

Nationalism on Forced Migrants

Rising Nationalism in Europe & Its Impact on State's Delivery of
Humanitarian Aid to Forcibly Displaced People



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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	2
CHAPTER ONE: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NATIONALISM & MIGRANTS/REFUGEES	5
1.1 INTERNATIONAL SPREAD OF NATIONALISM	5
1.2 MUTUAL IMPACT	6
<i>1.2.a NEGATIVE IMPACT ON REFUGEES & MIGRANTS</i>	6
<i>1.2.b REINFORCEMENT OF NATIONALIST IDEOLOGY</i>	8
CHAPTER TWO: RESPONSE & RESPONSIBILITY TO REFUGEES & MIGRANTS	9
2.1 BACKGROUND	9
<i>2.1.a AGREEMENTS FOR PROVIDING AID & RECEIVING REFUGEES & FORCED MIGRANTS</i>	9
2.2 LEGISLATION	10
<i>2.2.a EXISTING FRAMEWORKS FOR MIGRATION & ASYLUM</i>	11
<i>2.2.b DEVELOPING FRAMEWORKS FOR MIGRATION & ASYLUM</i>	12
<i>2.2.c EXCEPTIONS TO VS. VIOLATIONS OF LEGISLATION</i>	13
CHAPTER THREE: CASE STUDIES OF STATE RESPONSES TO DIFFERENT MIGRANT GROUPS & ASYLUM SEEKERS	15
3.1 CASE STUDIES: GREECE & ITALY	15
3.2 THE MIDDLE EAST & AFRICA	16
3.3 DOUBLE STANDARDS & FAILING LEGISLATION	17
CHAPTER FOUR: FAILURES OF HUMANITARIAN AID IN REGARDS TOMIGRANTS & ASYLUM SEEKERS	18
4.1 FAILURES	18
4.2 POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS	19

CONCLUSION	20
REFERENCES	22

INTRODUCTION

Globalist understandings of society have popularized across the globe, but their development has been accompanied by the growth nationalist parties and perspectives which have been gaining political footholds across Europe and the rest of the world. As they gain power, nationalists gain influence over the existing programs and political structures, and it is the structures intended to benefit foreign citizens, migrants, and refugees that suffer most. It is vital that the impact of these nationalistic attitudes on forced migrants is understood so that their impact can be adequately guarded against. This paper seeks to contribute to the academic discourse surrounding humanitarian aid and protection of forced migrants in the European Union (EU).

This paper studies the impact of rising nationalism and Europeanism in Europe on the delivery of humanitarian aid to refugees and migrants. It explores the duties of European nation states to migrants and refugees, how they are fulfilling these duties, as well as the existing and developing legislation surrounding these responsibilities. It examines the response of certain European nations to two markedly different migrant groups and explores how responses vary depending upon the origin of the migrants. Additionally, it puts forth possible ways forward to decrease the impact of nationalist ideology on the delivery of humanitarian aid to refugees and migrants in Europe.

By the end of 2017 the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) determined that the number of forcibly displaced people totalled 68.5 million worldwide, with 28.5 million

of these people being internationally displaced either as refugees (25.4 million) or asylum seekers (3.1 million) (Libal & Popescu, 2018). Many of these forced migrants resulted from the 2014-15 refugee crisis in which individuals were being forced from their homes in Syria, Afghanistan, and Iraq lest they should fall victim to the regions' ongoing conflicts or persecution (Spindler, 2015). The overwhelming majority of these migrants sought refuge on European shores, forcing European nations to re-examine their migration and asylum policies and altering attitudes towards migrants in these regions. Nationalist parties and movements, which had already been increasing in popularity, strengthened their grasp during this crisis and have only grown since (Piotrowski et al, 2019). As with all prevalent political beliefs, Nationalism and its' party members have an impact on national policies and legislation; this paper thus focuses on nationalisms' impact, specifically, on migration and asylum policy and legislation.

Current literature surrounding nationalism and refugees, migrants, and asylum seekers in Europe centers around the impact of the incoming migrants on their host countries; this subject is addressed in this paper; however it focuses on the inverse perspective, looking to how the host countries, notably their migration policies, impact the refugees, migrants, and asylum seekers.

This paper is broken into an introduction, four chapters and a conclusion. The Introduction contains the outline of the paper's primary argument as well as the relevant background information. Chapter One, The Relationship Between Nationalism and Forced Migrants, discusses the causes and impact of increased nationalism and also explores how the continual influx of refugees in Europe has influenced the popularization of nationalist ideologies. The second chapter, Response and Responsibility to Refugees and Migrants, explores existing and developing legislation and frameworks for the delivery of humanitarian aid and assistance to

migrants and refugees. Chapter Three applies the knowledge from the previous chapters to examining the reception of two different migrant groups in Europe, (1) European-originating refugees and (2) internationally-originating refugees; it uses these two focused studies to explore the double standard for the care of refugees by European nation states. Chapter Four examines the shortcomings of the current aid being provided by European nation states to migrants and refugees, and puts forth possible solutions for improving the existing system. The final section of this paper is the Conclusion which consolidates the findings and arguments of this research.

Nationalist beliefs have become a relative standard in the political discourse of many European nation states in the last ten years; the political footing earned by nationalists in many European nations has given the proprietors of these beliefs the ability to shape and reshape the existing and developing policies, structures, and frameworks for handling forced migrants in individual European countries. Notably, the influence of nationalist beliefs on European migration and asylum policy has been to make aid and protection less accessible. This paper thus puts forth the argument that the increased presence of nationalism in Europe limits the delivery of humanitarian aid and protection to refugees and migrants, notably those not from the European continent. The following sections of this paper will serve to support the aforementioned argument by assessing current academic thought, facts, and literature.

CHAPTER ONE: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NATIONALISM & MIGRANTS/REFUGEES

1.1 INTERNATIONAL SPREAD OF NATIONALISM

There are a few ways in which nationalism can be understood, but for the purpose of the following discussion, it can be identified as a form of prejudice based on a zero-sum mindset featuring an exclusionary attitude characterized by high in-group identification and negative attitudes towards those in the out-group. In this instance, the in-group can be understood as domestic nationals or those that fit with the given parties' ideals and the out-group, foreign nationals, specifically forced migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers (Piotrowski et al., 2019). Nationalist ideology has been on the rise in Europe, and abroad, for the past decade. Globally, this rise can be linked to international crises and instability, notably the COVID-19 pandemic and the 2014-15 refugee crisis, both of which induced fear of foreigners and exposed flaws in the existing mechanisms for migration and crisis management. Crisis frequently acts as a catalyst for extremist, and in this instance, nationalist ideologies, as displayed in the current wave of nationalist power spreading across Europe (Wang, 2021). Whilst nationalism in Europe is not a new phenomenon, this recent wave has been unusually persistent; this persistence can be linked to several disruptive events that nationalist parties have been able to exploit. The 2014-15 migration crisis out of the Middle East and Africa is perhaps the most significant disruption as it stressed the immigration and asylum systems of many European countries to their breakpoints and exposed significant flaws and failings of the existing policies for coping with forced migrants (Libal & Popescu, 2018). Additional factors contributing to the progression of nationalist ideologies in Europe include the continents' aging population and the endless influx

of migrants and refugees to European nation states both as refugees of conflict and, increasingly, climate refugees. Today, the world is experiencing one of the greatest waves of forced migrants in history, and Europe, due to its geographical location and its stated commitments to humanitarian aid and human rights, is shouldering the majority of the responsibility for these forced migrants.

1.2 MUTUAL IMPACT

It is easy to mistake the influence that the relationship between nationalism and migrants has on migration structures for a linear relationship, but it is more complex than that. Nationalist attitudes influence both policy and behavior towards forced migrants, whilst the presence of these migrants influences the popularity and intensity of nationalism. It is a cyclical relationship where both sides feed into each other as well as the migration structures and policies. The following section first analyzes the negative impact of nationalism on refugees and migrants through its impact on migration and asylum policy. It then enhances this analysis by addressing the impact of the presence of forced migrants or generous migrant policies on reinforcing or encouraging the growth of nationalist ideology.

1.2.a NEGATIVE IMPACT ON REFUGEES & MIGRANTS

Nationalism negatively impacts attitudes towards refugees and migrants, and when nationalist parties gain popularity and political footholds they are able to influence policies on refugees and migrants. Generally, the way in which nationalist proponents alter migration and asylum policy is to decrease the accessibility of aid and protection for refugees, migrants, and asylum seekers. The European Parliament has fallen victim to nationalist influence; ten far-right parties have

launched Identity and Democracy with the intent to combat immigration and bureaucracy in the European Union by increasing security and requiring more from those seeking asylum, refuge, or humanitarian assistance (Wang, 2021).

A 2019 study analyzing nationalism and patriotism, both understood as zero-sum mindsets, in their correlation to modern and classical prejudice found that nationalism had a negative correlation with attitudes towards hosting refugees (Piotrowski et al., 2019). In application to this study, the findings of the 2019 analysis indicate that the nations with greater nationalist leanings are less likely to provide assistance, aid, or protection to forced migrants as will be further discussed in Chapter Three. The negative perspective nationalist ideologies have towards forced migrants can be linked to one of the most troublesome developments in how European Union nation-states manage forced migrants. As will be discussed further in the following chapter, many European nations have moved away from an integration-based approach to rehoming forced migrants, instead, opting to sequester them in encampments that leave the individuals that reside within them waiting till paperwork clears and with nothing more than a temporary shack (Kreichauf, 2018). The residents of these ‘temporary’ camps, better understood as societal limbos, may be there for years with nothing to do but wait in conditions where health and safety are often worse than that of detention centers (Fotaki, 2019).

Furthermore, the changes that have impacted the way in which nations create and shape their policies have provided greater opportunities for nationalist parties to influence the management of migrants, asylum seekers, and refugees. The formation of asylum and migration policies has become more heavily guided by the political leanings of individual nations than by international

humanitarian and human rights norms resulting in many countries revising their migration policies and applying heavier restrictions to displaced persons (Libal & Popescu, 2018 : Greider, 2017).

1.2.b REINFORCEMENT OF NATIONALIST IDEOLOGY

The integrated threat theory of prejudice can be used to partially explain how nationalist ideologies are reinforced in the presence of migrants, asylum seekers, and refugees. This theory, when in the context of this study, states that prejudice arises when migrants, refugees, or asylum seekers appear to be the source of realistic and symbolic threats as well as intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes (Piotrowski et al, 2019). Nationalist attitudes are most commonly fostered by perceived realistic threats in which resources such as supplies or jobs etc. are viewed as existing in finite numbers creating a competition for them; the belief is that if the migrant were to receive some of these resources, the domestic citizens' share would be correspondingly reduced. This competitive system frequently results in anti-immigrant or refugee views (Piotrowski et al, 2019).

The inflammation of nationalist rhetoric and anti-immigrant attitudes in the European Union can be traced to the impact of the 2014-15 migration crisis. Initially, European Union member states committed to providing refuge for those displaced by the conflict in the Middle East, with Germany announcing an intention to take in one million refugees (Libal & Popescu, 2018). Despite the initial humanitarian intentions, the overwhelming influx of refugees fed rising nationalist movements in Europe and resulted in the emergence of a xenophobic and anti-immigrant rhetoric (Polakow-Suransky, 2017 : Libal & Popescu, 2018). In addition to its impact

on refugee, migration, and asylum policies, the crisis exposed deep fissures in the European Union and inconsistencies in its policies which left many with questions regarding the legitimacy of these policies (Maldini & Takahashi, 2020). Further exacerbating anti-immigrant attitudes, the COVID-19 pandemic left many migrants and refugees without work reinforcing the already prominent belief that they were a drain on their host countries' economic system (Dempster et al., 2020).

CHAPTER TWO: RESPONSE & RESPONSIBILITY TO REFUGEES & MIGRANTS

2.1 BACKGROUND

The migration crisis of 2014-15 flooded the European Union with over 1 million refugees and asylum seekers, an amount which many nations did not have adequate or just means with which to respond. In response to this crisis the European Union, and individual countries within it, tightened the regulations for migrants and asylum seekers, making aid less accessible and also decreasing the quality of the aid provided (Kreichauf, 2018). European Union member states have all committed to upholding general international norms of human rights and civilian protection; the interpretable nature of some of the existing international legislation and frameworks does however mean that the effectiveness of a great many of these procedures comes into question.

2.1.a AGREEMENTS FOR PROVIDING AID & RECEIVING REFUGEES & FORCED MIGRANTS

In the matter of states' responsibility to migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers, the International

Law Commissions' (ILC) Articles on State Responsibility and the Common European Asylum System are the most relevant existing legal frameworks. The ILC Articles outline internationally wrongful acts that states may be liable for as well as how to accurately determine the extent to which a given state can be considered responsible for their acts or those of their associates (Rosenstock, 2017). The information within the ILC Articles allows states to determine who is eligible for international assistance and protection, as well as to what extent the state may be responsible for providing said aid. The Common European Asylum System details the minimum dues that European Union member states are responsible for providing to forced migrants and those eligible for international protection.

The peak period of the 2014-15 migration crisis caused the European Union to alter a number of the existing migration and asylum policies, notably in the form of the 2015 European Agenda on Migration. This Agenda laid out measures to ease migration and border management through agreements between prominent European security and aid agencies, i.e. European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Cooperation and the European Border and Coast Guard Agency (Sandu, 2022). These agreements outline a focus on ensuring the proper delivery of assistance to eligible people, however developments within the European Union and its member states since the 2014-15 migration crisis indicate a shift away from these humanitarian aims and towards a more securitized and limited approach to aid delivery to forced migrants.

2.2 LEGISLATION

As this chapter delves further into the legislation and frameworks surrounding the management of forced migrants, it is important to note that a significant portion of the relevant existing legal

material comes in the form of international legal agreements; international law is a limited field in the scope of its ability to be enforced and thus the strength with which it binds states to certain actions. Acknowledging the limitations of international law allows for a more productive analysis of the existing frameworks and legislation. The current policies put forth by the European Union towards forced migrants aim at establishing appropriate statuses for those in need of international protection; policies must be consistent with the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (Sandu, 2022).

2.2.a EXISTING FRAMEWORKS FOR MIGRATION & ASYLUM

At present, there are several international conventions in place to protect vulnerable populations. Civil protection and the maintenance of human rights are some of the founding principles of the European Union yet many of the policies in place to protect forced migrants fail to uphold these values. The legal basis of the European Union's asylum and migration policies is drawn from Articles 67(2), 78, and 80 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TEFU) and Article 18 of the European Union Charter of Fundamental Rights (Sandu, 2022). In the last fifteen years, the leading objective of European Union asylum and migration progressions have been aimed to develop a common framework or approach to managing migration; this policy was initially meant to be wholly enacted by 2010 however the deadline was postponed to 2012. The most prominent of the efforts to develop a common framework has been in the implementation and progression of the Common European Asylum System (CEAS), initiated in 1999 (Sandu, 2022). The CEAS established common minimum standards that European Union member states were to adhere to in receiving, vetting, and protecting forced migrants. The CEAS was not developed with the intent to manage heightened influxes of migrants, meaning it

requires and encourages the implementation of further legislation to handle temporary protection issues and mass migration events (Sandu, 2022).

Following the 2014-15 migration crisis there was a push to establish forced migration as a global issue. The New York Summit on September 19th, 2016 was the most effective result of this push; the purpose of this Summit was to establish forced migration as a global issue requiring a global response, and to develop a structure for confronting it (Libal & Popescu, 2018). The 2016 Summit produced the New York Declaration which laid out two strategies: (1) the Global Compact on Safe and Regular Migration, focusing on the protection and regulation of migrants within clarified legal definitions of “regularity”, and (2) the Global Compact on Refugees, centering on refugees and asylum seekers (United Nations, 2016 : Hansen, 2018). Whilst the frameworks laid out by the New York Declaration are somewhat promising they are not legally binding and are left to be selectively applied by willing nations, limiting their overall effectiveness (Hansen, 2018).

2.2.b DEVELOPING FRAMEWORKS FOR MIGRATION & ASYLUM

Following the 2014-15 migration crisis, European Union member countries began a restructuring of their migration policies that emphasized securitization rather than the deliverance of aid and protection to refugees and migrants (Libal & Popescu, 2018). The European Union has shifted towards the externalization of migration control or, as termed by Moreno-Lax and Giuffré, the “containment paradigm” in which unwanted refugees are deterred and passed off to cooperative neighbor states (2017).

In the past, migration and asylum policies have focused on the integration of refugees, migrants, and asylum seekers into their foster countries. The last several years have seen countries move away from integration and towards policies that can best be described as temporary safety or “not ours” approaches; by this it is meant that when forced migrants are taken into a host nation, they are not being assisted in developing a new home there, but rather are being housed separately in camp-like accommodations which are essentially social limbo (Kreichauf, 2018). The restrictive migration, border, and asylum policies developed in much of Europe, the United States, and Australia have resulted in the development of sustainable solutions for migrants and refugees in other areas of the world, namely Canada’s new (2016) immigration strategy and France through its work with the UNHCR and the French Office for the Protection of Refugees and Stateless Persons (OFPRA) (Libal & Popescu, 2018).

2.2.c EXCEPTIONS TO VS. VIOLATIONS OF LEGISLATION

As previously mentioned, international law is limited in its effectiveness because there is no real system by which to enforce it, allowing nations to abide by and apply it as they see fit. During and following the migration crisis many European nations exploited these limitations by implementing anti-immigrant legislation which contradicted existing international humanitarian and human rights agreements and norms; the most significant act of this exploitation was committed by Hungary which closed its borders in 2015 and criminalized the support of asylum seekers and migrants in 2018, resulting in similar policies being implemented in other European nations (Libal & Popescu, 2018).

The abhorrent conditions of most refugee camps and the externalization of migration management by the European Union and its member states are the two most controversial issues

surrounding developments in European migration and asylum legislation. The conditions of the temporary encampments walk the line of legality in terms of their adherence to international conventions of human rights and the commitments of many European nation states to aiding vulnerable and endangered people (Kreichauf, 2018). The facilities meant to house these displaced people are temporary yet they are being used to house a large number of people for periods that could be longer than a decade while decisions on resettlement, repatriation, deportation, or asylum statuses are awaited (Fotaki, 2019). The issue of the European Union's externalization of its migration processes is that it is essentially an avoidance of responsibility and is a means by which European Union member nations may shirk their commitments to these vulnerable people. The questions of legality and legitimacy in the instance of externalized migration are in how it relates to the commitments of the member states to supporting displaced people and upholding international human rights norms (Fotaki, 2019). At this time answers to these questions are unavailable and the issue remains highly contested.

CHAPTER THREE: CASE STUDIES OF STATE RESPONSES TO DIFFERENT MIGRANT GROUPS & ASYLUM SEEKERS

3.1 CASE STUDIES: GREECE & ITALY

Greece and Italy have been selected as sample cases because these two countries are popular ports for refugees and migrants fleeing the Middle East and Africa; additionally, both countries have experienced a marked increase in nationalist ideologies. Both nations took in tens of thousands of refugees during the 2014-15 crisis, and both nations continue to be hub points at which forced migrants arrive and either remain or pass through to more receptive countries (Fotaki, 2019). Both countries have experienced an increase in nationalist and right-wing parties with political and social power.

Italy has seen one of the strongest waves of xenophobic and nationalist ideologies sweeping across Europe. These waves are reflected in the tightening of migration and asylum policies as well as in the behaviors of the Italian people in their treatment of foreigners (Dixon, et al., 2018). Campo, Giunti, and Mendola's 2021 study found that the increase in refugees in Italy during the refugee crisis resulted in a "small but significant" growth in the percentage of votes and support for anti-immigration and nationalist parties. In part, this can be linked to the struggling economic system of Italy; struggling economies, as seen across the globe, often result in an increased presence of nationalist and xenophobic attitudes because residents come to view the migrants as competition for the limited resources of the floundering economy (Piotrowski et al, 2019).

Like Italy, Greece has experienced an incredibly large influx of refugees and asylum seekers. During the 2014-15 refugee crisis, the flow of refugees into Greece increased by roughly 340% with the UNHCR reporting the number of arrivals in Greece at 851319 in 2016 (Bolani et al.,

2016). The astronomical influx of forced migrants placed excessive pressure on the Greek Turkish border, already strained by issues of xenophobia, and pushed policymakers to seek a more sustainable migration management strategy; more importantly, for this discussion, the influx of forced migrants placed further strain on the already floundering Greek economy inducing widespread frustration that nationalist parties were able to exploit. Panagiotis Sotiris's 2015 paper examined Golden Dawn, a prominent right-wing political group that rose to popularity in Greece in 2015. Sotiris argues that part of the reason Golden Dawn was able to gain a parliamentary footing was due to the refugee crisis (2015); these findings support the argument that the presence of refugees increases the presence of nationalist or right-wing ideology.

Looking at both countries, Italy and Greece have both had growth in the powers of nationalist parties. This increase has influenced each countries' asylum policies in a different way; Italy has moved towards more restrictive immigration policies and made changes in the dispersal of its' refugee population while Greece has made strides in improving the quality of its asylum process but has decreased its accessibility. The changes in both countries' asylum and refugee policies negatively impact the experience of forced migrants and their reception of assistance and aid.

3.2 THE MIDDLE EAST & AFRICA

During the 2014-15 migration crisis, the majority of refugees entering the European Union originated in the Middle East or Africa because they were fleeing regional conflict and persecution (Fotaki, 2019). The European Union, abiding by agreements of international human rights and conventions for aid deliverance, maintained that it would provide adequate and excellent assistance and aid to the incoming displaced people. There was an initial adherence to

these commitments, however the influx became too overwhelming and strained the existing systems and eventually resulted in a policy reversal. Given the origins of many of the migrants during this crisis, nationalist parties were able to tap into xenophobic and racist views to upset domestic citizens and increase support. Eventually there was a widespread association of the economic issues and systematic issues that arose with the migrants, refugees and asylum seekers that flooded their countries. The race of the migrants encouraged a negative association for those of intercontinental origin and increased xenophobia in Europe. The increased presence of nationalism in the European Union has most severely impacted migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers from the Middle East and Africa.

3.3 DOUBLE STANDARDS & FAILING LEGISLATION

The inexistence of a standardized global, or even European, response to forced migration allows individual European states to manage migrants on a case-by-case basis, resulting in unequal treatment of displaced people. Forced migrants coming into European Union member-states from the Middle East and Africa experience a greater degree of difficulty than those coming from countries within continental Europe. This is to be expected given general principles of migration and conventional travel norms, yet the extent of this increased difficulty calls into question the legitimacy, effectiveness, and legality of some migration and asylum processes in the European Union (Fotaki, 2019).

Despite stated, and legislated, commitments to equal and effective assistance for forced migrants of all originations, those coming from outside of Europe are susceptible to unfortunate treatment and poor practices. The increased prevalence of nationalist ideologies has coincided with a

marked increase in xenophobia, notably since the COVID-19 pandemic; the combination of these two waves has created greater opportunity for the mistreatment of forcibly displaced people (Dempster, et al., 2020). In Europe this gap is demonstrated in the varied experiences and treatment of refugees with different points of origin. The movement towards externalized migration processes has allowed countries of the European Union to pass off the displaced people, who would otherwise be their responsibility, to countries with fewer resources and lesser abilities to care for these people. Passing off these processes is negatively impacting the experience of displaced people and worsening their quality of life.

CHAPTER FOUR: FAILURES OF HUMANITARIAN AID IN REGARDS TO MIGRANTS & ASYLUM SEEKERS

4.1 FAILURES

It presently stands that while forced migration management has been more readily addressed than in past decades, the existing frameworks still fail to adequately deliver aid and assistance to refugees and forced migrants. During the refugee crisis of 2014-15 the individual migration and asylum policies of member states in the European Union failed to handle the influx of forced migrants and some argue that the approach actually deepened the crisis (Maldini, 2017). The failures in migration management during the crisis created cracks in which nationalist and xenophobic ideologies were able to slip in and expand upon to exact greater influence over immigration, forced migration, and other issues. Since the migration crisis, the European Union has intensified the restrictiveness of its migration and asylum policies, effectively decreasing the aid given to migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers.

4.2 POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

The coming decades will see an increase in the already astronomical number of displaced people; it is vital that nations in Europe and across the globe establish effective means and legislation to manage and integrate refugees and migrants. The battle to ease the lives of displaced people must be waged at both ends; by this it is meant that nations must develop systems to combat the factors that contribute to displacing people as well as structures for aiding displaced people. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) calls for the European Union to take a leading role in managing and improving the deliverance of aid to forcibly displaced people (UNHCR.org, 2023). The UNHCR calls for the EU to establish a common approach to “securely and humanely” manage and support forced migrants (UNHCR.org, 2023). Suggested solutions or at least improvements for migration policy are extensive but those that could be most advantageous in the long term include, (1) greater expediency in the processing of asylum applications, (2) more diverse legal options for refugees in Europe, and (3) a return to the integration focused migration and asylum policies of the past.

CONCLUSION

This paper set out to analyze the impact of the increased presence of nationalist ideologies and parties in Europe and how it has influenced the delivery of humanitarian aid and protection to forced migrants. Additionally, it has assessed how increased nationalism has impacted legislation and policy surrounding migration and asylum issues in the European Union. It contributes to the literature surrounding forced migration, nationalism, and migration and asylum policies in the European Union.

The first chapter established the cyclical relationship between nationalism and the treatment of forced migrants. The presence of prominent nationalist ideologies negatively impacts the treatment of forced migrants as a whole, while politically significant nationalist powers can serve to restructure and restrict the means by which forced migrants obtain aid, protection, or asylum. Conversely, the presence of forced migrants or overly generous policies towards forced migrants encourages the spread of nationalist ideologies as domestic citizens come to resent the displaced people as competition while the government and economic systems stagger under the weight of managing the migrants. The second chapter outlined the existing legislation and frameworks for migration and asylum in the European Union and then discussed the developing and emerging legislation and the shifts in focus of EU migration and asylum policies. This chapter established three of the major changes occurring to European Union migration policy to be the shift towards externalized migration processes, more restrictive migration and asylum policies, and changes which served to separate migrant residencies from regular society and make their time in said residences more akin to social limbo than anything else. The third chapter acts as a simplified case study, looking at the asylum and migration policies of Greece and Italy; it also examines the

difference in treatment of non-European and European refugees. It addresses the role of xenophobia in the treatment of migrants and the impact of struggling economies on worsening conditions for migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers. The fourth chapter discusses failures of legislation and puts forth some possible solutions or at least improvements that could be made to the existing migration and asylum processes.

This paper concludes that the increased presence of nationalism in the European Union has negatively impacted the delivery of humanitarian aid to refugees, migrants, and asylum seekers. Forced migrants have come to be viewed as a societal burden and are being treated as such. The impact of nationalism and nationalist powers has been to decrease the quality and effectiveness of humanitarian aid and protection given to migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers. As the European Union moves forward, it should move away from externalized migration processes and work to find a more cohesive strategy for migration and asylum.

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