

Terrorism is almost always morally unjustified, but it may be justified as the only way of preventing a "moral disaster'

Competing bureaucratic mandates have produced a 'clash of organisations' that impedes effective crisis management in Europe.



# 29 2013

Greece, Portugal, Spain and the East European states take on less than their fair share of responsibility for EU asylum seekers.

Blog Admin



One of the stated aims of the "2008 Policy Plan on Asylum" by the European Commission is increased 'responsibility sharing' between Member States with respect to asylum seekers. Luc Bovens and Günperi Sisman assess the extent to which UNHCR outcome data reflect these aims between 2006 and 2011 - from the end of the first phase of the Common European Asylum System until the latest

available data. They find that Greece, Portugal and Spain take on very low responsibility for asylum seekers per capita and per unit of GDP. Eastern European states do poorly per capita, but do much better per unit of GDP. There is also an overall trend towards greater responsibility sharing for acceptances and stocks per unit of GDP.

What would it mean to have equal responsibility sharing among the EU member states in asylum issues? One ideal would be for the per capita burden to be equal across Member States. We might expect, for instance, that more populous states take on greater responsibility than less populous states in registering applications, awarding refugee status or subsidiary protection ('acceptances'), and harbouring refugees ('stocks') in their territories. An alternative (somewhat more reasonable) ideal would be that states with higher GDP take on greater responsibility. We study the UNHCR Statistics between 2006 and 2011 to examine the extent to which these expectations have been met and whether there has been progress over this period.

## Unequal responsibility sharing per capita

If there is equal responsibility sharing per capita then the number of applications to each state should be proportional to the population size of that state. Reality is far from this ideal.

In our study we order states according to the number of applications per capita. We identify a 'low responsibility block' incorporating Portugal and Spain and the Eastern European states. These countries contain 32 per cent of the EU's population, but register only 5 per cent of applications. We also identify a 'high responsibility block' made up of Malta and Cyprus, which contain 0.2 per cent of the population, but register 2.8 per cent of applications. In between, we identify a 'middle responsibility block', with all other EU states, constituting 68 per cent of the population, and registering 92 per cent of applications.



Recent comments

The pattern is roughly similar for acceptances and stocks with two exceptions: namely, Greece drops

down into the low responsibility block and Cyprus drops down into the middle responsibility block. The Eastern European states plus Spain, Portugal and Greece are in the low responsibility block with 34 per cent of the population, registering 5 per cent of acceptances and hosting 3 per cent of stocks. Malta is alone in the high responsibility block with 0.08 per cent of the population, registering 1.2 per cent of acceptances and hosting 0.3 per cent of stocks. All other states are in the middle responsibility block with 66 per cent of the population, registering 93.5 per cent of acceptances and hosting 97 per cent of stocks.

### Unequal responsibility sharing per unit of GDP

If there is equal responsibility sharing per unit of GDP then the number of applications to each state should be proportional to the GDP of that state. Let us look at some figures.

The Eastern European states combined with Portugal and Spain register 5 per cent of the applications. These countries represent 32 per cent of the EU population, but their GDP is only 18 per cent of EU GDP. The low responsibility is mainly due to Portugal and Spain, carrying a meagre 1.25 per cent of the applications for 10.2 per cent of GDP, whereas the Eastern European states carry a respectable 4 per cent of the applications for 7.4 per cent of GDP.

The Eastern European states combined with Portugal, Spain and Greece carry 5 per cent of the acceptances. These countries represent 34 per cent of the EU population, but their GDP is only 20 per cent of EU GDP. Again, the low responsibility is mainly due to Portugal, Spain and Greece, carrying only 0.83 per cent of the acceptances for 12.1 per cent of GDP and is not due to the Eastern European states: they carry as much as 4 per cent of the applications for 7.4 per cent of GDP. As for stocks, we see the same pattern. The Eastern European states jointly with Portugal, Spain and Greece register 2.6 per cent of the stocks for 20 per cent of GDP. Portugal, Spain and Greece account for 0.5 per cent of the stocks for 12.1 per cent of GDP, whereas the Eastern European states carry 2.14 per cent of the stocks for 7.4 per cent of GDP.

When we focus on responsibility sharing per unit of GDP, then the situation does not exactly become perfect, but there is less inequality than when we assess responsibility sharing per capita. Low responsibility states per capita tend to be poorer states and so their lighter burdens are warranted on grounds of proportionality per unit of GDP. Granted, Portugal, Spain and Greece still carry extremely light burdens relative to GDP, but the burdens of Eastern European states are more in line with their GDP.

### Is there a trend toward more equal sharing of responsibility?

A measure of the degree of unequal responsibility sharing is the <u>Gini coefficient</u>. We tracked the yearly progression of the Gini coefficients from 2006 to 2011 measuring inequality in responsibility sharing relative to population and relative to GDP for applications, acceptances and stocks. The only clear onedirectional trends we could identify are toward greater equality in responsibility sharing relative to GDP for acceptances and stocks. To identify what is driving these trends, we calculated whether individual states took on a greater or smaller share of responsibility relative to their GDP.

For acceptances, the trend toward greater equality is (mainly) due to Sweden and Germany. Sweden used to register an excess of acceptances relative to their share of GDP (e.g. 18 per cent above their share in 2007) and Germany used to register a deficit of acceptances relative to their share of GDP (e.g. 18 per cent below their share in 2006). However in recent years their acceptances grew roughly proportional to their share of GDP.

For stocks, the trend toward greater equality is (mainly) due to the UK and France as illustrated by Figure 1. The UK used to register an excess of stocks relative to their share of GDP (as much as 6 per cent above their share in 2008). France used to register a deficit of stocks relative their share of GDP (e.g. 6 per cent below their share in 2006). But UK stocks have decreased and French stocks have increased and are now roughly proportional to their share of GDP.

Figure 1: Percentage of acceptances or stocks minus percentage of GDP

- Abel on The fall of the Latvian government after the Riga supermarket tragedy has exposed deep divisions in the country's political system
- Jack Wilburton on Not everyone in the UK is anti-EU: young people and the Eurosceptic vote
- Tom Carney on Not everyone in the UK is anti-EU: young people and the Eurosceptic vote

.....

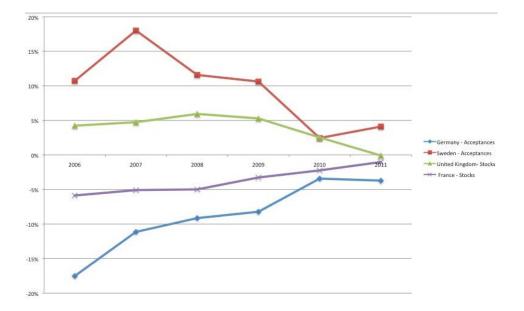
#### Categories

- Democracy, identity and culture
- Elections, party politics and government across Europe
- Energy, science and technology
- Environment, climate change, urban and regional policies
- EU foreign affairs and the European neighbourhood
- EU institutions, government and politics and enlargement
- Justice and home affairs (including immigration, asylum policies etc)
- The Euro, European economics, finance, business and regulation
- Welfare states and public services
- Brussels Blog Round up
- Five Minutes with...

# Latest Book Reviews



EU Events Calendar Click here for this month's upcoming EU related events



### Conclusion

Arguably, it is more reasonable to measure responsibility sharing relative to GDP than to population. After all, the share of the asylum burden a state can carry is foremost determined by its capacity to cover processing costs, by its labour market and social security system, rather than its population size. Our main findings for 2006-2011 are that first, Greece, Portugal and Spain take on very low responsibility per capita as well as per unit of GDP. Second, Eastern European countries take on very low responsibility per capita, but this is much less pronounced per unit of GDP. Finally, there has been an overall trend towards greater equality in responsibility sharing for acceptances (due to changing patterns in Germany and Sweden) and stocks (due to changing patterns in the UK and France).

For a longer discussion of the topic covered in this article, see: Luc Bovens, Chlump Chatkupt and Laura Smead (2012) 'Measuring common standards and equal responsibility sharing in EU asylum outcome data' European Union Politics, 13 (1), pp. 70-93.

This research was supported by a grant from <u>STICERD</u>.

Please read our comments policy before commenting.

Note: This article gives the views of the author, and not the position of EUROPP - European Politics and Policy, nor of the London School of Economics.

Shortened URL for this post: http://bit.ly/10FWOxn

#### About the authors



Luc Bovens - LSE, Department of Philosophy, Logic and Scientific Method Luc Bovens is the Head of the Department of Philosophy, Logic and Scientific Method at the LSE and a Deputy Director of the LSE Migration Studies Unit. His main areas of research are moral and political philosophy, philosophy of economics, philosophy of public policy, Bayesian epistemology, rational choice theory, and voting theory.



#### Günperi Sisman

Günperi Sisman is a Research Analyst at the London School of Economics. She is a recent Master's graduate from the School, with a specialization in International Relations of the European Union. She holds a B.A. in International Studies from the American University, Washington DC.

# Major Commentary on Europe Agenda Pública BlogActiv.eu

- bloggingportal.eu
- Bruegel
- Carnegie Europe
- Cecilia Malmström
- **CEPS** Commentaries
- Charlemagne's Notebook
- EU Energy Policy Blog
- Eudo Cafe
- Euro Crisis in the Press
- European Council on Foreign Relations
- Europedebate.ie
- FRIDE
- **Global Europe**
- Greece@LSE
- Hertie School of Governance bloa
- Ideas on Europe
- Lost in EUrope
- Politics in Spires
- Social Europe Journal
- The European Citizen
- The President's Videos

### ...... Student Commentary

- Europe's Cafe
- Polscieu
- The New Federalist

### Funded by HEIF 5



Knowledge Exchange

.....

#### Tags -

Angela Merkel austerity book review book reviews climate change corruption **Crisis** Cyprus **David Cameron** democracy ECB elections eu EUTO Eurocrisis Euro crisis **EUROPE** European Commission European Parliament euroscepticism Eurozone Eurozone crisis far right foreign policy

France François

Hollande Germany

	📑 Print Friendly		
Share this: Related posts:	y Tweet	Like K 38	Email Email Pin It

- 1. Germany must share some of the blame for the persistence of the economic crisis in Spain.
- The increase in asylum seekers from the Balkans was a predictable consequence of a foreign policy driven visa liberalisation.
- 3. <u>Cultural differences may explain why riots and violent protests against austerity have occurred in</u> <u>Greece, but not in Spain.</u>

This entry was posted in Günperi Sisman, Justice and home affairs (including immigration, asylum policies etc), Luc Bovens and tagged asylum seekers, Eastern Europe, Greece, immigration, Portugal, Spain. Bookmark the permalink.

3 Responses to Greece, Portugal, Spain and the East European states take on less than their fair share of responsibility for EU asylum seekers.

Jose Javier Olivas says: April 29, 2013 at 4:08 pm

Very interesting and provocative argument. Asylum seeking is a phenomenom closely associated with migration. Could you also provide some figures about the ratio asylum seekers / immigrants (including "illegal") for the countries in your study? I have the impression that while blaming southern countries for not showing solidarity towards asylum seekers we are forgetting the big responsibility they are currently assuming in hosting other immigrants (that enter their territories with or without documentation). Aren't some of the assumedly highly responsible nothern European countries accepting more asylum seekers precisely to look good in the statistics and legitimise a somewhat very restrictive immigration policy? I see that before demonising or praising excessively countries in the issue of asylum it would be good to contextualise the data (and provide a sense of scale of the problem) within the much more important debate on migration. Thank you very much

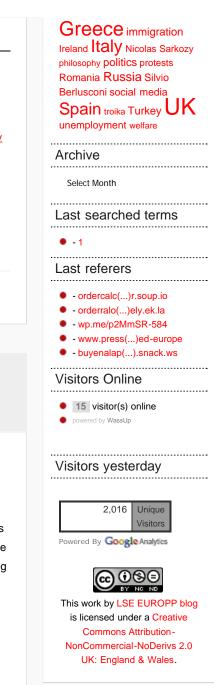
**Reply** 

Jose Javier Olivas says:

April 29, 2013 at 6:10 pm

By the way how do you control for the different rules for the admission of applications in different countries in your study? I believe the rules vary widely from country to country which considerably alter the ratio of acceptance or rejection.

Reply



Maro Covotsou says: May 2, 2013 at 1:08 pm

Jose Javier Olivas is right. This study is about "official" immigrants that are also acceptable? What about the thousands arriving without hardly any papers & whose claims have to be verified -if ever. Meanwhile they have to be fed, clothed & housed out of the local budgets. Not so easy for the South European Countries burdened with financial crisis.

**Reply** 

## Zeave a Reply

Enter your comment here...



Visit our sister blog: the LSE Impact of Social Sciences blog

# Section Forthcoming events at the LSE

- EVENT CANCELLED: The Elephant in the Gulf: the state of Saudi-Iranian relations
- Marina Nadiradze (piano)
- Is Europe Working?
- In Conversation with the Hon Mr Justice Peter Jackson
- EVENT CANCELLED: One Nation in a Global Economy: the future of capitalism in the UK
- Music Lecture: the origins of the classical-popular music schism
- Recent Reform
- Japan after the Bubble
- The Reproduction of People by



Visit our sister blog: LSE British Politics and Policy blog

## Latest LSE Podcasts

- The Future of London within the UK [Audio] December 9, 2013
- The Future of London within the UK [Video] December 9, 2013
- Zhang Shizhao: a forgotten theorist of social change [Audio] December 9, 2013
- Constitutional Interpretation in the USA [Audio] December 7, 2013
- Africa and Its Position in the World Today [Audio] December 6, 2013
- Africa and Its Position in the World Today [Video] December 6, 2013
  Is ASEAN Still Relevant? [Audio]
- December 4, 2013
- Efficiency, Legitimacy and Political



Visit our sister blog: LSE Review of Books

# Latest articles from LSE Research Online

- Robbins's nature and significance and the M<sup>2</sup>T seminar December 10, 2013
- Equilibrium in economics, stability and stationarity in econometrics December 10, 2013
- The credibility crisis in IS: a global stakeholder perspective December 10, 2013
- Panel 3: political consultancy: an area for information systems academicians to create value? December 10, 2013
- Publication strategy for junior researchers: quantity vs. quality,



Go home: European Politics and Policy - EUROPP blog

# Latest articles from LSE on European Politics

- The body of the diplomat December 9, 2013
- The EU and the prevention of mass atrocities: an assessment of strengths and weaknesses December 6, 2013
- The place of constitutional courts in the EU December 6, 2013
- A comparative study on the regime of surrogacy in EU member states: study November 28, 2013
- The political economy of state capture in central Europe November 27, 2013
- Democracy or stability? European

- Means of People Measuring Happiness?

Expediency: Japan's trade governance dilemmas [Audio] December 4, 2013

- Protest and Revolution in the Arab World: Reflections Three Years On [Audio] December 4, 2013
- Is there a Progressive Case for National Identity? [Audio] December 3, 2013

importance of the first authorship and collaboration December 10, 2013

- Cloud sourcing and innovation: slow train coming?: a composite research study December 10, 2013
- Towards effective, consent based control of personal data December 10, 2013
- The future of Asian trade and growth: economic development with the emergence of China December 10, 2013
- The law and economics of globalisation: new challenges for a world in flux December 10, 2013
- The economy Of China December 10, 2013

approaches to justice in peace and transitional processes November 27, 2013

- Book review: Macedonia: the political, social, economic and cultural foundations of a Balkan state November 27, 2013
- Resetting the location of regulatory and supervisory control over EU financial markets: lessons from five years on November 25, 2013
- Hand-waving as renegotiation: The UK's (and EU's) limited options November 22, 2013
- Beyond design: the evolution of Europol and Eurojust November 20, 2013

© 2013 EUROPP



This work by LSE EUROPP blog is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs 2.0 UK: England & Wales.

2