SMALL STATES AND MIGRATION

POSTGRADUATE COURSE

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INTRODUCTION

In the last two decades, migration has risen in the scale of importance for the world community. The number of people on the move has increased dramatically from 173 million in 2000 to 258 million in 2017, which is expected to reach 405 million in 2050. The United States of America (USA) and the European Union (EU) are in the process of hardening border control to stop migrants from entering. The “securitization” of migration started some years ago and seems to be gathering momentum. Due to their smallness, limited resources and openness, small states can face huge challenges from unregulated and/or mismanaged or unmanaged migration – unless action is taken at both the national and multilateral level to limit its effects. The most important option for many states facing immigration challenges is to try and integrate the migrants in their communities in a sustainable way that improves both the migrants’ welfare and that of the rest of society. Human migration is about human mobility: people uproot themselves from one part of the earth and enter another part in search of increased security and a better life. Such movement can be of a long-term or short-term nature. As for multilateral action to manage migration it is clear that this favours the interests of small states. Small states do not have the power and resources to defend themselves against the effects of global movements that are too big for them. Hence, they are in need for the sake of their own well-being, of multilateral initiatives to tackle the problem. This problem does not only matter for small “frontline” states on the EU’s border such as Cyprus and Malta, but also for islands and other ‘weak’ regions on the receiving end of the migratory flows. In addition, small countries in the rest of Europe might also face the prospects of secondary movements of asylum seekers and refugees who arrive in one European country, but then move on to another in search of family or greater protection.

Refugees and Asylum seekers belong to different categories than migrants, simply described collectively as people who have been forced to migrate to neighbouring counties in search of shelter. The defining boundaries that in the past separated migrants from refugees and asylum seekers have become blurred because of the multiple factors that cause people to move. Another category of people on the move consists of internally displaced citizens in their own troubled country. The causes of displacement are many, including conflict, violence of all kind and authoritarianism as well as natural and man-made disasters. Environmental changes such as advancing desert, drought and rising temperatures from climate change can also force people to move. Rapid population growth strains urban, welfare and educational systems of some countries, and the labour market. For these reasons, the question of what we intend by “forced migration” remain open and controversial.

The development of the means of communication have not only rendered travel easier in many senses (better means of transport, of navigation and knowledge of how to reach desired locations, ways of keeping contact with those helping migrants to reach their destinations) but also supplies images of life in the developed countries constituting in this way examples of desirable socio-economic conditions that many find worth risking their comparatively poorer lives to try and achieve.

Migrants, refugees and asylum seekers are the cause of internal disagreement that has almost paralysed the European Union and whipped up political radicalism. The reform of the Common European Asylum System (CEAS) remains half done, the Dublin Regulation (III) needs further changes, responsibility sharing, and solidarity is at the moment almost anathema.

Migration – including the free movement of EU citizens inside the internal market, and the arrival of third country nationals at the Union’s border, is credited with having provided a strong impulse for the rise of radical political movements and populism. It has been claimed that immigration was one of the main reasons why a majority voted for BREXIT in the United Kingdom. So, the issue is not only one of building strong border defences but also of curtailing internal EU movements. In the BREXIT negotiations this element of the story has come to the fore: the EU-27 insists that an agreement for Britain to remain in the internal market must necessarily cover the free movement of persons while Britain resists this. This highlights a policy dilemma with much broader consequences in the future.

The “securitization” of the migration discourse is a process that has developed gradually throughout the period of increasing migrant arrivals. It has been connected not only with the meaning of security defined broadly – as a threat to the material welfare of affected states and their identity – but it has also been linked to the terrorism. Could these human flows also act as Trojan horses for the entry of terrorists in Europe? Though this possibility cannot be entirely ruled out, the issue has been used in the social media to whip up anti-immigrant sentiment, racism and xenophobia. The right-wing media also targets, at times violently, organizations working in the field of migration and the discourse in the media is harshening (European Union Terrorism and Trend Report 2017, Europol). This makes the dialogue between migrant communities and society increasingly difficult and detrimental to the efficient management of national and EU integration policies.

We know a lot about the push and pull factors that drive migration or human movement, but the specific causes of many movements are not clear. The reason why in 2015 hundreds of Syrian refugees left their shelters on the Turkey-Syria border and entered Europe through Greece are different from those that are sending thousands of refugees to seek better prospects in Europe by travelling through the Sahel and onwards to the coast of North Africa where they hope to buy a passage to Europe. The problem of why people decide to move presents us with several puzzles that are not easy to resolve by applying present knowledge. The study of migration has not yet touched its outermost limits.

Migration has rocked our notions of human rights. The protection of the human rights of irregular migrants, the right to a fair hearing have been neglected as states haggle over who should take responsibility for the migrants entering their territories. Agreements with third countries to act as ‘holding centres’ for migrants – to which many are now being returned or pushed back – exposes the migrants to unjustified hardships and exploitation while undermining the EU’s standing as a promoter of rights. The implications of this steady dwindling of the respect for human rights is also affecting European societies: if human rights can be denied to a group, there is no stopping them being denied to other groups in the future. However, the biggest
damage is done in the international field. The EU has lost the moral authority to criticise foreign authoritarian regimes for their human rights violations, adding hardships to their citizens, and making the world in general more unsafe. The universal character of human rights, versus cultural relativism and communitarian interpretations requires attention in this curriculum.

Since they are not immune to migration many small states have to confront the issue whether they like it or not. Small states have often experienced both emigration and immigration. However, the study of how small states are affected by migration is still in its infancy. In the bibliography in this curriculum we point to a selection of studies focusing on migration in small states but there is still so much that we do not know. For example, how do the housing markets, welfare and educational systems designed for a small population cope with the sudden influx of people in a small state? What are the most likely scenarios for the future. For, while it is important to make global or macro projections for 2050, we still do not know how small states will be impacted. In addition, several small island states are themselves facing a huge challenged posed by climate change which could threaten the lives of their populations constraining their citizens to seek shelter elsewhere. Hence small states can neither afford to be protectionist on the gestation of international migration, nor ignore the difficulties that it raises for them and the limited resources which they command.

As the debate on migration intensified in the last two decades, we have witnessed a haphazard and imprecise use of many of the key terms such as “migrant”, “refugee”, “asylum seeker”, a “stateless person”, “displaced person”, “forced” and “voluntary migration”, “regular” and “irregular” migration. A student starting the study of migration needs to begin by clearly identifying the meaning of the different concepts indicated. Correcting misconceptions and falsities are another important task. Subjectivity and the individual beliefs of the researcher can always be accused of colouring the narrative and the conclusions. This problem cannot be entirely rubbed off or neutralized. But though we cannot completely eliminate subjectivity, we need to guard against falling in the trap of scepticism where we begin to doubt or deny all facts. There are realities out there that are not products of our subjectivity and are not open to interpretation: that a vessel capsized off the coast of Libya in April 2015 drowning 800 people is a fact and not fake news.

There are also grave misconceptions across the national and transnational debates about the effects of immigration. A section of society still perceives immigration in zero- sum terms. The economic contribution that migration has made to our societies is often overlooked. Alleged threats to our identities become a war horse that most political parties want to mount when in fact many of these ‘threats’ are constructed images of the other, for a purpose. Multi-culturalism has led to a lot of debate, but cultures have never been completely impervious to cross influences and throughout the millennia we have witnessed cultural traits being copied or transposed from one culture to the other. Often this happens in a very subtle way and as a result of unsuspected forces such as trade and investment. Acculturation is not a new phenomenon.

Migration is a global phenomenon that has existed throughout time and there is no sign that it will abate soon. In the last century it has been further facilitated by the communications revolution. If it is managed well, it can lead to advantages for all. The source countries benefit from the remittances that they receive from their citizen abroad and import new skills when some of these migrants return home to resettle or start a business. The host countries benefit because immigration enables them to address labour shortages and by doing so increase economic output. The migrants themselves benefit by an increase in their personal income. For an aging society such as Europe’s, immigration can be a source of population growth and a means of slowing down aging, rebalancing the dependency ratio and strengthening our welfare systems. However, also in this case we need to exercise caution for positive effects on aging can most probably only be realized if there is a tight selection of the type of immigrants admitted, i.e. those possessing skills and not all comers.

Not all migrants benefit from migration. Some of them find it hard to integrate, or to acquire proper housing and employment. Others face discrimination and exploitation. Knowing why some migrants lose out helps governments develop and fine tune integration policies and thus it is important to know our local migrant community.

Several disciplines are now engaged in the study of migration and inter-disciplinary approaches abound. Today we know much more about this phenomenon then was the case a decade ago. However, there is one area of interest to us in this project which remains undeveloped: the study of migration from a small state perspective. What is intended here is not to develop a completely new theoretical approach to migration based entirely on a novel set of theories, but to start looking at the way small states handle migration with an eye to populating the literature vacuum and also encourage comparative analysis of experiences.

There are also small state, small society-linked problems that require a ‘small state’ approach. In a small state, education and training may encourage citizens to emigrate in search of better opportunities and when they do this society loses a limited resource. It is very difficult in a small state to improve the array of human resources required by a modern economy and this entails that economic development and growth, generate the need for skills that the state lacks the means to provide, for which reasons labour needs to be imported to plug the gap. We know very little about the effect of immigration on small state societies where ‘everyone knows everyone else’, where friendship and kinship are more important than a universalist approach. How much do we know about how society is affected by immigration and is there an upper threshold of migrants that a small state can accommodate without being overwhelmed by the public backwash which it generates?

What do we know about the absorptive ability or capacity of small states?

In some respects, knowledge of small states and migration can be enriched by an analysis of small jurisdictions or regions that share some of the characteristics of small states and experience similar pressures on their economic, social and physical infrastructure. Small islands and remote territories suffer from the loss of skilled and trained persons who leave to seek opportunities in bigger economic centres. There are experiences which can be shared, common dilemmas and challenges which can be analysed comparatively.
In this curriculum it is always important to maintain contact with the study of migration in small states outside Europe for this at times leads to useful insights that can be tested in the case of European small states. It is however important to keep the approach as simple as possible and to combine existing literature with an analysis of the empirical data coming from small states.

**The curriculum – a few general points**

1. This curriculum is aimed at an audience that is not fully versed with EU law although this is part of the core of the proposed study scheme. However, it is not possible to attain a sound knowledge of the issues without an understanding of EU law and policies.

2. The second important observation is that in migration studies particularly where the enforcement of migration laws and regulations are concerned, we must always keep in mind the gap that often exists between policy declarations and practice, rhetoric and reality.

3. Then there is the other consideration that migration studies are a rapidly evolving subject notwithstanding the stalemate and slow canter at EU level. Migrants are still moving across frontiers and situations are still changing in the world which could lead to negative or positive impacts in the future.

4. The curriculum is EU focused but attention is paid to global trends which is essential for understanding what is taking place in Europe.

5. Wherever this curriculum is put into practice it is important to emphasise that the emphasis is on the particular challenges involving small states and jurisdictions on which we know very little.

6. The lead academic/research institutions should ideally be based on the creation of a platform, a migration cluster of institutions coming from different disciplines and based on a consistent exchange of information, knowledge and views. It is proposed that a network of such institutions be established.

7. Students who participate in this learning scheme must be free to take on course units in various disciplines and institutions (faculties, departments, centres etc.).

8. Ideally, a database (an open source) of primary resources and an ongoing, developing repository of published works on small states and migration is created along the way by the participating institutions and a network of national platforms should be maintained.

9. Civil society organizations working on migration issues, and international NGOs are a rich source of information and contacts with them ensure that the analysis and instruction remain relevant.

10. It is suggested that an adaptive policy approach should also be one of the goals of this curriculum (vide conclusions).

**Curriculum scheme**

1. Drawing the perimeter on the objectives of our study.

2. Distinguishing terms and concepts encountered in the literature on migration.

3. A broad overview of the subject.

4. International law and international conventions of relevance to the study of migration, including the main international organizations concerned with the phenomenon.

5. The push and pull factors: Environmental effects and natural disasters.

6. The push and pull factors: War and conflict.

7. The push and pull factors: Migrant communities in the host countries.

8. The Social and economic effects of migration on the receiving and source countries.

9. European Union policy on migration and the free movement of persons in the internal market.

10. The social and economic effects of migration in small states.

11. The political effects of migration in small states (Research).

12. Future projections (research).
Session 1: Drawing the perimeter and objectives of our curriculum

The course should not dedicate a lot of effort to defining small states, since this subject is discussed at length in other parts of the curriculum but should adopt a cut-off that lies between the World Bank/Commonwealth definition that a small state is one which has a population of 1.5 million or less, and the UN threshold of ten million. It is recommended that the threshold to be adopted for this curriculum focusing on Europe should be 5.0 million or less. The European microstates can also be excluded for the time being and be brought in at a later stage (San Marino, Andorra, Monaco and Liechtenstein). The choice of Group 3 in the following diagram has the advantage of providing a reasonably sized group of what are indisputably recognized as small states which are sufficiently heterogeneous in terms of population and territorial size, geographic location, membership or otherwise of the EU, cultural identity, economic strength and social structure. Some of the states are also involved in the EU’s enlargement process while others are more remote from it.

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<td>UN DEFINITION (10M OR LESS)</td>
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Session 2: Distinguishing terms and concepts encountered in the literature on migration

The conflation of key terms and concepts should be tackled from the early stages of the course. This should not be taken to mean that students should be made to learn the various terms and concepts and their meaning from the very start. Ideally, such knowledge is acquired throughout the course. However, participants should be made aware from the very beginning of the various reliable sources that can be tapped to acquire an understanding of the terms particularly legal and migration-related terms which continuously crop up in the literature. This does not substitute the need of understanding such meanings as they are presented in the texts themselves. Two quick-reference publications which can be recommended are listed in the Box below. This list is not exhaustive, and several glossaries exist on the IOM, UNHCR and UNESCO web-pages that can also be consulted.


Several Universities in Europe have established research institutes within them on migration and refugees. Interesting analytical work is published on their web-pages and it is useful to keep them on our radar screens. Below is a list of such centres preferred by the writers of this curriculum. No value judgements are being made about them or whether indeed they are better or worse than other centres.

**University of Oxford**
Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS) https://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/
International Migration Institute https://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/
Refugee Studies Centre https://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/

**European University Institute (Florence)**
Robert Schuman Centre https://www.eui.eu/DepartmentsAndCentres/RobertSchumanCentre/Research/Migration
Migration Policy Centre http://www.migrationpolicycentre.eu/

**European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights**

**The Danish Refugee Council**
https://drc.ngo/

**General reference works**
**Session 3: A broad overview of the subject**

Students can benefit from a broad treatment of migration as can be found in 'textbook' style publications that provide a broad overview of the subject. Below we list some texts that can be recommended for student consultation. They not only treat different subjects falling under the general topic of migration but also the methodological approaches applied in the study of these issues.

**Suggested texts**


**Session 4: International law and international conventions of relevance to the study of migration, including the main international organizations concerned with the phenomenon**

Reference to international humanitarian law and other laws governing migration, asylum and refugees is something which is constantly encountered in the literature. The number of international instruments can be bewildering to any student. It is important for students to familiarize themselves with these conventions and legal instruments and to know where authentic texts and subsequent amendments can be located. A lot of information is provided by international organizations dealing with migration. It is recommended that access to the following organizations and their databases becomes a source of information to which reference becomes almost reflexive. These organizations are also a source of reports and statistical data at a global level. They also have local sections in different countries and regions.

**At the international level**


The International Organization for Migration (IOM). [https://www.iom.int/](https://www.iom.int/)

The International Committee of the Red Cross. [https://www.icrc.org/en](https://www.icrc.org/en)

**At the EU level**


European Border and Coast Guard Agency (FRONTEX). [https://fronex.europa.eu](https://fronex.europa.eu)


EUROPOL. [https://www.europol.europa.eu](https://www.europol.europa.eu)

**The main international conventions are listed below, but there are many other legal instruments that can be met in the reading material reference to which may be required.**


**Other primary texts**


The texts of the international conventions concluded under the UN and its agencies are available on line through the UN, UNHCR, IOM etc. as well as Handbooks.
Further Reading


**Sessions 5-7: The push and pull factors**

Traditionally, what makes humans move have been described as “push” and “pull” factors. There is a basic difference between ordinary migrants who seek existing legal channels to migrate and asylum seekers/refugees who are forced to leave their homes in search of safety elsewhere. The two categories have a different set of push-pull factors. In most circumstances both types of factors may be operational, at other times not. Push factors include conflict, poverty, authoritarianism, persecution, lack of freedom and opportunities. They can be environmental as well, resulting from natural and man-made disasters. They could result from the decline of certain economic sectors due to changes in climatic conditions as often happens in agriculture or the migration of production leaving people without a job. Pull factors include the promise of a better life and more freedom. It can be the case that, for example, people leave their country because they have a qualification which gives them better returns in the host than in the home country. The motivations differ a lot between different categories of migrants. In other circumstances, such as in the case of conflict, the push factors alone may not convince people to leave their own country. They may seek refuge internally. Nor does it mean that people move over long distances to faraway destinations. Same nationality communities in other countries, often referred to as diasporas, act as magnets to fellow nationals seeking to emigrate or to acquire protection as refugees abroad. One push or pull factor alone is normally insufficient to cause people to move which means that when human movements occur they result from a number of push-pull factors. It is extremely important in the study of human movement to treat each category of people differently. For example, what motivated Syrians to move from their refugee camps in Turkey to Europe might be quite different from what motivates Africans to risk the dangerous passage across the Mediterranean to Europe. We can only generalize up to a certain degree.

**Session 5: General and economic drivers and economics of migration**


**Session 6: Environmental effects, natural disasters and war and conflict**


**Session 7: Migrant communities in host countries**


Session 8: The social and economic effects of migration on the receiving and source countries

Migrants, and in this case, we can also include refugees and asylum seekers once they are given the right of free movement, have been the cause of a lot of controversy and at times confusing claims in the debate about migration. They have often been charged of depressing local wages, straining the social welfare system including health as well as education, increasing demand for housing and causing a leakage or outflow of remittances from the host countries. On the bright side, it is claimed that migrants increase output because they address skill and labour shortages. The two ought not to be confounded because the importation of skills tends to raise productivity while the importation of unskilled labour may only address a shortage of such labour - which may also have positive effects. The same applies for the effect of immigration on aging where results have been very mixed. Migration alone might not be sufficient to address these drawbacks unless accompanying policies are also pursued.

Suggested texts


Session 9: EU policy on migration and the free movement of persons in the internal market

There are several aspects of migration linked to the European Union: immigration into the EU from third countries, the external dimension of migration and internal EU migration, or free movement of people. The migration profiles of a number of third countries outside Europe can be accessed at https://ec.europa.eu/jrc/en/migration- and-demography/knowledge/profiles. There is also a dynamic data hub which includes data from EUROSTAT, UNDESA, the World Bank and the OECD, which provides the researcher with combined accessible data at: https://bluehub.jrc.ec.europa.eu/migration/app/index.html

The Web-pages of EASO, FRONTEX, EEAS and the Commission have already been provided in the previous sections. It is also relevant to follow the European Parliament’s legislative initiatives and the reports cum resolutions that are published periodically. The research service of the EP at https://epthinktank.eu/ publishes studies on migration that provide the researcher with a quick and accessible overview of the subject.


It is recommended that the work of the Parliament’s Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs committee is followed closely as well as that of other committees covering the European Agenda on Migration. Similarly, the EU's Committee of the Regions (CoR) and the Economic and Social Committee (ESC) often publish reports taking up migration related issues from the European regions and the economic and social partners respectively.

The Council of Europe also has a web-page on Migration and Human Rights accessible at https://www.coe.int/t/democracy/ migration/default_en.asp. To a lesser extent the issue is also covered by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) at https://www.osce.org/migration.

The Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration of the USA State Department is also a useful source for policy analysis at https://www.state.gov/j/prm/

Several INGOs cover human rights and migration and the most relevant of these are Human Rights Watch at https://www.hrw.org/ and Amnesty International at https://www.amnesty.org/en/

The EU's Agenda on Migration has its origins in 1999 Tampere European Council meeting and the powers of the EU in this policy have nominally been strengthened by the 2009 Lisbon Treaty. An integral part of this policy is the Common European Asylum System (CEAS). However, member states are still of crucial importance in the management of the policy. In the current debate on migration the following points are of most reference: 1. Further reform of the agenda on migration particularly the reform of Dublin 3; 2. The Schengen acquis; 3. Solidarity/lack of solidarity and responsibility sharing as well as internal disagreement and dissonance among the member states; 4. Managing the EU’s borders and the securitization of migration; 5. Relations with third countries on managing the borders; 6. EU-Africa relations on migration; 7. Economic/social effects of immigration; 8. Impact on public opinion, rise of radical anti-immigrant parties; 9. Human rights – of migrants and the EU in the world; 10. Free movement of people in the EU as part of the four freedoms; and 10. Refugee integration, migrant inclusiveness and multi-culturalism.

European Commission link on migration: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information_en
Suggested texts


Session 10: The social, economic and political dimensions of small states

In this section we list a number of texts that can be useful in the study and research on the social, economic and political aspects of small states. The literature is limited but this list below should be the starting point for further research. The first list consists of the more recent texts on small state theories and policy analysis. They are sufficient to cover the field.

The second list consists of a selection of articles which are available online (including online peer reviewed journals on the theme of migration and small states. The focus is on the Group 3 countries, i.e. those with a population of 5 million or less and which add to 18.

More work needs to be done in the future to present a more detailed collections of articles on small states and migration and the list in the second diagram below must be treated as a work in progress. However, there are several themes in this choice of articles which refer to problems that might be relevant to many small states. Hence the population drain that is discussed with reference to the south-western Balkans and which results directly of emigration, is important because it can become applicable to more than one states. The list should begin to provide some directions on a research strategy on small states and migration.

In the last part of the curriculum and as a result of the ideas in the list of articles we should be able to define clearer titles for further research and dissertation writing.

Suggested texts


### EU Member States

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<th>Country</th>
<th>References</th>
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| **Malta** | Berta Fernandez (2016). Changes in Malta’s Migration and Asylum Policies after EU Membership. Institute for European Studies, University of Malta.  
### Rest of Europe

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<th>Country</th>
<th>Reference</th>
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Session 11-12: Research

As has been stressed in this curriculum, our knowledge of the special impacts of small states, and particularly island states or territories on the migration front line is also limited. The effects of regular migration from small states, almost focused on the ‘brain drain’ and returned migrants, are more known but more work needs to be done. In the first stages, students could be directed to produce papers of not more than 4,000 words on a specially approved topic in one or more major disciplines of migration. At another stage, efforts need to be made at graduate and postgraduate levels (particularly Ph.D. and MAs) on specific issues of small states and territories. Small states possess some measures of control necessary for managing the phenomenon - both the irregular inflows and outward-bound movements. As general research the following (not exhaustive) topics are offered:

- Impact on demographics of small states and territories (immigration and emigration) – how does migration influence the dependency ratio of society between wage earners and pensioners?
- Impact on social well-being: health and education systems.
- Economic impact on the host countries and the sending countries.
- Acculturation and integration
- The political domain: resistance versus acceptance - does migration change the political spectrum?
- The states from where the migrants and asylum seekers come – push factors.
- What is the attractiveness (pull factors) of small states form migration? Is it really an issue of chance or accident?
- What are the likely future scenarios in the source countries: economic change, climate change, political stalemate/instability, level of conflict or violence...
- Does the EU factor in the interests of small states when it designs migration policies, or does this remain an ad hoc process?
- How do schemes for relocation, repatriation and migrant integration pursued by the EU impact on small states?
- Are there different costs and advantages when small states are compared with larger ones in the EU associated with EU migration policies?
- Have small states been passive recipients of EU policy, relegated to a position where they can only adapt but not shape policy?
- Does the oft-repeated metaphor of “one size fits all” criticising the EU for failing to take account of small states’ needs true or not – and to what extent?
- What is the absorptive capacity of small European States states – is there a limit to how many migrants that small states can absorb and how can this limit be defined or determined?
- The situation of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers in small states and territories.
- Are the rights of migrants duly protected in small states? Discrepancy between theory (formal safeguards) and practice.
CONCLUSIONS

The curriculum’s principle objectives are to increase our knowledge on how migration impacts small European states in order to help participants understand what new policy initiatives or adaptations are required to ensure that the migration challenge is better managed in small state societies. In this respect, an adaptive management approach is proposed. According to this approach, when new information is identified, evaluated, and shared among small state institutions pursuing the same type of work to compare and contrast experiences, the decisions must be taken as to what policy implications are relevant at national and sub-national levels as well as at EU level. We also need to identify how the decision-making process needs to change, so that decisions take into account the particular needs of small state societies and what kind of information is significant enough to trigger off a policy-changing process.