://bit.ly/1Oqc5nD).

<sup>64</sup> D. Nerbollier, *En Allemagne, l'accueil délicat des réfugiés convertis au christianisme*, La Croix, 21 September 2015: [bit.ly/1NHAmhi](http://bit.ly/1NHAmhi). CBN News, *Refugees: Sweden's Deadly Double Standard against Christians*, 22 October 2015: [bit.ly/1WDIgWF](http://bit.ly/1WDIgWF). D. Ernst, *Migrant converts to Christianity, gets beaten with baton*, WND 21 October 2015: [bit.ly/1mSX4nW](http://bit.ly/1mSX4nW).

<sup>65</sup> Just three of the 58 suspects arrested in connection with mass sex assaults and attacks were refugees (2 Syrians and 1 Iraqi), but the large majority of them were migrants from North of Africa: 25 Algerians, 21 Moroccans, and 3 Tunisians. See: A. Allegretti, *Cologne Sex Attacks: Only Three Out Of 58 Men Arrested Are Refugees, Prosecutor Reveals*, Huffington Post, 16 February 2016: [huff.to/24mpzkw](http://huff.to/24mpzkw).

authorities<sup>66</sup> have provoked a profound impact in Germany and the rest of Europe, and a shift in general perceptions when addressing the issue of acceptance and integration of newcomers in hosting societies.<sup>67</sup>

Germany has opened its first asylum centre for gays who are targeted for persecution by Muslim refugees.<sup>68</sup> All the more (being scale much bigger), the same principle should apply to Christians who are persecuted and harassed by Muslims in refugees' centres in Europe. Their extreme vulnerability and need of protection is a sound legal argument to consider that measure not discriminatory, based on a situation of necessity and proportional to the aim pursued. There is no privileged treatment in giving specific answers to particular circumstances in which a specific group (in this case, a religious group) faces serious threats to the fundamental rights of its members inside a EU Member State.

## 5. Re-emerging debate on national and European identities and values

During the drafting process of the failed European Constitution, the controversy over its Preamble brought into the public debate again the discussion about the identity and roots of Europe. Unfortunately, that debate was oriented by biased and militant positions manoeuvring to expel from the text the recognition of the predominant role of Christianity in shaping Europe, without excluding other influences.<sup>69</sup> This debate on European identity, which is periodically re-opened, has come to light again due to the massive influx of immigrants and refugees, the majority of which come from culturally distant countries. Which are the migrants and refugees' values and cultural traditions? To what extent can they be accommodated in hosting societies? Liberal societies tend to create multicultural spaces

.....  
<sup>66</sup> France24, *Swedish police 'covered up migrant sex assaults'*, 12 January 2016: [f24.my/1SyYYrx](http://f24.my/1SyYYrx). I. Arpi, *It's not only Germany that covers up mass sex attacks by migrant men... Sweden's record is shameful*, *The Spectator*, 16 January 2016: [bit.ly/1Kgwg75](http://bit.ly/1Kgwg75). T. Bellon and T. Severin, *German authorities accused of playing down refugee shelter sex crime reports*, *Reuters*, 6 October 2015: [reut.rs/1T0BhZT](http://reut.rs/1T0BhZT).

<sup>67</sup> G. Hewitt, *Cologne attacks' profound impact on Europe*, *BBC News*, 11 January 2016: [bbc.in/1ZfeasY](http://bbc.in/1ZfeasY).

<sup>68</sup> S. Mamanglu-Regala, *Germany opens first asylum centre for gays who are targeted for persecution by Muslim refugees*, *Christian Today*, 3 February 2016: [bit.ly/1UidnZ4](http://bit.ly/1UidnZ4).

<sup>69</sup> See: M. Kuna, *God, Christian Values and the European Constitution: Should the Latter Refer to the Former and Why?*, in: R. Blocksome, S. Nagypál and P. Sajdapp (eds.), *Medi(t)ations, (re)conciliations: Conflict Resolution and European Integration*, Budapest: BGÖI; Bratislava: WSCF-CESR, 2004, pp. 103-110: [bit.ly/1nn7oEW](http://bit.ly/1nn7oEW).

letting communities holding contradictory basic values living side by side. In that context, migrants and refugees rejecting basic principles considered undeniable in hosting societies look for “accommodation” of their beliefs. This “accommodation” neither solves the main problem created by highly intensive multiculturalism that weakens social cohesion and sense of belonging to a common homeland, nor prevents cultural conflicts between native cultural *ethos* and rival foreign practices. This uncomfortable political issue has remained mostly invisible or has been denied. As expressed by McPhee “*the attitude of the majority of governments in Europe is one of ‘separate but equal’. This separation is maintained by the belief in European societies that it is taboo to discuss friction openly.*”<sup>70</sup> Some mainstream politicians and media accept the idea that making visible cultural tensions between minority groups and societies, in particular when dealing with Islamic minorities, fuels what is called “hate speech”<sup>71</sup> and radicalization. In extreme cases, the law of the land has been even contradicted by authorities trying to “accommodate” cultural diversity.<sup>72</sup>

The inevitable question is how to integrate such diversity of peoples in European societies, in particular those with a cultural background, which may even contradict certain core aspects of the hosting societies’ *ethos*. A recent survey of the European Commission found that more than 50% of respondents in 11 cities in Europe disagreed to the proposed statement “*foreigners who live in their city are well integrated*”. According to that survey, social perceptions about the lack of integration of foreigners reached over 50% in: Athens (76%) and Greater Athens (75%), Malmö (65%), Rome (64%), Stockholm (56%), Torino (53%), Sofia (52%); and 50% in Berlin, Wien and Antwerp.<sup>73</sup> A sociological study by the Pew Research Center in 2014 showed that when respondents were asked whether they believe immigrants want to adopt national customs and ways of life or remain distinct

.....  
<sup>70</sup> S. McPhee, *Muslim identity. The European context*, Sussex Migration Working Paper no. 34, September 2005: [bit.ly/21mVnCc](http://bit.ly/21mVnCc).

<sup>71</sup> “Hate speech” is also a blurred legal concept that not infrequently prevents citizens to freely discuss migration and other uncomfortable issues, under the threat of being responsible of “illegal discourse”, and even, of a criminal offense.

<sup>72</sup> A couple of examples: a German magistrate denied a case of domestic violence against a Muslim wife because in his understanding Islamic marriages don’t condemn that practice. See: V. Medick and A. Reimann, *Justifying Marital Violence: A German Judge Cites Koran in Divorce Case*, Spiegel Online, 21 March 2007: [bit.ly/21vkOQ](http://bit.ly/21vkOQ). In France, a judge declared void a marriage due to a “mistake about essential qualities of the person” (“*erreur sur les qualités essentielles de la personne*”), after the husband claimed his wife not to be virgin at the time of their wedding. See: Judgment of the Tribunal de grande instance de Lille, Chamber 1, 1 April 2008: [bit.ly/1oSBhP9](http://bit.ly/1oSBhP9); and Judgment of the Cour d’appel de Douai, chambre civile 1, 17 November 2008: [bit.ly/1oSBhP9](http://bit.ly/1oSBhP9).

<sup>73</sup> European Commission, *Quality of Life in European Cities 2015. Flash Eurobarometer 419*, January 2016, pp. 82-3: [bit.ly/20xcGgc](http://bit.ly/20xcGgc).

from the broader society, many in selected EU countries, including more than half the public in Italy (77%), Germany (59%) and France (54%), expressed frustration over immigrants’ perceived failure to assimilate (and at least four-in-ten express this view in Greece, Spain, the UK and Poland).<sup>74</sup>

**Table 2. How European Society see Immigrants (%)**

	Be distinct from our society	Want our customs and way of life	Neither/ both	Don’t know
Italy	77	11	9	2
Germany	59	32	6	4
France	54	44	1	1
Greece	48	35	14	4
Spain	48	43	8	1
UK	47	34	9	9
Poland	42	29	11	18

Source: Spring 2014 Global Attitudes Survey Q85c Pew Research Centre

Indicators measuring integration are functional (knowledge of language, access to housing, education and social services; participation in labour market and political life –“active citizenship”-, etc.),<sup>75</sup> but they hardly reveal the sense of belonging by migrants or people with migration background with respect to the national cultural *ethos* and values. For example, France perceived burkas and niqabs as a threat to its Republican values, and decided to ban by law wearing of the full veil in public, a legislation that was considered by the European Court of Human Rights as compatible with the requirements of the European Convention of Human Rights.<sup>76</sup> In Switzerland, a public primary school teacher who converted to Islam was also banned by local authorities to wear a headscarf while teaching, a decision upheld by the European Court of Human Rights, because “it therefore appears difficult to reconcile the wearing of an Islamic headscarf with the message of tolerance, respect for others and, above all, equality and non-discrimination that all teachers in a democratic society must convey to their pupils.”<sup>77</sup> The same Court qualified

.....  
<sup>74</sup> Pew Research Center, *A Fragile Rebound for EU Image on Eve of European Parliament Elections*, May 2014, p. 27: [pewrsr.ch/152FUvh](http://pewrsr.ch/152FUvh).

<sup>75</sup> Th. Huddleston, J. Niessen and J. D. Tjaden, *Using EU Indicators of Immigrant Integration. Final Report for Directorate-General for Home Affairs*, European Commission, Luxembourg, 2013: [bit.ly/1W7yQag](http://bit.ly/1W7yQag); M. Coussey and E. S. Christensen, *Indicators of integration*, in: Council of Europe, *Measurement and indicators of integration*, Strasbourg 1997, p. 19 et seq.

<sup>76</sup> S.A.S. v. France, Grand Chamber, judgement of 1 July 2014.

<sup>77</sup> Dahlab v Switzerland, 15 February 2001, decision on the admissibility.

“sharia law” as “incompatible with the fundamental principles of democracy”.<sup>78</sup> This incompatibility is challenged by certain understanding of Islam particularly rooted in countries such as Afghanistan, Iraq or Pakistan. In accordance with a Pew Research study, 99% of Muslim Afghans, 91% of Muslim Iraqis and 84% of Muslim Pakistanis state that sharia should be official law of the land.<sup>79</sup> These are precisely some of the countries of origin from which a large part of migrants are coming to Europe.

In other societal issues, core principles that are cherished in Europe are not shared by mainstream societies of origin of migrants and refugees. Interesting data are contained in the study *The World's Muslims: Religion, Politics and Society* by Pew Research Center on equality between man and woman: to the question “*Should sons and daughters have equal inheritance rights*” (% of Muslims who say both should have equal inheritance rights), the results are shocking from an European perspective because 85% of Moroccans and Tunisians, 78% of Iraqis, 70% of Afghans reject this equality between sons and daughters.<sup>80</sup> Furthermore, polygamy is morally acceptable for Muslims in the following percentage: 87% (Niger), 86% (Senegal), 74% (Mali) and 67% (Cameroon).<sup>81</sup> In Afghanistan (60%) and Iraq (60%) majorities say honour killings of women are often or sometimes justified, while in Afghanistan does a majority (59%) say the same about executing men who have allegedly engaged in pre- or extra-marital sex. Concerning the relation between husband and wife, the rate of Muslims who completely or mostly agree that a wife must always obey her husband is particularly high in: Afghanistan (94%), Tunisia (93%), Morocco (92%), Iraq (92%) and Pakistan (88%).<sup>82</sup> In the *Global Gender Gap Index 2015*, countries of origin of most of migrants and refugees coming to Europe appear in extremely low position (out of 145 countries ranked): Pakistan (0.559; position: 144); Syria (0.568; position: 143); Morocco (0.593; position: 139); Turkey (0.624, position: 130); Algeria (0.632; position: 128), Tunisia (0.634; position: 127).<sup>83</sup> In accordance to a global perception poll of experts conducted by the Thomson Reuters Foundation to highlight the five most dangerous countries for women, the outcome underlines the enormous cultural gap of certain countries in comparison to Europe on women's issues, in particular marriage: in Afghanistan 70-80% of women face forced marriages;

.....  
<sup>78</sup> Refah Partisi (The Welfare Party) and Others v. Turkey, Grand Chamber judgment of 13 February 2003, paragraph 123.

<sup>79</sup> Pew Research Center, *The World's Muslims: Religion, Politics and Society*, 30 April 2013: [pewrsr.ch/19aHxGF](http://pewrsr.ch/19aHxGF).

<sup>80</sup> Idem, Chapter 4. Women in society, 30 April 2013: [pewrsr.ch/Qvvu09](http://pewrsr.ch/Qvvu09).

<sup>81</sup> Idem, Chapter 3. Morality: [pewrsr.ch/1eFmIFt](http://pewrsr.ch/1eFmIFt).

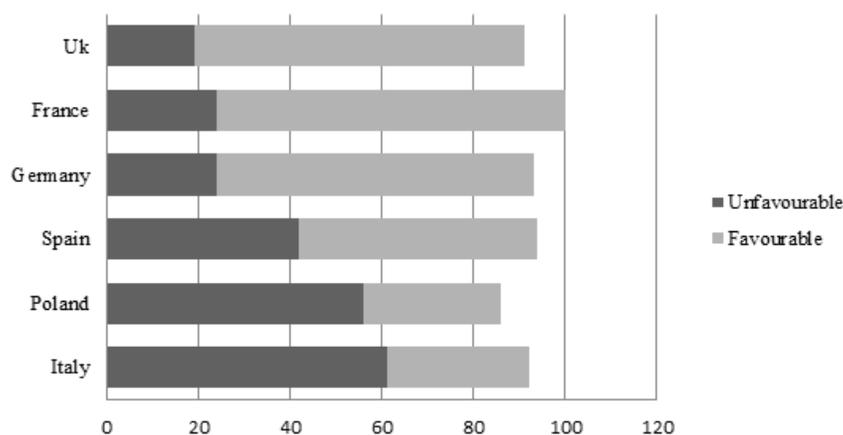
<sup>82</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>83</sup> World Economic Forum, *The Global Gender Gap Index 2015*. The highest possible score is 1 (equality) and the lowest possible score is 0 (inequality): [bit.ly/1j8wCFd](http://bit.ly/1j8wCFd).

44.5% of girls are married before 18 years old.<sup>84</sup> In this regard, a 2008 survey in France found that around 22% of immigrant women aged 51-60 didn't fully consent to enter into marriage (9% for the youngest aged 26-30; 4% among the daughters of immigrants).<sup>85</sup> Again, the migration dimension appears in the profiles both of the victim (mostly young women) and of the perpetrator (mostly, older male relatives).<sup>86</sup>

Many of these social and cultural practices in Muslim majority countries have been imported to European societies through migratory influx mostly over the last 50 years. But contrary to some general perceptions, public opinion's attitude in Europe towards Muslims is mostly positive.<sup>87</sup> Although social views on Muslims vary from one EU country to another, anti Muslim sentiments did not rise in seven selected countries.<sup>88</sup>

**Figure 1. How European Society see Immigrants (%)**



Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes Survey Q45c Pew Research Centre

<sup>84</sup> Thomson Reuters Foundation, *The world's five most dangerous countries for women. A Thomson Reuters Foundation global poll of experts*, 2011: [bit.ly/20iMnxx](http://bit.ly/20iMnxx).

<sup>85</sup> These figures include all marriages not based on purely individual choice, including “forced marriages” (against one’s will) and “marriages without full consent”. See: Ch. Hamel, *Fewer forced marriages among immigrant women and daughters of immigrants*, Population & Societies, n° 479, Institut National d’Études Démographiques, June 2011: [bit.ly/20j5R1A](http://bit.ly/20j5R1A).

<sup>86</sup> FRA – European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, *Addressing forced marriages in the EU: legal provisions and promising practices*, Luxembourg 2014, p. 12: [bit.ly/1Pa2gfh](http://bit.ly/1Pa2gfh).

<sup>87</sup> Pew Research Center, *Faith in European Project Reviving*, June 2015, p. 21: [pewrsr.ch/1WQ9ZDJ](http://pewrsr.ch/1WQ9ZDJ).

<sup>88</sup> A 2014 Pew Research Center study found that in seven selected EU Member States anti-Muslim views are: low in the UK (26%) and France (27%) but high in Italy (63%), Greece (53%) and Poland (50%). See: Pew Research Center, *A Fragile Rebound for EU Image on Eve of European Parliament Elections*, op. cit., p. 9.

Another concrete (and more extreme) example of a foreign practice contradicting basic European core principles is female genital mutilation (FGM), that is considered a crime across Europe. For years it has been an invisible phenomenon in our continent. Recent reports, national and international have made us aware of the dimension of this criminal activity. UNHCR and the EU recognised that this harmful traditional practice (most common in the Western, Eastern, and North-Eastern regions of Africa, but also in some countries in Asia and the Middle East) exists among migrant and refugee communities in Europe and beyond.<sup>89</sup> In the EU the figures of 500,000 victims and 180.000 at risk are commonly cited.<sup>90</sup> Migration is a key factor to determine the level of risk, in accordance to the European Commission: “*Girls that have migrated from a country where FGM is practised, or who were born to one or both parents originating from such a country may be considered as being at risk*”.<sup>91</sup>

Cultural gaps between migrants and hosting societies concerning issues such as dress code and symbols, position of woman in family and society, free speech or treatment of children are not infrequent. These issues are already present in our European societies also involving national citizens of EU Member States with migrant background. Social perceptions about cultural gaps created by “migration” are variable. In this context, a different perception of “migrants from the EU” and “from outside the EU” exist in European societies. Public opinion in the EU still sees positively “immigration of people from other EU Member States” (intra-EU) -51%-, while immigration from outside the EU evokes a “negative” feeling for 56%, according to the European Commission’s *Eurobarometer* (Spring 2015):<sup>92</sup>

.....  
<sup>89</sup> UNHCR, *Female Genital Mutilation & Asylum in the European Union. A Statistical Update*, March 2014: [bit.ly/1fcSITf](http://bit.ly/1fcSITf); European Commission, *Communication Towards the elimination of female genital mutilation*, COM(2013) 833 final, Brussels, 25.11.2013: [bit.ly/1tgSC33](http://bit.ly/1tgSC33); England published in 2014 for the first time the number of patients in English hospitals who had undergone female genital mutilation (FGM): for the period of September 2014 to March 2015, 3,963 newly identified cases of FGM reported nationally. See: UK Department of Health, Health & Social Care Information Centre, *Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) - March 2015, Experimental Statistics. Publication date: April 30, 2015*: [bit.ly/20BMgdF](http://bit.ly/20BMgdF). In its Statistics from July 2015 to September 2015 (published on 2 December 2015), there were 1,385 newly recorded cases of FGM reported: 93.2 per cent of newly recorded women and girls, with a known country of birth, were born in Eastern, Northern or Western Africa: [bit.ly/1TwVcyA](http://bit.ly/1TwVcyA).

<sup>90</sup> European Parliament resolution of 14 June 2012 on ending female genital mutilation, Recital B: [bit.ly/1STpKLq](http://bit.ly/1STpKLq).

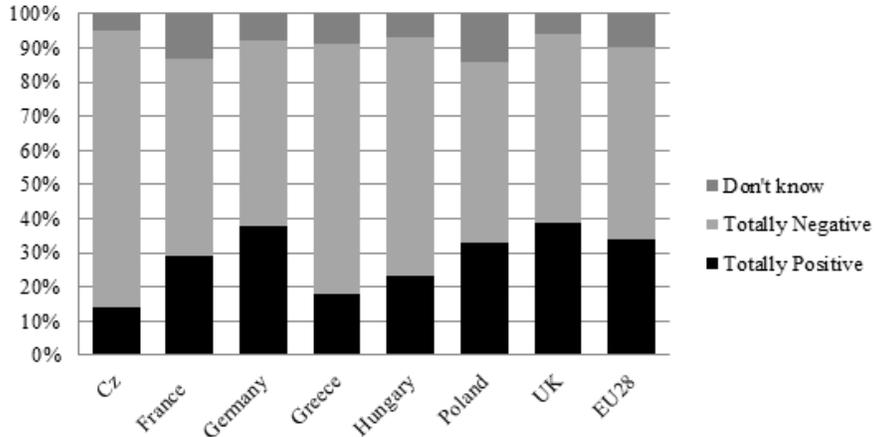
<sup>91</sup> European Commission, *Communication Towards the elimination of female genital mutilation*, op. cit., p. 5.

<sup>92</sup> European Commission, *Public Opinion in the European Union*, Standard Eurobarometer 83, Spring 2015, May 2015, p. 152: [bit.ly/IKpY6P](http://bit.ly/IKpY6P).

Does the Statement 'Immigration of People from outside the EU evoke a positive or negative feeling for you.

Does the Statement 'Immigration of People from outside the EU evoke a positive or negative feeling for you.

**Figure 2. How European Society see Immigrants (%)**



Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes Survey Q45c Pew Research Centre

Particular concerns exist over the difficulties in some cases to integrate newcomers with Muslim background into European societies. As an example, using the UK Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities, Bisin and others, in comparing differences in the process of cultural integration between Muslims and other UK minorities (e.g. Caribbeans, Chinese, non-Muslim Indians), found that “Muslims integrate less and more slowly than non-Muslims. In terms of estimated probability of having a strong religious identity, a Muslim born in the UK and having spent there more than 30 years is comparable with a non-Muslim just arrived in the country.”<sup>93</sup> In 2010, *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* asked respondents to rate the integration of Muslim immigrants into their societies: negative views about Muslim integration were especially common in Spain and Germany, where large majorities said that Muslims were integrating poorly (70% and 67%, respectively). They were followed by the Dutch (56%), the British

<sup>93</sup> A. Bisin, Th. Verdier, E. Patacchini and Y. Zenou, *Are Muslim Immigrants Different in Terms of Cultural Integration?*, Journal of the European Economic Association, April-May 2008 6 (2-3), p. 445: [bit.ly/1XR3t0w](http://bit.ly/1XR3t0w).

(53%), the French (51%), and Italians (49%) who also thought that Muslim immigrants were integrating inadequately.<sup>94</sup>

Moreover, concerns about integration of cultural Muslims in European societies beyond first generation remain. Second and third generations' members are ordinary citizens born in EU countries were their parents or grandparents lived as immigrants: technically, they are not immigrants anymore but "native" people. On the other hand, it should be noted, as pointed out by Schneider and others that "having a religion' is not the same as identifying with a specific religion."<sup>95</sup> In their research on second generation of Turks and Moroccans in prominent cities in eight European countries, they found that "being Muslim – as an identity category – is not necessarily linked to feelings of religiousness or certain degrees of religious practice, but rather is an integral part of people's self-definition as Turkish or Moroccan"<sup>96</sup> The social category "Muslim population" for integration purposes is quite broad and diverse, and frequently we find mixed elements, religious and cultural ones, with different weigh depending on several factors (age, origin, generational cohort, educational background, etc.).<sup>97</sup> But despite this diversity, members of Muslim communities and groups frequently have stronger identification with local communities than attachment to the national hosting community.<sup>98</sup> A 2006 study by Pew Research Centre revealed that "large percentages of Muslims in Europe say they think of themselves first as a Muslim rather than as a citizen of their country", but by contrast, "Christians in European countries overwhelmingly self-identify with their respective nationalities rather than with their faith."<sup>99</sup>

In many cases, some Muslims consider themselves detached from their own country's *ethos* and traditions and contribute to fuel the creation of parallel

.....  
<sup>94</sup> Transatlantic Trends, *Immigration. Key Findings*, 2010, p. 27: [bit.ly/1S8d8iI](http://bit.ly/1S8d8iI).

<sup>95</sup> J. Schneider, T. Fokkema and others, *Identities: Urban belonging and intercultural relations*, in: M. Crul, J. Schneider and F. Lelie (eds.), *The European Second Generation Compared. Does the Integration Context Matter?*, IMISCOPE Research, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam, 2012, p. 301.

<sup>96</sup> J. Schneider, T. Fokkema and others, *Identities: Urban belonging and intercultural relations*, op. cit.

<sup>97</sup> "Educational attainment shows some influence in this regard. Strong Muslim identities are less common among higher-educated respondents": J. Schneider, T. Fokkema and others, op. cit., p. 301.

<sup>98</sup> F. Fleischmann, *Second-generation Muslims in European societies. Comparative perspectives on education and religion*, Doctoral Thesis, Catholic University of Leuven, 2011, p. 151: [it.ly/1peWhzC](http://it.ly/1peWhzC).

<sup>99</sup> "The tendency is strongest in Great Britain where 81% in the Muslim oversample self-identify as Muslim rather than British, while in Spain 69% do so and in Germany 66%. In sharp contrast, Muslims living in France are far less likely to identify first with their faith rather their nationality. While a 46%-plurality identifies first as a Muslim, a nearly equal 42% see themselves as primarily French, while an additional 10% say both equally." Pew Research Center, *Muslims in Europe: Economic Worries top concerns about religious and cultural identity*, July 2006: [pewrsr.ch/1Qb0Kfq](http://pewrsr.ch/1Qb0Kfq). Full Report: [pewrsr.ch/1TFDBEb](http://pewrsr.ch/1TFDBEb).

societies. In the Netherlands, for example, contacts between the second generation of Turkish and Moroccan origin and the indigenous population have been steadily declining in recent years, and negative feelings towards each other are increasing.<sup>100</sup>

Furthermore, the new phenomenon of radicalization and jihadist recruitment spread among young Muslims of second and third generation is a worrying trend that expresses violent rejection and hostility towards the *ethos* and traditions of their own nations.<sup>101</sup> For a complex variety of reasons, as suggested by Cesari, “*Western countries have thus paradoxically proved to be fertile ground for the growth of puritanical and intolerant interpretation of Islam*”.<sup>102</sup> The fear and the risk is that radicalisation of some Muslims and jihadist terrorist attacks in Europe may increase anti-Muslim sentiments and fuel cultural clash.

Immigration, and in particular, migrants with cultural Muslim background, represent for European societies a challenge in terms of integration. After decades of certain stability, European societies are confronted with millions of newcomers with a different cultural mind-set that defies some of their core principles. In this context, concerns over the stability of European societies are legitimate ones, as is the request to respect legal obligations derived from the 1951 UN Convention on refugees. The Muslim population in Europe has been perceived as not well integrated, and these perceptions were strengthened by some specific cases.<sup>103</sup> More recently some incidents involving migrants from Muslim countries or natives with Muslim background have downgraded social perceptions towards these minorities.<sup>104</sup>

.....  
<sup>100</sup> See the report by the Blok Committee, the parliamentary commission set up to study integration (Tweede Kamer 2003-2004, 28689, n° 17) and *RMO* advise n° 37, The Hague, October 2005 (“Niet langer met de ruggen tegen elkaar”). Quoted by R. de Wijk, *The Multiple Crises in Dutch Parallel Societies*, in: European Security Forum, *Between Suicide Bombings and Burning Banlieues: The Multiple Crises of Europe’s Parallel Societies*, Working Paper n° 22, June 2006, pp. 7-8.

<sup>101</sup> Chapter V of the French Draft Project of Law on fight against terrorism (“Projet de loi relatif à la lutte contre le terrorisme et portant dispositions diverses relatives à la sécurité et aux contrôles frontaliers”) foresees the withdrawal (“déchéance”) of the French nationality to the authors of terrorist acts or other acts attacking fundamental interests of the Nation. “Déchéance” is an administrative penalty for lack of dignity or loyalty (“indignité ou manque de loyalisme”): [bit.ly/1oXGnZU](http://bit.ly/1oXGnZU).

<sup>102</sup> J. Cesari, *Muslims in Europe and the US: A Shared but Overrated Risk of Radicalism*, in: R. Coolsaet (ed.), *Jihadi Terrorism and the Radicalisation Challenge: European and American Experiences*, Ashgate, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 2011, p. 104.

<sup>103</sup> Death threats to writer Salman Rushdie (“Satanic Verses”) and to Ayaan Hirsi Ali, because of her documentary *Submission*; assassination of Theo Van Gogh. See: Bhikhu Parekh, *Europe, liberalism and the ‘Muslim question’*, in: T. Modood, A. Triandafyllidou and R. Zapata-Barrero, *Multiculturalism, Muslims and Citizenship: A European Approach*, Routledge 2006, pp. 184-5.

<sup>104</sup> E.g., riots in the suburbs of Paris, and parallel societies in the *Zones Urbaines Sensibles*, or Sensitive Urban Zones (full list: [bit.ly/1yLGjV](http://bit.ly/1yLGjV)); harassment of women in Cologne and other European cities; hostility against Christians in reception centres; attacks against Jews and assassinations in Brussels and Paris, etc.

## Conclusions

The present immigration and refugee crisis has a mixed character, with a strong component of young men. Certainly there is also room for interpretation when it comes to figures and statistics, but in an open society one should not discard what is politically and ideologically uncomfortable or “incorrect”. It is important to take into account this factor (and others, such as the security dimension and the management of borders) in the global debate on this crisis. Justice imposes a prudent decision on the actual possibilities of each single society and State to have a long-term commitment with people in need that arrive to their shores and lands. Utopian policies or a false generosity not grounded on the real possibilities of each society to help and assist newcomers can damage peace and social harmony and fuel populism of different political leanings.

Every society is entitled to protect and maintain its own *ethos* and traditions, if it respects human dignity and has common good as its aim. Therefore, newcomers should be encouraged to respect and value that *ethos*, as a part of the integration process. Of particular importance in this respect is the education process of migrant children, that will permit them to get familiar with core values and principles in their new societies. The particular case of persecuted Christians, many of whom are victims of an on-going genocide, deserve a specific answer, mainly to fulfil the obligations derived from the 1948 UN Convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide: measures should be adopted to avoid that they are persecuted, discriminated and harassed in their native lands, refugee camps, and detention and reception centres, even in Europe.

The success of the intercultural relationship between newcomers and hosting societies necessarily involves a respectful reception and humane treatment of those in need. But at the same time, there will be no harmonious relations without clear duties for newcomers to be fulfilled. As it is usually defined, integration is a two-way process,<sup>105</sup> which also carries obligations for the newly arrived. Such obligations must be clearly defined, including the consequences of non-compliance. In the case of refugees, the international legal framework is clearer, but duties for newcomers, for the good and the stability of all, should not be forgotten.

Finally, it is imperative that the international community, particularly those countries in the region with cultural affinity with the victims of war and violence in Syria and Iraq, is more determined to meet the needs of refugees from such countries.

.....  
<sup>105</sup> Conclusions of the Council and the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States on the strengthening of integration policies in the European Union by promoting unity in diversity, Justice and Home Affairs Council meeting, Luxembourg, 12 and 13 June 2007, paragraph 2: [bit.ly/1pkKhMX](http://bit.ly/1pkKhMX).

## Streszczenie

### Czy kryzys uchodźczy w Europie?

#### Kwestionowanie stanowisk w bieżącej debacie migracyjnej

Celem powyższego artykułu było zaprezentowanie kilku kwestii, które wymagają refleksji nt. obecnego kryzysu migracyjnego w Unii Europejskiej. Należy więc najpierw zwrócić uwagę na aspekt demograficzny imigrantów (duża proporcja młodych mężczyzn). Następnym zagadnieniem do refleksji jest możliwość integracji imigrantów z uwzględnieniem tła kulturowego przybyszów i trudności wcześniej zaobserwowanych z integracją społeczną i kulturową, zwłaszcza gdy kultura i etos imigrantów i społeczeństwa przyjmującego znacznie różnią się między sobą. Poza tym kryzys ten nie powinien być kwalifikowany jako „tylko” Europejski, kraje Bliskiego Wschodu powinny również przyjąć odpowiedzialność za losy uchodźców. Czynnikiem religijny jest ponadto ważnym elementem w analizie problemu, szczególnie jeśli chodzi o prześladowanych chrześcijan w krajach pochodzenia, którzy nadal mogą być szykanowani w obozach dla uchodźców w Europie. Wreszcie ważna jest debata na temat zapewnienia bezpieczeństwa społeczeństwu przyjmującemu jak również realistyczne możliwości wywiązania się z zobowiązania wobec przyjętych osób.

## References

- Abu-Nasr, D., Nereim, V. and Almashabi, D., *Syria's Refugees Feel More Welcome in Europe Than in the Gulf*, Bloomberg.com, 4 September 2015: [bloom.bg/1FupOa5](http://bloom.bg/1FupOa5).
- Akbar, J., *Muslim migrants threw 12 Christians overboard to their deaths because they were not praying to Allah when they asked God for help when their dinghy suffered a puncture*, MailOnline, 18 April 2015: [dailym.ai/1D1jk0N](http://dailym.ai/1D1jk0N).
- Al Arabiya News, *Saudi official: We received 2.5 mln Syrians*, 12 September 2015: [bit.ly/1ghSqq1](http://bit.ly/1ghSqq1).
- Allegretti, A., *Cologne Sex Attacks: Only Three Out Of 58 Men Arrested Are Refugees, Prosecutor Reveals*, Huffington Post, 16 February 2016: [huff.to/24mpzkw](http://huff.to/24mpzkw).
- Amnesty International, *Syria's refugee crisis in numbers*, 4 September 2015: [bit.ly/1KvPB9pARTICEL](http://bit.ly/1KvPB9pARTICEL).
- Arpi, I., *It's not only Germany that covers up mass sex attacks by migrant men... Sweden's record is shameful*, The Spectator, 16 January 2016: [bit.ly/1Kgwg75](http://bit.ly/1Kgwg75).
- BBC News, *Migrants killed in 'religious clash' on Mediterranean boat*, 16 April 2015: [bbc.in/1FYdROo](http://bbc.in/1FYdROo).
- Bellon, T. and Severin, T., *German authorities accused of playing down refugee shelter sex crime reports*, Reuters, 6 October 2015: [reut.rs/1T0BhZT](http://reut.rs/1T0BhZT).
- Bingham, J., *Christians could be excluded from refugee resettlement plans, says Cardinal*, The Telegraph, 17 December 2015: [bit.ly/1p0eP6p](http://bit.ly/1p0eP6p).

## A Refugee Crisis in Europe? Questioning perceptions in the current migration debate

- Bisin, A., Verdier, Th., Patacchini, E. and Zenou, Y., *Are Muslim Immigrants Different in Terms of Cultural Integration?*, Journal of the European Economic Association, April-May 2008, 6 (2-3), pp. 445-456: [bit.ly/1XR3t0w](http://bit.ly/1XR3t0w).
- Breitenbach, D., *Refugees don't leave their conflicts behind*, Deutsche Welle, 28 September 2015: [bit.ly/1LYddOE](http://bit.ly/1LYddOE).
- Casanova, A., *Syrian Christians Flee Swedish Asylum amid Harassment from Muslims*, ChristianHeadlines.com, 24 July 2015: [bit.ly/1SyW2LC](http://bit.ly/1SyW2LC).
- CBN News, *Refugees: Sweden's Deadly Double Standard against Christians*, 22 October 2015: [bit.ly/1WDIgwF](http://bit.ly/1WDIgwF).
- Cesari, J., *Muslims in Europe and the US: A Shared but Overrated Risk of Radicalism*, in: R. Coolsaet (ed.), *Jihadi Terrorism and the Radicalisation Challenge: European and American Experiences*, Ashgate, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 2011, pp. 101-116.
- Christian Aid Mission, *Militants Bring Islamist Brutality to Refugee Camps*, 8 October 2015: [bit.ly/1QVBnM5](http://bit.ly/1QVBnM5).
- CMI Chr. Michelsen Institute, *CMIBrief: The new asylum dilemma: refugee, war criminal or terrorist?*, vol. 5, n<sup>o</sup>. 1, May 2006: [bit.ly/1JO5NCU](http://bit.ly/1JO5NCU).
- Council and the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States on the strengthening of integration policies in the European Union by promoting unity in diversity, Justice and Home Affairs Council meeting, Luxembourg, 12 and 13 June 2007, Conclusions: [bit.ly/1pkKhMX](http://bit.ly/1pkKhMX).
- Cour d'appel de Douai, chambre civile 1, judgement, 17 November 2008: [bit.ly/1oSBhP9](http://bit.ly/1oSBhP9).
- Coussey, M. and Christensen, E. S., *Indicators of integration*, in: *Council of Europe, Measurement and indicators of integration*, Strasbourg, 1997.
- Crossmap, *Christian Migrants Find Discrimination Follows Them to Europe*, 17 February 2016: [bit.ly/1Oqc5nD](http://bit.ly/1Oqc5nD).
- Doanvo, A., *Western Media's Miscalculation of Saudi Arabia's Syrian Refugees*, The World Post, 23 September 2015: [huff.to/1HQG8IJ](http://huff.to/1HQG8IJ).
- EO Christian TV Channel in the Netherlands, *Christian Asylum Seekers routinely threatened and attacked by Muslims*: [bit.ly/1OyANWv](http://bit.ly/1OyANWv).
- Ernst, D., *Migrant converts to Christianity, gets beaten with baton*, WND 21 October 2015: [bit.ly/1mSX4nW](http://bit.ly/1mSX4nW).
- European Commission, An EU 'Safe Countries of Origin' List: [bit.ly/1EOoIuX](http://bit.ly/1EOoIuX).
- European Commission, *Communication Towards the elimination of female genital mutilation*, COM(2013) 833 final, Brussels, 25 November 2013: [bit.ly/1tgSC33](http://bit.ly/1tgSC33).
- European Commission, *Public Opinion in the European Union, Standard Eurobarometer 83, Spring 2015*, May 2015, p. 152: [bit.ly/1KpY6P](http://bit.ly/1KpY6P).
- European Commission, Staff Working Paper, *Turkey 2015 Report*, 10 November 2015: [bit.ly/1OBg3zD](http://bit.ly/1OBg3zD).
- European Commission, *Quality of Life in European Cities 2015. Flash Eurobarometer 419*, January 2016: [bit.ly/20xcGgc](http://bit.ly/20xcGgc).

- European Commission, *State of Play of Hotspot capacity*, 24 January 2016: <http://bit.ly/1MYNCow>.
- European Commission, *State of Play of Hotspot capacity*, 29 January 2016: [bit.ly/1VIJ6f6](http://bit.ly/1VIJ6f6).
- European Court of Human Rights:
- S.A.S. v. France, Grand Chamber, judgement of 1 July 2014.
  - Dahlab v Switzerland, decision on the admissibility, 15 February 2001.
  - Refah Partisi (The Welfare Party) and Others v. Turkey, Grand Chamber judgment of 13 February 2003.
- European Parliament, *Resolution on ending female genital mutilation*, 14 June 2012: [bit.ly/1STpKLq](http://bit.ly/1STpKLq).
- European Parliament, *Resolution on Persecution of the Christians around the world, in relation to the killing of students in Kenya by terror group Al-Shabaab*, 30 April 2015: [bit.ly/1SpWxr2](http://bit.ly/1SpWxr2).
- European Parliament, *Resolution on the systematic mass murder of religious minorities by the so-called 'ISIS/Daesh'*, 4 February 2016: [bit.ly/21Q4s3h](http://bit.ly/21Q4s3h).
- European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), *Addressing forced marriages in the EU: legal provisions and promising practices*, Luxembourg, 2014: [bit.ly/1Pa2gfh](http://bit.ly/1Pa2gfh).
- Eurostat, *First instance decisions by outcome and recognition rates, 30 main citizenships of asylum applicants granted decisions in the EU-28, 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter 2015*: <http://bit.ly/1Okuzt2>.
- Eurostat, *YB2015 III*: [bit.ly/1Kh0Woz](http://bit.ly/1Kh0Woz).
- Eurostat, *Total number of first residence permits issued by reason, in 2014 VI*: [bit.ly/1npD5OH](http://bit.ly/1npD5OH).
- Faloyin, D., *Canada will welcome 25,000 refugees, but no single straight men*, Newsweek, 24 November 2015: [bit.ly/1oMHegu](http://bit.ly/1oMHegu).
- Farley, H., *Christian refugees exposed to 'brutal harassment' in German camps*, Christian Today, 14 January 2016: [bit.ly/1PtMPhk](http://bit.ly/1PtMPhk).
- Fathalla, A., *"Migrant crisis: Why Syrians do not flee to Gulf states"*, BBC, 2 September 2015: [bbc.in/1EBd1ay](http://bbc.in/1EBd1ay).
- Fenton, J., *Gulf countries face pressure to take in more Syrian refugees*, Al-Jazeera America, 4 September 2015: [bit.ly/1inuRUB](http://bit.ly/1inuRUB).
- Fleischmann, F., *Second-generation Muslims in European societies. Comparative perspectives on education and religion*, Doctoral Thesis, Catholic University of Leuven, 2011: [it.ly/1peWhzC](http://it.ly/1peWhzC).
- France24, *Swedish police 'covered up migrant sex assaults'*, 12 January 2016: [f24.my/1SyYYrx](http://f24.my/1SyYYrx).
- Frontex, *Annual Risk Analysis 2015*, Warsaw, April 2015.
- Gabor, Z., *Migration: Crisis in Europe – Europe in Crisis*, Centre for Geopolitics & Security in Realism Studies, 17 September 2015, p. 15: [bit.ly/1RpZZID](http://bit.ly/1RpZZID).
- Golla, M., *Deux interpellations après une rixe dans le camp de Grande-Synthe*, Le Figaro, 27 January 2016: [bit.ly/1QAIVJL](http://bit.ly/1QAIVJL).
- Greenhill, K. M., *Weapons of Mass Migration: Forced Displacement as an Instrument of Coercion*, *Strategic Insights*, vol. 9 (1) Spring/Summer 2010, pp. 116-159: [bit.ly/1Kw3i32](http://bit.ly/1Kw3i32).

## A Refugee Crisis in Europe? Questioning perceptions in the current migration debate

- Greenhill, K. M., *Weapons of Mass Migration: Forced Displacement, Coercion, and Foreign Policy*, Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, 2010.
- Gutteridge, N., *Heading for Britain: ISIS sends ASSASSINS into UN refugee camps to murder Christians*, Express.co.uk, 24 October 2015: [bit.ly/21lfbm5](http://bit.ly/21lfbm5).
- Hall, A., *Rape and child abuse 'are rife in German refugee camps*, MailOnline.com, 24 September 2015: [dailym.ai/1R4zNtq](http://dailym.ai/1R4zNtq).
- Hamel, Ch., *Fewer forced marriages among immigrant women and daughters of immigrants*, Population & Societies n° 479, Institute National d'Études Démographiques, June 2011: [bit.ly/20j5R1A](http://bit.ly/20j5R1A).
- Henderson, E., *Canada 'to turn away single male refugees' amid fears over Paris attacks*, The Independent, 24 November 2015: [ind.pn/1TnChna](http://ind.pn/1TnChna).
- Hesketh, Th. and Min Min, J., *The effects of artificial gender imbalance*, *Science & Society Series on Sex and Science*, *EMBO Rep.* 2012 Jun, 13 (6), pp. 487–492. Published online 2012 May 15: [10.1038/embor.2012.62](https://doi.org/10.1038/embor.2012.62).
- Hewitt, G., *Cologne attacks' profound impact on Europe*, BBC News, 11 January 2016: [bbc.in/1ZfeasY](http://bbc.in/1ZfeasY).
- Hilton, S., *Who's Responsible for the Refugees?*, The New York Times, 10 September 2015: [nyti.ms/1HbC45V](http://nyti.ms/1HbC45V).
- Huddleston, Th., Niessen, J. and Tjaden, J. D., *Using EU Indicators of Immigrant Integration. Final Report for Directorate-General for Home Affairs*, European Commission, Luxembourg, 2013: [bit.ly/1WTyQag](http://bit.ly/1WTyQag).
- Hudson, V., *Europe's Man Problem*, Politico Magazine, 5 January 2016: [politi.co/1RgmI3H](http://politi.co/1RgmI3H).
- ILO, *Labour Market Trends Analysis and Labour Migration from South Asia to Gulf Cooperation Council Countries, India and Malaysia*, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH and International Labour Organization Kathmandu, Nepal 2015: [bit.ly/1UouQPpy](http://bit.ly/1UouQPpy).
- IOM, *International Terrorism and Migration*, Geneva, 2010, p. 46: [bit.ly/1OuKm6q](http://bit.ly/1OuKm6q). European Commission, *Communication on the State of Play of Implementation of the Priority Actions under the European Agenda on Migration*, 10 February 2016, p. 2: [bit.ly/21G3FC2](http://bit.ly/21G3FC2).
- James, A., *Christian refugees still facing "totally unacceptable" persecution in Europe, says charity*, Premier, 21 February 2016: [bit.ly/1Qc928f](http://bit.ly/1Qc928f).
- Kinninmont, J., *Why Aren't Gulf Countries Taking in Syrian Refugees?*, Chatham House, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 8 September 2015: [bit.ly/1UE0Ehy](http://bit.ly/1UE0Ehy).
- Kuna, M., *God, Christian Values and the European Constitution: Should the Latter Refer to the Former and Why?*, in: Blocksome, R., Nagypál, S. and Sajdapp, P. (eds.), *Medi(t)ations, (re)conciliations: Conflict Resolution and European Integration*, Budapest: BGÖI; Bratislava: WSCF-CESR, 2004, pp. 103-110: [bit.ly/1nn7oEW](http://bit.ly/1nn7oEW).
- Mamanglu-Regala, S., *Germany opens first asylum centre for gays who are targeted for persecution by Muslim refugees*, Christian Today, 3 February 2016: [bit.ly/1UidnZ4](http://bit.ly/1UidnZ4).

- Martone, J., *Syrian Christians turn to Turkish churches, not refugee camps, for help*, CNS News, 20 March 2013: [bit.ly/24nbH56](http://bit.ly/24nbH56).
- McPhee, S., *Muslim identity. The European context*, Sussex Migration Working Paper no. 34, September 2005: [bit.ly/21mVnCf](http://bit.ly/21mVnCf).
- Medick, V. and Reimann, A., *Justifying Marital Violence: A German Judge Cites Koran in Divorce Case*, Spiegel Online, 21 March 2007: [bit.ly/21vIkOQ](http://bit.ly/21vIkOQ).
- Melchior, J. K., *Why So Many of Europe's Migrants Are Men*, National Review, 12 October 2015: [bit.ly/1Jhxy6X](http://bit.ly/1Jhxy6X).
- Messia, H., Borghese, L. and Hanna, J., *Italian police: Muslim migrants threw Christians overboard*, CNN, 19 April 2015: [cnn.it/1Om0RBp](http://cnn.it/1Om0RBp).
- Migrationsverket (Swedish Migration Agency), *Applications for asylum received*, 2015: [bit.ly/1RxL60N](http://bit.ly/1RxL60N).
- Modood, T., Triandafyllidou, A. and Zapata-Barrero, R., *Multiculturalism, Muslims and Citizenship: A European Approach*, Routledge, 2006.
- Nerbollier, D., *En Allemagne, l'accueil délicat des réfugiés convertis au christianisme*, La Croix, 21 September 2015: [bit.ly/1NHAmhi](http://bit.ly/1NHAmhi).
- Nowrasteh, A., *The Gulf States Are Taking Syrian Refugees*, Newsweek, 12 April 2015: [bit.ly/1VriS5M](http://bit.ly/1VriS5M).
- Open Doors*, Christian Persecution: [bit.ly/1wzx7fl](http://bit.ly/1wzx7fl).
- Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, *PACE calls for 'hotspots' outside Europe to process asylum applications – and save lives*, 27 January 2016: [bit.ly/1Sj2QM1](http://bit.ly/1Sj2QM1).
- Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, *Resolution 2091 (2016) on Foreign fighters in Syria and Iraq*, 27 January 2016: [bit.ly/21MRbfc](http://bit.ly/21MRbfc).
- Perchoc, Ph., *Violence and persecution levelled at Christians around the world*, European Parliament, Research Service. Briefing, December 2015, p. 2: [bit.ly/1NfldMB](http://bit.ly/1NfldMB).
- Peters, F., *Islamisten bedrohen Christen in Flüchtlingsheimen*, Die Welt, 27 September 2015: [bit.ly/1LWF4IJ](http://bit.ly/1LWF4IJ).
- Pew Research Center, *Muslims in Europe: Economic Worries top concerns about religious and cultural identity*, July 2006: [pewrsr.ch/1Qb0Kfq](http://pewrsr.ch/1Qb0Kfq). Full Report: [pewrsr.ch/1TFDBEb](http://pewrsr.ch/1TFDBEb).
- Pew Research Center, *The World's Muslims: Religion, Politics and Society*, 30 April 2013: [pewrsr.ch/19aHxGF](http://pewrsr.ch/19aHxGF).
- Pew Research Center, *A Fragile Rebound for EU Image on Eve of European Parliament Elections*, May 2014: [pewrsr.ch/152FUvh](http://pewrsr.ch/152FUvh).
- Pew Research Center, *Faith in European Project Reviving*, June 2015: [pewrsr.ch/1WQ9ZDJ](http://pewrsr.ch/1WQ9ZDJ).
- Pongratz-Lippitt, Ch., *Muslims torment Christians in refugee shelters*, The Tablet, 18 February 2016: [bit.ly/1QUbSuj](http://bit.ly/1QUbSuj).
- Samuel, H., *'Religious tensions' spark gunfight in French migrant camp*, Telegraph.co.uk, 27 January 2016: [bit.ly/1mSVgeD](http://bit.ly/1mSVgeD).
- Sands, G., *Where 'are the Syrian Christian Refugees?*, Foreign Policy Association, 18 December 2015: [bit.ly/1PSCk0r](http://bit.ly/1PSCk0r).

## A Refugee Crisis in Europe? Questioning perceptions in the current migration debate

- Schneider, J., Fokkema, T. and others, *Identities: Urban belonging and intercultural relations*, in: Crul, M., Schneider, J. and Lelie, F. (eds.), *The European Second Generation Compared. Does the Integration Context Matter?*, IMISCOPE Research, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam, 2012, pp. 285-340.
- Sénat (France), *Projet de loi relatif à la lutte contre le terrorisme et portant dispositions diverses relatives à la sécurité et aux contrôles frontaliers*: [bit.ly/1oXGnZU](http://bit.ly/1oXGnZU).
- Shea, N., *The State Department Turns Its Back on Syrian Christians and Other Non-Muslim Refugees*, National Review, 2 November 2015: [bit.ly/1McSSsY](http://bit.ly/1McSSsY).
- Starr, S., *Bleak Christmas for Christian Syrians in historic Turkish town*, The Irish Times, 28 December 2015: [bit.ly/1WGaakQ](http://bit.ly/1WGaakQ).
- Système d'information géographique de la politique de la ville, *Atlas des Zones urbaines sensibles (Zus)*: [bit.ly/1yLGjiV](http://bit.ly/1yLGjiV).
- Tharoor, I., *The Arab world's wealthiest nations are doing next to nothing for Syria's refugees*, The Washington Post, 4 September 2015: [wapo.st/1INyjbw](http://wapo.st/1INyjbw).
- The Catholic Herald, *Christian refugees are under threat from other asylum seekers, says German bishop*, 19 February 2016: [bit.ly/1PSxYQC](http://bit.ly/1PSxYQC).
- The Economist, *Oh boy*, 16 January 2016: [econ.st/1PgJeZO](http://econ.st/1PgJeZO).
- Thomson Reuters Foundation, *The world's five most dangerous countries for women. A Thomson Reuters Foundation global poll of experts*, 2011: [bit.ly/20iMnxx](http://bit.ly/20iMnxx).
- Transatlantic Trends, *Immigration. Key Findings*, 2010: [bit.ly/1S8d8iL](http://bit.ly/1S8d8iL).
- Tribunal de grande instance de Lille, Chamber 1, judgement, 1 April 2008: [bit.ly/1oSBhP9](http://bit.ly/1oSBhP9).
- UK Department of Health, Health & Social Care Information Centre, *Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) - March 2015, Experimental Statistics*. Publication date: April 30, 2015: [bit.ly/20BMgdf](http://bit.ly/20BMgdf). July 2015 to September 2015 (published on 2 December 2015): [bit.ly/1TwVcyA](http://bit.ly/1TwVcyA).
- UNHCR & IOM, *A million refugees and migrants flee to Europe in 2015*, 22 December 2015: [bit.ly/1RSJz3G](http://bit.ly/1RSJz3G).
- UNHCR, *Female Genital Mutilation & Asylum in the European Union. A Statistical Update*, March 2014: [bit.ly/1fcSITf](http://bit.ly/1fcSITf).
- UNHCR, *Syria Regional Refugee Response, Last Update: 31 December 2015*: [bit.ly/1jsBiUu](http://bit.ly/1jsBiUu).
- UNHCR, *Saudi Arabia, 2015 UNHCR subregional operations profile-Middle East. Overview*: [bit.ly/1Qs2tNn](http://bit.ly/1Qs2tNn).
- UNHCR, *Kuwait, 2015 UNHCR subregional operations profile-Middle East. Overview*: [bit.ly/1LGPWqL](http://bit.ly/1LGPWqL).
- UNHCR, *Qatar, 2015 UNHCR subregional operations profile-Middle East. Overview*: [bit.ly/1j5d5Cl](http://bit.ly/1j5d5Cl).
- UNHCR, *Oman, 2015 UNHCR subregional operations profile-Middle East. Overview*: [bit.ly/1OVTfFe](http://bit.ly/1OVTfFe).
- UNHCR, *Bahrain, 2015 UNHCR subregional operations profile-Middle East. Overview*: [bit.ly/1UHhPB0](http://bit.ly/1UHhPB0).

- UNHCR, *United Arab Emirates, 2015 UNHCR subregional operations profile-Middle East. Overview*: [bit.ly/1RtWYLX](http://bit.ly/1RtWYLX).
- UNHCR, *Profiling of Syrian Arrivals on Greek Islands in January 2016*: [bit.ly/1QhHBtw](http://bit.ly/1QhHBtw).
- UNHCR, *Profiling of Afghan Arrivals on Greek Islands in January 2016*: <https://t.co/qawmiFXu7D>.
- UNHCR, *Syria Regional Refugee Response, Last Update: 17 February 2016*: [bit.ly/1jsBiUu](http://bit.ly/1jsBiUu).
- United States Department of State, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2014: Turkey*, in: [1.usa.gov/1ldm7Bj](http://1.usa.gov/1ldm7Bj).
- Weber, K., *German City to Protect Christians Immigrants Facing Harassment in Asylum Camps*, Christian Post, 13 February 2016: [bit.ly/20QoBDV](http://bit.ly/20QoBDV).
- Wijk, R. de, *The Multiple Crises in Dutch Parallel Societies*, in: European Security Forum, *Between Suicide Bombings and Burning Banlieues: The Multiple Crises of Europe's Parallel Societies*, Working Paper n° 22, June 2006.
- Witt, J., *Why So Few Syrian Christian Refugees? For the Same Reason You Can't Find Orphans in Haitian Orphanages*, The Stream, 20 November 2015: [bit.ly/1QVRwoI](http://bit.ly/1QVRwoI).
- World Bank, *Gender Indicators Report* (Population, female, % of total), 2014: [bit.ly/1Ow7IL3](http://bit.ly/1Ow7IL3).
- World Economic Forum, *The Global Gender Gap Index 2015*: [bit.ly/1j8wCFd](http://bit.ly/1j8wCFd).