

# **Relocation of Refugees – The Lisbon Model**

**Sophie Hermann-Jung** 

Relatório de Estágio de Mestrado em Migrações, Inter-etnicidades e Transnacionalismo Internship report submitted to ensure compliance with the requirements to obtain the master's degree in Migrations, Inter-ethnicities and Transnationalism under the scientific orientation of Professor Dulce Pimentel.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

I want to thank the teaching staff of the master "Migrações, Inter-etnicidades e Transnacionalismo" at Universidade Nova de Lisboa for encouraging the students at all times to follow their own paths. I especially thank Professor Dulce Pimentel for accompanying me through the internship and for her support during the process of writing the report. I am very grateful for the time and the efforts and also for the motivating spirit she devoted to this final paper.

Furthermore I thank the coordinator of the master, Professor Margarida Marques, for making this internship possible. I also want to thank Carla Gonçalves and the whole CATR team for receiving me so nicely and for being wonderful colleagues. I would also like to use this opportunity to thank Ghalia for being an incredible inspiration and for teaching me what strength and determination are.

I moreover want to thank Luís Bernardo from the Portuguese Refugee Council, Rui Marques from PAR and João Lima from JRS, who I had the chance to interview and who helped me a lot to get a deeper insight into the national relocation processes.

#### RELOCATION OF REFUGEES - THE LISBON MODEL

# **SOPHIE HERMANN-JUNG**

#### **ABSTRACT**

This report explores the EU emergency mechanisms in order to respond to the growing influxes of asylum seekers in the Mediterranean between 2014 and 2016. It seeks to explain the causes for the migratory movement, how the movement incorporates the historical European context and the endeavor to create solidarity amongst the member states. Therefore, the policy making process on the EU level, as well as the implementation efforts at the Portuguese level are presented. My internship at the reception center for asylum seekers and refugees led by the city council of Lisbon as well as the NGO Jesuit Refugee Service is then the bridge between the national and the local level. The most significant finding is the fact that the Portuguese government passed on the day-to-day integration work to civil society organizations. This decision is however consistent with expert opinions which argue that civil society might have a bigger influence on the integration of refugees than the state.

KEYWORDS: relocation, refugee studies, migration studies, forced migration studies, European asylum policies, refugees in Portugal

#### **RESUMO**

Este relatório explora como os mecanismos de emergência da UE respondem ao aumento da chegada ao Mediterrâneo de requerentes de asilo entre 2014 e 2016. Procura explicar as causas deste movimento migratório, a forma como ele se incorpora no contexto histórico europeu e o esforço para criar solidariedade entre os Estados membro. Assim, o processo de tomada de decisão ao nível europeu, bem como a implementação de políticas no contexto português serão apresentados. O meu estágio no centro de receção para requerentes de asilo e refugiados da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa e da ONG Serviço Jesuíta aos Refugiados será a ponte entre a abordagem local e nacional. A evidência mais importante é o facto de o governo português ter delegado o trabalho quotidiano de integração destes migrantes a organizações da sociedade civil. Esta medida está, no entanto, de acordo com a opinião dos especialistas que

argumentam que a sociedade civil poderá ter uma maior influência na integração dos refugiados em comparação com o Estado.

Palavras chave: recolocação, estudos sobre refugiados, estudos sobre migração, estudos sobre migração forçada, política europeia de asílo, refugiados em Portugal

# **INDEX**

1. Introduction		
2. Refugees and Forced Migration: Academic Context		
3. Refugees in Europe. 8		
3.1. The History of Refugees in Europe		
3.2. The History of Refugees in Portugal		
3.3. The current Situation in the Mediterranean		
3.4. European Agenda on Migration		
3.5. European Distribution Mechanisms		
3.5.1. Resettlement		
3.5.2. Relocation		
4. Recent Reception of Refugees in Portugal		
4.1.The National Level. 27		
4.2. The Local Level 34		
4.3.My Internship in the reception center		
4.3.1. Characterization of Residents		
4.3.2. Key Challenges		
5. Final Remarks 49		
References 52		
Figures		
Tables61		
Annex65		

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACM = Alto Comissariado para as Migrações

engl.: High Commissioner for Migration

AMIF = Asylum Migration and Integration Fund

CATR = Centro de Acolhimento Temporário para os Refugiados

engl. Temporary Reception Center for Refugees

CML = Câmara Municipal de Lisboa

engl. city council

CnM = Crescer na Maior (Non-governmental organization)

CPR = Conselho Português para os Refugiados

engl.: Portuguese Refugee Council

EASO = European Asylum Support Office

EU = European Union

IDP = Internally Displaced Persons

IS = Islamic State

JRS = Jesuit Refugee Service

NGO = Non-Governmental Organization

OECD = Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

PAR = Plataforma de Apoio aos Refugiados

engl.: Platform for the Support of Refugees

PMAR LX = Plano Municipal de Acolhimento dos Refugiados de Lisboa

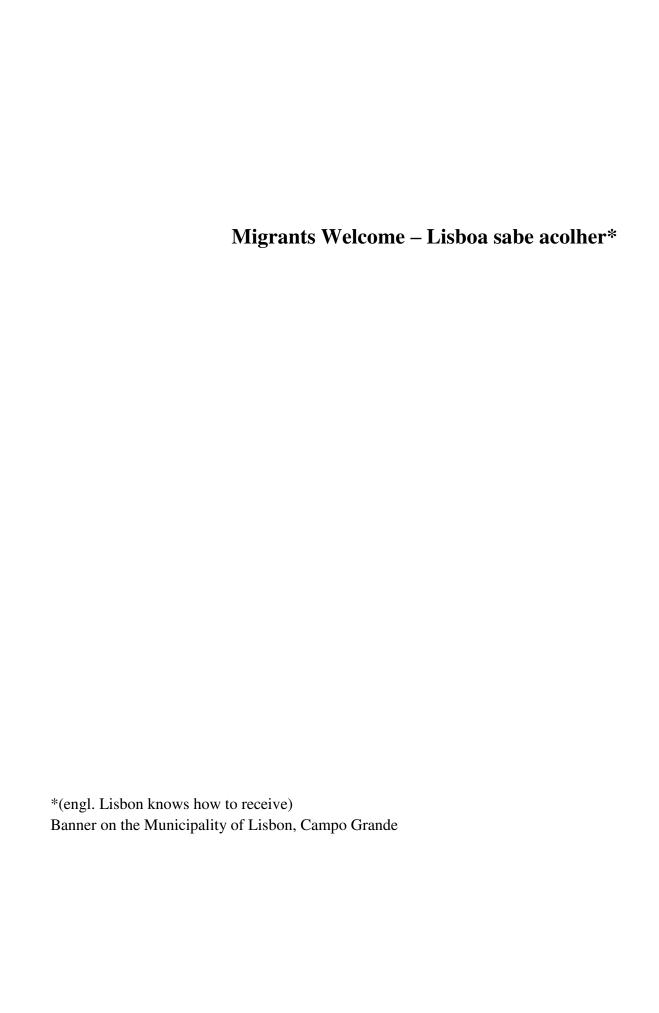
engl.: Lisbon's Municipal Plan for the Reception of Refugees

SEF = Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras

engl.: Foreigners and Border Service

UNHCR = United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNRRA = United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration



#### 1. Introduction

In 2016 65.6 million people worldwide were forcibly displaced, which is more than recorded ever before (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2017a). In the UNHCR statistics the term "forcibly displaced persons" includes refugees and asylum seekers as well as internally displaced persons (IDPs). However the term refugee is often used to refer to different kinds of forced migrants, which is not correct. The frequently used definition of the term "refugee" provided by the United Nations (hereafter UN) Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees describes a refugee as someone who "[because of the] fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it" (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 1951)<sup>2</sup>. By the end of 2016 the global refugee population was at 22,5 million (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2017a). Most forced migrants however, do not meet this definition because they flee war or other vast human rights violations rather than individual persecution and/or because they do not cross international borders (Castles, 2006). Since the 1990s, temporary protection (either for three years or for the period of the conflict) for persons fleeing war is applicable (ibid.).

Asylum seekers on the other hand are "people who have crossed an international border in search of protection, but whose claims for refugee status have not yet been decided" (Castles, 2006, p. 2). Furthermore there is the group of IDPs, which consists of people who "have not crossed an international border to find sanctuary but have remained inside their home countries. Even if they have fled for similar reasons as refugees (armed conflict, generalized violence, human rights violations), IDPs legally remain under the protection of their own government — even though that government

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> UNHCR is recording statistical data about displaced persons since 1951.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> It has to be noted however, that 43 Member of the UN signed neither the 1951 Convention nor the 1967 Protocol, which removed the initial geographical and time restrictions in defining the term "refugee". That is to say, that non-signatories do not recognize the existence of refugees as such. Nevertheless, with European states being strong supporters of the Charta as well as of the Protocol, this limitation in recognition has to be taken into account, but has no significant importance for this work.

might be the cause of their flight" (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, n.d.). IDPs are the largest category within the group of forced migrants.

The number of forcibly displaced people grew significantly between 1997 and 2016, with the main increase concentrated between 2012 and 2016 (Fig. 1). Of the 10.3 million newly displaced persons in 2016, 3.4 million, so 33%, were asylum seekers or refugees and 6.9 million, 67%, IDPs.

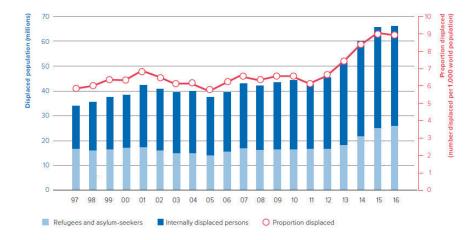


Figure 1: Trend of global displacement and proportion displaced, 1997-2016 Source: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2017a, p. 6)

The global refugee<sup>3</sup> population grew from 3,2 million in 1971 to 17,8 million in 1992 (Fig. 2). From there on, numbers declined until 2005 when the number of refugees and asylum seekers globally was the lowest since 1980. Since 2005, however, numbers have been rising again, resulting with 19,8 million in the biggest global refugee and asylum seeker population ever measured.

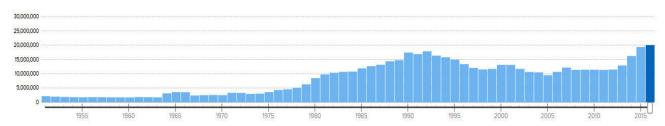
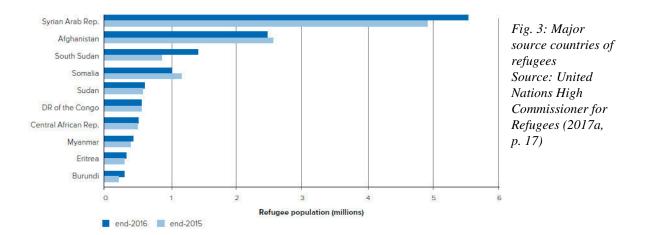


Fig. 2: Numbers of refugees and asylum-seekers worldwide, 1951-2016 Source: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2017b)

Syria was in recent years the country which produced most refugees, with 5.5 million refugees by the end of 2016 (Fig. 3).

2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> This number refers to refugees only. UNHCR provides separate data for asylum seekers and refugees only since 2000.



Syria is followed by Afghanistan, South Sudan and Somalia. In 2016, 55% of the world's refugees came from only three countries: Syria, Afghanistan and South Sudan (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2017a).

The main refugee hosting countries worldwide were Turkey (2.9 million), Pakistan (1.4 million), Lebanon (1.0 million), the Islamic Republic of Iran (979.400), Uganda (940.800) and Ethiopia (791.600) (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2017a). Even though the vast majority – 84% - of all refugees worldwide is hosted by developing countries, the impact of these recent displacement processes is perceptible also in Europe. This is due to the fact that, even though humanitarian migration increased in recent years in almost all parts of the world, it increased especially in Europe.

In summer 2014 the humanitarian crisis in the Mediterranean started with a significant increase in boat arrivals in Italy and extended 2015 to Greece. From there many asylum seekers tried to continue their journeys by land to their main countries of destination: Germany and Sweden, despite that Greece and Italy were progressively overwhelmed and had growing difficulties to provide an adequate and human accommodation and examination of the asylum applications. Since asylum policies are a communitized policy area, there were growing demands for more solidarity and cooperation on the European level. In May 2015 the European Commission presented their "European Agenda on Migration" which included an immediate action plan as well as adjustments of existing policies to achieve a better migration management. The immediate action plan foresaw the implementation of two distribution mechanisms, built on the important cornerstones of the EU: solidarity and cooperation. Following lengthy negotiations and against the opposition of several Eastern European countries,

corresponding directives were adopted in September 2015. They envisioned the resettlement of 22.000 people from third countries as well as the relocation of 160.000 asylum seekers from Greece and Italy within the EU. Portugal, traditionally a country with low numbers of asylum applications compared to other European countries, supported the measure of solidarity and agreed to host the 4.500 refugees anticipated through the EU distribution key.

To prepare and plan the national implementation of the measures indicated in the EU Agenda on Migration a multidisciplinary working group was launched in late summer 2015, with representatives of public bodies as well as members of the civil society. Within the scope of the concerted work a reception model in which the civil society is responsible for the accommodation and the integration of the relocated refugees was agreed on. From this working group resulted firstly an Action Plan which structures the cooperation between the Portuguese state and the civil society. Secondly, as a consequence of the cooperation; affirmations bilateral agreements between several working group members and the Foreigners and Border Service (SEF) were also made. Whereas SEF is the responsible institution at the central level, the civil society organizations are responsible for the reception and integration of the relocated asylum seekers. One of the hosting entities at the local level is the Municipality of Lisbon. The Municipality developed a Program for the Reception of Refugees in the City of Lisbon which structures the reception, accompaniment and integration of asylum seekers and refugees in the capital. While the plan constitutes the umbrella scheme for Lisbon, there are three different organizations that host relocated asylum seekers in the city. One of them is the Municipality itself, which developed its own process. The first stage of this process is the accommodation in the Temporary Reception Center by the Municipality which is run in cooperation with the Jesuit Refugee Service. Within the scope of my Master Studies in "Migration, Inter-ethnicities and Transnationalism" at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, I did a seven month internship in said reception center which is the practical basis for this final report. As of July 2017, Portugal had relocated in total 1.400 people thus was the EU member state with the sixth most relocations (European Commission, 2017f).

The purpose of this report is to reflect on the processes of the European, national and local level as well as the events that required the exceptional relocation measure. To supplement the knowledge gained from the internship, academic literature, reports,

regulations and newspaper articles were consulted. Furthermore, four interviews with the responsible parties from the Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS), the Platform for the Support of Refugees (PAR), the Portuguese Refugee Council (CPR) as well as the Red Cross Portugal were conducted. The second chapter provides a synopsis of the academic context and contemporary debates in the field of 'Refugee and Forced Migration Studies'. The third chapter then seeks to analyze if Europe is currently facing new dimensions of forced migration and which communitarian solutions are being developed on the EU level. In the following the implementation of said solutions, in the form of the relocation scheme in Portugal is being analyzed. The national relocation efforts will be examined in the fourth chapter, whereas the fifth chapter focusses on the municipal level and specifically on the relocation program of the Municipality of Lisbon. Finally a brief discussion of the key challenges of the relocation scheme and some final remarks regarding the complete report will conclude the work.

# 2. Refugees and Forced Migration: Academic Context

This chapter seeks to give an overview on the academic context of the research area 'Refugee and Forced Migration Studies', its development, its interdisciplinary approach and the different research focuses as well as the contemporary debates amongst its scholars. As demonstrated before (Fig. 2), the number of refugees grew significantly between the 1970s and the end of the Cold War. Correspondingly, the field of "Refugee and Forced Migration Studies" began to expand dramatically from the 1980s, even though research on refugees and forced migrants existed already long before in Humanities as well as in Political and Social Sciences (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, Loescher, Long, & Sigona, 2016). Today, the subject is considered to be a sub discipline of Migration Studies, which itself is quite a young though rapidly developing interdisciplinary field. The growing interest in research on migration might be explained partly through its strong politicization. Castles et al. even claim that "migration and the resulting ethnic and racial diversity are amongst the most emotive subjects in contemporary societies" (Castles, Haas, & Miller, 2014, p. 1). Simplified it can be said that scholars of the field seek to investigate the causes and consequences of involuntary migration, that is to say, of migratory movements which are caused by multiple different reasons, such as war, environmental catastrophes, personal persecution and many more. This explanation, however, falls short of representing the diversity of approaches to the topic.

## **Approaches to Refugees and Forced Migration Studies**

As Fiddian-Qasmiyeh et al. demonstrate there are numerous perspectives on the field of 'Refugee and Forced Migration Studies'. Not only is the subject being approached from various academic disciplines, correspondingly also the exploratory focuses vary. The investigatory focus of historians for example shifted from the mass refugee movements of the First and Second World War and the creation of international organizations and the refugee regime towards the history of immigration and refugee movements and finally to comparative endeavors nowadays (Elie, 2016). The explanatory focus of scholars from law lies on the legal protection of refugees and forced migrants (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh et al., 2016).

Studying involuntary displacement from the perspective of Political Theory means looking at profound ethical and normative issues, such us shared responsibilities between states, but also questions regarding other issues like for example citizenship, repatriation or possible justifications for displacement (Goodwin-Gill, 2016). Betts explains that, the explanatory focus of researchers with a background in International Relations is, amongst others, state sovereignty, globalization, transnationalism, security, conflict, international cooperation and international economy (Betts, 2016).

Anthropologists main interests are currently binaries, for example "[...] home and homeland; [...] ethnicity and nationalism; [...] integration and assimilation" (Chatty, 2016, p. 83) as well as in the *circularity* of forced migration – among others integration, return and development - are on the research agenda (Chatty, 2016). Sociologists studying forced migration focus policy labels and categories, like for instance repatriation, resettlement or integration but also gender, class or ethnicity as research objects (Stepputat & Nyberg Sørensen, 2016). As Collyer (2016) states, it is especially the sub discipline of human geography that dominates the research from a geographical perspective. The research focus here is mainly on data, environment and location.

As a matter of fact the different approaches presented in this chapter are not mutually exclusive, but may work complementarily when used in conjunction. The variety of themes can be understood as a consequence of the multidisciplinary approach to the research on involuntary migration. It might, however, also be argued that the only promising strategy to capture such a broad, multifaceted and diverse phenomenon as

forced migration is to approach it from various disciplines, focusing on different research objects and using diverse methods.

## **Contemporary debates**

As Fiddian-Qasmiyeh et al. stress, "academics and practitioners alike continue to debate the contours of the field" (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh et al., 2016, p. 1). Since the field encompasses apart from "rigorous academic research which may or may not ultimately inform policy" (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh et al., 2016, p. 3) also "action-research focused on advocating in favour<sup>4</sup> of refugees' needs and rights" (ibid.), one of the main contemporary debates is "the extent to which research should be framed by urgent policy questions" (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh et al., 2016, p. 4). Black (2001) for instance discusses the links of the subject and in particular the impact on refugee policies. He therefore argues that institutions in the field developed strong linkages but that these mostly did not result in substantial policy impacts (Black, 2001). On the other hand, he sees a dependence of the research in the field from policy developments, definitions and concerns.

Another great contemporary debate is "the connection between definitions and experiences of forced versus voluntary migration" (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh et al., 2016, p. 4) and how the sub discipline integrates into the wider field of Migration Studies. Hathaway (2007) for instance criticizes the scholarly shift from 'Refugee Studies' to 'Forced Migration Studies', arguing that the inclusion of studies on refugees into a broader framework might cause a disregard of the specificity of refugee's conditions. Hathaway's article was opposed by scholars such as De Wind (2007), who is not only in favor of the incorporation of 'Refugee Studies' into 'Forced Migration Studies', but also the inclusion of 'Forced Migration Studies' into the broad field of 'Migration Studies'. He argues that this might offer "resources for analysing and understanding the causes of both, refugee movements are forced migration more broadly" (DeWind, 2007, p. 384).

Thirdly, there is an ongoing debate about the inclusion of experiences of 'involuntary immobility' and 'forced sedentarization' into the studies. Lubkemann (2008) for example deplores a disregard of the phenomenon of 'involuntary immobility'

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Even though the report is written in accordance with American English orthography, some quotes are based from sources following the British English orthography. For reasons of simplicity, these quotes will be inserted in the original language.

within the discipline and reasons that in the long term war time - so presumably involuntary - migration, may actually increase social power and the ability to carry on one's personal social goals and life design (Lubkemann, 2008). The author therefore calls to empirically problematize the relationship between migration and its effects instead of making presumptions.

These arguments within the subject may be, on the one hand, explained through the diverse disciplinary background of its' scholars, but on the other also through the relatively young age of the discipline.

# 3. Refugees in Europe

In the last two years few topics polarized and arouse as many emotions throughout the EU as the hosting of refugees and asylum seekers in Europe. Migration was always a political topic, however, it has reached an entirely new dimension in the past few years. The new attention on forced migration issues suggests that we are currently witnessing a new scale of displacement processes. This chapter seeks to examine if the current forced migration movements are actually something new to Europe and whose potential solutions are being developed at the European level.

# 3.1. The history of refugees in Europe

Migration, voluntary or forced, has always been part of the history of mankind. Warfare, conquest and enslavement are only some of the reasons people had to flee their homeland in the past. Considering that "[...] the development of European states and their colonialization of the rest of the world gave a new impetus to international migrations of many kinds" (Castles et al., 2014, p. 84), the focus of this chapter is on the history of refugees in Europe since the Modern Times. According to Bundy (2016) we are currently facing the fourth refugee "crisis" in Europe. The first appearance of refugees in Europe was the arrival of 120.000 Russian Jews, fleeing pogroms of Russia, to Britain between 1875 and 1914 (Castles et al., 2014). The First World War and the Russian Revolution in 1917 finally created "Europe's first refugee crisis" (Bundy, 2016, p. 5). It is estimated that from 1914 to 1922 about five million refugees existed in Europe. In 1923, additionally 1.7 million people were displaced through the forced population exchange between Greece and Turkey<sup>5</sup>. As Bundy (2016) explains, it was

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> For further information on the 1923 population exchange between Greece and Turkey see for example Yildirim (2006).

between the two World Wars that the first institutions and norms regarding refugees and stateless persons were developed. However, "[...] that earlier human tide was dwarfed by the flood of misery created during and immediately after the Second World War" (Bundy, 2016, p. 6). It is estimated that in May 1945 there were more than 40 million refugees in Europe. In the following years, with the help of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), these refugees were resettled, repatriated and a big part also emigrated, mainly to America. The international refugee regime, "a set of legal norms based on humanitarian and human rights law, as well as a number of institutions designed to protect and assist refugees" (Castles et al., 2014, p. 224) was shaped in the aftermath of the Second World War and Europe's experience of mass displacement. In 1951 UNHCR succeeded UNRRA and the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees was ratified by 145 states. Even though Europe received asylum seekers from Africa, Asia and Latin America during the 1980s, it remained relatively unaffected from events in these continents (Bundy, 2016). The numbers of Asylum seekers in the European Union, running almost identically with the numbers in the member states of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), show a first increase in the early 1990s (Fig. 4).

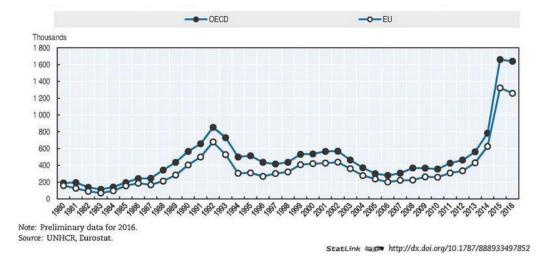


Fig. 4: News asylum applications since 1980 in the OECD and the European Union Source: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (2017a, p. 26)

According to Bundy (2016) this is when the third refugee "crisis" hit Europe. Causes for the increase in forced displacement were the break-up of the Soviet bloc and wars in former Yugoslavia. After settling down to relatively low numbers in the 2000's

there was a massive increase in new asylum applications in 2015<sup>6</sup>. These developments, which constitute the empirical reason for the relocation of refugees within member states of the European Union, will be further discussed in chapter 3.3.

Before concluding this chapter it is, however, important to mention that there are four different protection statuses in the EU. First of all, there is the refugee status, which the Council Directive 2004/83/EC of 29 April 2004 on minimum standards for the qualification and status of third country nationals or stateless persons as refugees or as persons who otherwise need international protection and the content of the protection granted (2004) Article 2 (d) explains as "[...] the recognition by a Member state of a third country national or a stateless person as a refugee". As guidance for determining "refugee status" the Directive refers to the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees mentioned in the Introduction. Secondly, there is the subsidiary protection status. A "person eligible for subsidiary protection' means a third country national or a stateless person who does not qualify as a refugee but in respect of whom substantial grounds have been shown for believing that the person concerned, if returned to his or her country of origin, or in the case of a stateless person, to his or her country of former habitual residence, would face a real risk of suffering serious harm [...]" (European Council, 2004Article 2 (e)). These two statuses are what are commonly known as "international protection".

Furthermore, there is the so-called "authorization to stay for humanitarian reasons" which only exists in some Member states, since it is based on national law and not on European law as the two previously explained statuses. A person granted authorization to stay for humanitarian reasons can be defined as "a person covered by a decision granting authorisation to stay for humanitarian reasons under national law concerning international protection, taken by administrative or judicial bodies during the reference period. It includes persons who are not eligible for international protection as currently defined in the first stage legal instruments, but are nonetheless protected against removal under the obligations that are imposed on all Member states by international refugee or human rights instruments or on the basis of principles flowing from such instruments. Examples of such categories include persons who are not removable on ill

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The relative constancy of asylum applications from 2015 to 2016 is actually a "statistical artifact" (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (2017a), 28) that can be explained through delayed registrations of asylum seekers. In fact, the number of arrivals fell significantly in 2016.

health grounds and unaccompanied minors" (Eurostat, n.d.). The beneficiaries of this type of protection status normally receive only short-term residence permits. Finally there is the temporary protection status, which is a measure based on the *Council Directive 2001/55/EC on minimum standards for giving temporary protection in the event of a mass influx of displaced persons and on measures promoting a balance of efforts between Member states in receiving such persons and bearing the consequences thereof.* It foresees immediate and temporary protection for displaced persons in case of an excessive demand of the standard asylum system of single member states due to great influxes of asylum seekers (European Commission, 2017c). This measure however has not yet been triggered.

Out of all positive decisions on asylum applications in the EU in 2015 74% of the beneficiaries were entitled with the refugee status, 18% with subsidiary protection and 8% with an authorization to stay for humanitarian reasons (Fig. 5).

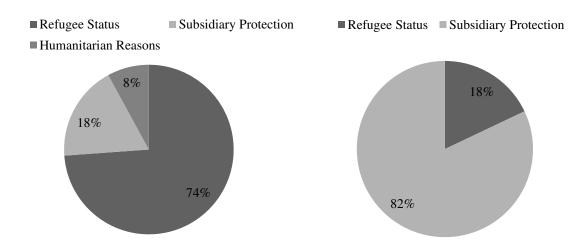


Fig. 5: Positive decisions on asylum applications in the EU in 2015
Source: Own presentation based on Eurostat (2016)

Fig. 6: Positive decisions on asylum applications in Portugal in 2015 Source: Own presentation based on Eurostat (2016)

In Portugal, however, only 18% of all beneficiaries were given the refugee status, the other 82% received the subsidiary protection status (Fig. 6). The authorization to stay for humanitarian reasons, which is granted on the basis of national law, does not exist in Portugal.

# 3.2. The history of refugees in Portugal

Even though the number of immigrants in Portugal has risen considerably since the 1990s<sup>7</sup>, refugees only constitute a very small percentage of them. During the Second World War Portugal was a transit country for refugees fleeing from Germany, Poland and Austria and later on from all Nazi occupied territories. Even though Portugal was also a nationalist authoritarian dictatorship at the time, the ideology of leader Salazar did not contain anti-Semitism and therefore meant a temporary safe place for many Jewish refugees. Yet only a very small number of them stayed in the country. Most refugees passed through Portugal on their way to the United States of America. Their presence was tolerated as long as they did not plan on staying in Portugal for an indefinite time. It is estimated that during the Second World War 60.000 to 80.000 refugees passed through Portugal on their journey (Pimentel, 2015)<sup>8</sup>. After that Portugal received the biggest number of refugees during the first decades of the post-colonial period, 7.500 per year (Fig. 7).

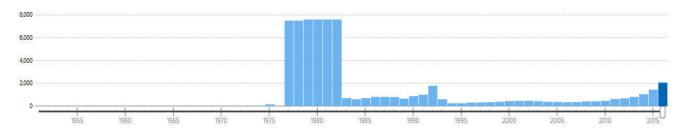


Fig. 7: Refugees and asylum-seekers in Portugal, 1975-2016 Source: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

This increase might be explained through the fact that "Portugal's first asylum law was drawn up within the context of its post-revolution democracy and was relatively open and inclusive" (Sousa & Costa, 2017, p. 22). During this period it was mainly refugees from African countries, especially from former Portuguese colonies that were granted refugee status in Portugal. In the beginning of the 1980s the number fell significantly. When Portugal joined the European Community in 1986 (and the

<sup>8</sup> For more detailed information on refugees in Portugal during the Nazi rule see Pimentel (2015), Nunes (2016) and Freire (2016).

12

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, the Portuguese migration balance is negative since 2011, even though the negative numbers are diminishing since 2013. In 2012 the balance was -37.300 people, and -10.500 in 2015 (Pordata (2017). This phenomenon coincides with the period of the economic crisis which led to the emigration of over 100.000 Portuguese citizens per year between 2012 and 2015 (Observatória da Emigração (2015).

Schengen area in 1995) Portuguese asylum law was adjusted to EU practices and therefore became more restrictive (Sousa & Costa, 2017). Since the 1990s the numbers have evened out to a constant yet small number of refugees and asylum seekers. The last years, however, have shown a slight increase which resulted in 2.052 asylum seekers and refugees in 2016 (Pordata, 2017). In 2015 Europeans made the biggest share of asylum claims, 41,9% of them by nationals of Ukraine. The second biggest share was taken by African citizens, especially from Mali and Guinea, followed by Asians, mainly from China and Pakistan (Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras, 2016). With the exception of the so-called *spontaneous asylum applications* which independently arriving people usually make at the airport, there is also a resettlement program which was established in 2006 and adapted in 2015, as well as the relocation scheme ratified in 2015. These distribution mechanisms were enacted to provide a quick response to the current situation in the Mediterranean. In the following section this humanitarian emergency will be described briefly and the newly established mechanisms will be explained in section 3.5.

#### 3.3 The current situation in the Mediterranean

Even though the Mediterranean has always been a popular route for migrants and asylum seekers from African countries to Europe, the fluxes intensified significantly since 2014. This development is commonly known as *European Refugee Crisis*. However many argue that it is not a *Refugee Crisis* but rather a *Management* or a *Policy Crisis* (Roth, 2015; 2016) or a *Crisis of Accountability and Solidarity* (Türk, 2016). The intensification of fluxes began in summer 2014 with an increased number of arrivals on the Italian island of Lampedusa, mainly of boats departing from Libya. In 2015 that number reached its peak when the "center" of the *crisis* moved to Greece and from there began to affect the Balkan countries which was a pathway to the main European countries of destination – Germany and Sweden (Arango et. al 2016). The arrivals to Spain by sea increased in 2016, whereas arrivals by land decreased in comparison to 2015 (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Bureau for Europe, 2017). The numbers of asylum seekers arriving in Spain are however much smaller than in Greece and Italy. The numbers of arrivals in Europe has decreased slightly since the beginning of 2016 even though many countries are still trying to comply with pending cases (Fig.

8).

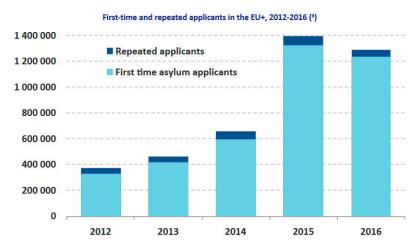


Fig. 8: First-time and repeated applications in the EU+, 2012-2016

Source: European Asylum Office (2017, p. 10)

In accordance with the global trend mentioned in chapter 1, the four most common countries of origin of Mediterranean arrivals in 2016 were the Syrian Arab Republic (50%), Afghanistan (21%), Iraq (9%) and Eritrea (4%). While Eritreans make only 4% of the total arrivals in the Mediterranean region, they made up 20,7% of all arrivals in Italy in 2016 (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Bureau for Europe, 2017). Most of the arrivals in the Mediterranean entered Europe through three main routes: The Central Mediterranean route from North Africa to Italy (Fig. 9), the Eastern Mediterranean route from Turkey to Greece, Bulgaria and Cyprus (Fig. 10) and the Western Mediterranean route from North Africa to Spain (Fig. 11). In comparison to all EU Member states Germany is the one which currently receives the most asylum claims. In the first quarter of 2017 Germany received 30% of all first time applications, followed by Italy (22%), France (13%) and Greece (10%) (Eurostat, 2017).

To continue, the political situation in those countries of origin whose nationals have at least a 75 per cent recognition rate and therefore qualify for the relocation process, which will be explained in detail in the sections 3.5.2. and 4.1., shall be presented briefly. This short depiction intends to give a deeper understanding of the reasons why the nationals of the respective countries fled to Europe.

As UN High Commissioner for Refugees Filippo Grandi states, "Syria is the biggest humanitarian and refugee crisis of our time" (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2016). In 2016, half of the Syrian population lived in displacement, either

inside the country or across borders. Syria was the main country of origin for refugees in 2016, with 5.5 million refugees by the end of 2016, distributed over 123 countries. However, 87% remained in neighboring countries, such as Turkey (2.8 million), Lebanon (1.0 million), Jordan (648.800), Iraq (230.800) and Egypt (116.000) (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2017a). The war in Syria has been raging since 2011. Initially it started as a civil war, with fights between the supporters of President Assad and the opposition parties. In the following years, more and more national, regional as well as international parties got involved in the violent conflict. In 2014 the so called *Islamic State* (IS) group annexed large parts of the neighboring state of Iraq. From there it began to expand its territory, in the confusion of the war, into Eastern Syria<sup>9</sup>. Many of the worst war crimes were and are still committed in Syria. It is proven that in August 2013 as well as in April 2017 chemical weapons were used against the Syrian population - an atrocity, banned by the Chemical Weapons Convention. It is estimated that until June 2017 the war cost 470,000 lives (I am Syria, 2017) additionally to the displacement of half of the Syrian population. Of those who left Syria, the major part sought asylum in neighboring countries such as Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt or Turkey. The tremendous numbers of Syrian asylum seekers makes Lebanon and Jordan the two countries which host the highest number of refugees in relation to their national population – in Lebanon one in six people was a refugee in 2016, in Jordan one in eleven (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2016).

As mentioned in the previous paragraph the IS also gained ground in Iraq, the fights between the terrorist group and the Iraqi military intensified in 2016, leaving 63.600 civilians dead, in the period from 2014 until end of June 2017 (Statista, 2017). Additionally, in 2016 598.000 Iraqis were newly internally displaced and 316,000 left their country (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2017a). Both sides - governmental forces as well as IS fighters - commit the most atrocious human rights violations. Women and girls living in IS controlled areas face harsh restrictions on their access to education and health services, their freedom of movement and their clothing, since they are obliged to wear a full face veil. Yezidi women are tortured, kidnapped, raped and sexually enslaved by IS fighters. Like in Syria, various regional and international actors are engaged in the ongoing combats. Besides the international

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> See Fig. 12 for a map of the IS controlled parts of Syria and Iraq, as of June 2017.

coalition led by the United States (including Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom) also Turkish forces as well as the Lebanon based Islamist Hezbollah group and Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps can be named as key international actors. In 2016 the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) named Iraq one of the deadliest countries in the world for children and the International Federation of Journalists claimed it to be the deadliest country for journalists (Human Rights Watch, 2017b).

According to Human Rights Watch, in 2016 "Eritrea's citizens remain[ed] subjects of one of the world's most oppressive governments" (Human Rights Watch, 2017a). In the course of his 25 years presidency, unelected President Isaias Afwerki's government committed a large number of crimes against humanity (ibid.). The reasons for Eritrean citizens fleeing the country are mainly the military service which is not limited in time, the repressive political system, the absence of rule of law and a political opposition as well as restrictions on religious freedom and the freedom of movement. People between five and 50 years old are not allowed to leave the country. Whoever is picked up whilst trying to do so will be detained until they pay very high sums of money. Furthermore, thousands of political prisoners continue to be detained, without arraignment or court hearings (Amnesty International, 2017).

The presented increased migratory flows dominated and still dominate the political agenda of many asylum seeker receiving states and leads to different national responses. First of all, several European countries made changes in their asylum laws and procedures as well as in their reception conditions. Here, one can see a certain tendency that "the conditions offered to those with humanitarian protection [...] have become less favourable in many countries" (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2017a, p. 9). A significant change in policy presents, for example, the temporary alterations of the border regime in Europe. Many countries reintroduced temporary border controls for example, which were, in the case of member countries of the Schengen agreement, formerly suspended (Fig. 13). Secondly, several member states of the European Union have implemented national humanitarian initiatives. However, the increased number of asylum applications did not only lead to legislative changes but also to a change in practical measures. One example for a quick practical response on the national level, which will be elaborated further in chapter 4.1., was for example the creation of the *Portuguese Working Group for the European Agenda on* 

*Migration* that led to different national action plans. Yet, not only national but also multilateral responses were developed. In September 2015 the European Commission presented a European Agenda on Migration. This agenda will be described in detail in the following chapter.

# 3.4. European Agenda on Migration

As demonstrated above, the high number of asylum seekers arriving in Italy and Greece in 2014 and 2015 brought the two countries to their limits in regard to ensuring a dignified reception and accommodation. Asylum policies constitute a communitized European policy area. The Common European Asylum Policy is rooted in the 1957 Treaty of Rome however the cornerstones were only laid almost 30 years later, namely in 1984 when the German chancellor Kohl and the French president Mitterand accelerated the abolition of internal borders and consequently the creation of the Schengen Area (Bösche, 2006). Today 26 European member states are part of the Schengen area<sup>10</sup>. The Schengen agreement was incorporated into the Amsterdam Treaty more than ten years later. Besides the agreement, the 1990 Dublin Convention was the second step towards a common European asylum and refugee policy (ibid.). The convention determined which member state is responsible for processing an asylum application (the first European member state in which the applicant enters). In the 1993 Treaty of Maastricht the third pillar of the EU was created<sup>11</sup>. This pillar finally specifies the asylum- and refugee policy as an European affair (ibid.). The common policies on immigration, asylum, external border control and visa is based on Title V of the Treaty in the Functioning of the European Union.

Realizing that the acute migration crisis could not be addressed by only a few member states, the European Commission<sup>12</sup> called for a "more European approach"

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Six EU Members are not part of the Schengen area: Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Ireland, Romania as well as the UK. Additionally to 22 EU Member states however Iceland, Norway, Switzerland and Liechtenstein are also part of the Schengen area.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> To illustrate the competences and the communization of policies within the European Union, it is often depicted as a house with three pillars. The first pillar includes the founding treaties and other important documents which provide the primary law for the EU's legislative power. The second pillar constitutes of the common foreign and security policy and the third pillar determines the cooperation in the field of justice and home affairs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> The European Commission is one of seven EU institutions. It is the only one which has the right to propose legislation. It is composed of the College of Commissioners, which consist of 26 commissioners, one per state, as well as the president and the vice president. Each commissioner is assigned the responsibility for a specific policy area during a five year term.

(European Commission, 2015a, p. 2), combining "internal and external policies to the best effect" (ibid.). Therefore, the European Commission, which has the exclusive right of initiative, developed the *European Agenda on Migration* with the support of the European Parliament<sup>13</sup> and the European Council<sup>14</sup> and the commitment of the Member states.

The European Council had published a statement after a special meeting on April 23, 2015, in which it confirmed that "[t]he European Union will mobilise all efforts at its disposal to prevent further loss of life at sea and to tackle the root causes of the human emergency that we face, in cooperation with the countries of origin and transit" (European Council, 2015a). On April 29, 2015 the European Parliament had adopted Resolution 2015/2660 in which it "requested the European Union and Member states to develop existing cooperation and do everything that is in their power to avoid other people perishing at sea" (European Parliament, 2015). Amongst other demands the resolution advocated for a "binding quota for the distribution of asylum seekers between Member states" (ibid.) as well as an "increase of the contribution of Member states to the resettlement programmes". The European Commission interpreted both - the European Council statement as well as the European Parliament Resolution - as illustration for "the consensus for rapid action to save lives and to step up EU action" (European Commission, 2015a, p. 3) and therefore proceeded with the development of the European Agenda on Migration.

The agenda "brings together the different steps the European Union should take now [dated May 13, 2015], and in the coming years, to build up a coherent and comprehensive approach to reap the benefits and address the challenges deriving from migration" (ibid.). The agenda foresees an immediate action plan as well as adjustments to existing policies to achieve a better migration management <sup>15</sup>. The Commission claims that the "migration crisis [...] has revealed much about the structural limitations of EU migration policy and the tools at its disposal" (European Commission, 2015a,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> The European Parliament is the EU institution which consists of directly elected delegates. Together with the Council of the EU it is the legislation setting organ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> The European Council is another one of the seven EU institutions. It consists of the heads of government or state. Its task is defining the political agenda of the EU.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> The former includes two redistribution mechanisms which will be explained briefly in chapter 3.4.1. and 3.4.2. Since the focus of the report is on the relocation of refugees on the European, national and local level, it will be given more space to the elaboration of the relocation mechanism.

p. 6). It therefore suggests four levels of action for an improvement of the EUs migration management.

Since the focus of this report is on the distribution mechanisms which are included in the immediate action part of the Agenda on Migration, the long- and medium-term adjustments as well as the rest of the immediate action plan will be presented only briefly in order to provide a better understanding of the EU's reactions to the *crisis* in the Mediterranean. In short, the agenda seeks to initiate a new European migration policy which pairs the four pillars: 1. Fight irregular migration, traffickers and smugglers 2. Secure the EU's external borders 3. Initiate a strong common asylum policy and 4. Create a new policy on legal migration (European Commission, 2015a).

The immediate action plan foreseen in the agenda includes six core responses. Firstly, the rescue and search efforts on the Mediterranean should be increased. This should be achieved by raising the budget for two of the EU's frontier protection agency Frontex operations, Triton and Poseidon. The Commission holds the view that Frontex fulfils a "dual role of coordinating operational border support [...], and helping to save lives of migrants at sea" (European Commission, 2015a, p. 3). Next, the agenda aims at targeting criminal smuggling networks with the help of, amongst others, Frontex as well as Europol, the EU's law enforcement agency (European Commission, 2015a). Thirdly, the EU should strengthen their partnership with the countries of origin in order to limit emigration (ibid.) Furthermore, the EU's tools should be used to help the most affected states. For one thing an emergency funding was supposed to be mobilized, for another the Commission set up a 'Hotspot Approach', where several EU agencies will work on the spot with the authorities of the member states (European Commission, 2015a). Finally, the Commissions Agenda on Migration suggests two distribution mechanisms to facilitate the member states response to a high number of arriving asylum seekers: resettlement and relocation. These two will be presented in an own chapter due to their significance for the work.

#### 3.5. European Distribution Mechanisms

As mentioned in the previous chapter, as part of their immediate action agenda, the EU commission proposed the implementation of two distribution mechanisms. Both build on the principles of solidarity and international cooperation. But whereas relocation aims at distributing in times of high influxes persons in clear need of

international protection from one EU Member state to others, resettlement aims at providing safe and legal ways for asylum seekers from third countries to enter the EU. The financing of both programs is supported by the Asylum Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF). The AMIF is a "financial instrument for the period 2014 to 2020, which supports national and EU initiatives that promote the efficient management of migration flows and the implementation, strengthening and development of a common Union approach to asylum and immigration" (European Commission, 2017b). For the period of seven years, 3.137 billion was set up. 12% of this value will be divided between Union actions and emergency assistance, which includes the resettlement as well as the relocation scheme. The financing is being implemented through annual work programs (European Commission, 2017a). In this chapter both measures will be explained, however, the relocation mechanism will be given more attention since it is the core topic of this report.

The following timeline provides an overview over the most important steps towards creating the relocation and the resettlement scheme.

May 13, 2015	European Commission adopts European Agenda on Migration
May 27, 2015	European Commission adopts of Proposal for Council decision Including a first package of implementing measures, including
	the resettlement of 22.000 people from outside the EU and the intra-EU relocation of 40.000 persons
June 25 + 26, 2015	The European Council agrees to move forward on the European Commission's proposal
July 20, 2015	The Council agreed on the implementation of proposed measures: 40.000 relocations (starting with 32.256) and 22.504 resettlements
September 9, 2015	The Parliament votes in favor of the regulation. Proposed by the European Commission
	The European Commission proposes the relocation of an additional 120.000 asylum seekers from Greece, Italy and Hungary
September 14, 2015	The Council also votes in favor of the relocation of 40.000 persons and expresses willingness to move forward towards agreeing to the relocation of an additional 120.000 people
September 17, 2015	Parliament votes in favor of relocation of additionally 120.000
September 22, 2015	Council votes for the adoption and implementation of the second measure of the emergency relocation scheme, which confirms the relocation of 120.000 people from Italy and

Greece and other Member states directly affected.

March 18, 2016

**EU-Turkey** statement

Source: Own presentation

#### 3.5.1. Resettlement

The idea of resettlement is based on the reasoning that there must be safe and legal ways for asylum seekers to enter the EU. In a more general sense it can be noted that

"Resettlement aims to [...] provide a durable solution for refugees and the displaced, unable to return home or to remain in their country of first refuge [...] [and] to relieve the strain on receiving countries. Resettlement thus contributes to international solidarity and continued fulfilment of the fundamental principles of protection" (Goodwin-Gill, 2016, p. 43).

On May 27, 2015 the European Commission presented a first package of implementing measures and proposed a total of 20.000 resettlement places until 2020. The distribution among the Member states is based on a distribution key that takes into account the population size, the total gross domestic product (GDP), the number of spontaneous asylum applications as well as the unemployment rate. 16 Furthermore, it was announced that the EU would make 50 million Euro available for Member states participating in the scheme (European Commission, 2015b). On June 25 and 26 the European Council agreed on the proposal by the Commission<sup>17</sup>.

On July 20, 2015, the Council agreed on the implementation of the emergency mechanisms laid out in the European Agenda on Migration, namely the resettlement of 22.504 persons in clear need of protection from a third country to an EU Member state. The fact that the total number of persons was in the end higher than the initially proposed number of 20.000 is because the member states pledged more than what the quota based on the distribution key foresaw. It was, however, agreed that the additional

<sup>16</sup> See Table 2 for the distribution key.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> For the complete conclusions of the European Council meeting on June 25 and 26, 2017 see http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2015/06/26-euco-conclusions/.

2.504 pledges for resettlement places will be transferred to relocation (European Commission, 2015c).

Besides the European resettlement scheme presented above, there is a second resettlement mechanism. The second resettlement scheme is based on the EU-Turkey statement from March 2016. It consists of a so called 1:1 mechanism, which means that for every Syrian asylum seeker which Turkey takes back from Greece, the EU will resettle one Syrian national directly from Turkey. The idea behind this mechanism is to reduce incentives for irregular migration from Turkey to Europe by crossing the Aegean Sea in a dangerous journey and to promote an orderly migration process.

Regarding the state of play of the resettlement scheme, as of June 9 2017, 16.419 people have been resettled under both schemes so far (European Commission, 2017d). That is to say that 82% of the agreed resettlement has already been carried out. The number of resettled people in Portugal is extremely low – only 12 people have been resettled under the two schemes so far, whereby all 12 resettlements resulted from the 1:1 mechanism with Turkey (Table 1). The leading resettling countries are Germany, Norway, France and the Netherlands. 38% of the resettled people were resettled under the 1:1 mechanism with Turkey.

# 3.5.2. Relocation

On May 27, 2015 the European Commission adopted the "Proposal for a Council Decision establishing provisional measures in the area of international protection for the benefit of Italy and Greece" (11132/15). This proposal foresaw the relocation of a total of 40.000 asylum seekers that arrived in Greece or Italy after April 15 2015 and who have high chances of receiving a positive asylum decision 19. That is to say, "asylum seekers of nationalities that have at least a 75 per cent recognition rate at first instance across the EU (based on the latest Eurostat quarterly statistics) are eligible for relocation from Greece and Italy" (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2017a, p. 44). According to Eurostat (2016) these nationalities were in 2015 Syria with a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> For the complete proposal see http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-11132-2015-INIT/en/pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> See Akkaya (2015) on why the relocation mechanism was not introduced through the already existing Temporary Protection Directive from 2001, previously mentioned in chapter 3.1.

recognition rate of 97.2% and 49.8% of all granted protection statuses, Eritrea with a recognition rate of 89.8% and Iraq with 85.7%.

The duration of the relocation scheme was anticipated as two years. The measure is the first one ever that is based on the emergency response mechanism under Article 78(3) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union: "In the event of one or more Member states being confronted by an emergency situation characterised by a sudden inflow of nationals of third countries, the Council, on a proposal from the Commission, may adopt provisional measures for the benefit of the Member state(s) concerned." (European Union). The Commission further proposed that Member states receive 6.000€ for each person they relocate.

The envisaged practical procedure for relocating asylum seekers from Greece and Italy is as follows:

"Each Member state shall appoint a national contact point and communicate it to the other Member states and to the European Asylum Support Office (EASO)<sup>20</sup>. Member states shall at regular intervals, and at the latest every three months, indicate the number of applicants who can be relocated swiftly to their territory and any other relevant information. The Member state benefiting from relocation, with the assistance of EASO, and, where applicable, of the other Member states' liaison officers, shall then identify the individual applicants who could be relocated and propose to the other Member states that these applicants be relocated to their territory. In doing so, priority should be given to vulnerable applicants. Following approval of the Member state of relocation, a formal decision to relocate an applicant needs then to be taken by the Member state benefiting from relocation and notified to the applicant. [...] The proposal foresees that all the procedural steps must be carried out as soon as possible and no later than two months from the indication by the Member state of relocation of the number of applicants who could be relocated swiftly."

(European Commission, 2015d, p. 8)

On July 20, 2015 the Council of the European Union, consisting of the Member states' ministers responsible for Home and Justice Matters, adopted the proposal and

<sup>20</sup> EASO supports the implementation of a common European Asylum System and provides information, support and cross-linking for and between Member states.

incorporated it into the "Resolution of the Representatives of the Governments of the Member states meeting within the Council on relocating from Greece and Italy 40.000 persons in clear need of international protection"<sup>21</sup>. Hungary and Austria were given an initial period of suspension in which they were not asked to comply with relocation quotas, due the high numbers of asylum seekers and refugees they were hosting already. Furthermore, Denmark and the United Kingdom do not participate in the resolution<sup>22</sup>. The resolution further specifies the relocation of 32.256 persons<sup>23</sup> as a first step and the update of this number in December 2015 in order to achieve the number of 40.000 which the European Council had agreed up in June<sup>24</sup>. The distribution key for the relocation scheme is the same as for the relocation scheme previously explained.

On September 9, 2015 the parliament accepted the proposal. With the consent of the Council on September 14, 2015, the relocation scheme for 40.000 asylum seekers could be finally implemented in the form of a *Council Decision*, one of five instruments the European Parliament jointly with the Council and the Commission has at their command. According to the Treaty establishing the European Community (Art. 249): "A decision shall be binding in its entirety upon those to whom it is addressed" (European Union, 2002), which is all Member states. The decision foresees however the possibility to make bilateral agreements between Italy and Greece and the associated states Iceland, Norway, Switzerland and Liechtenstein (European Council, 2015b).

On September 9, 2015 the Commission proposed a second measure for the additional relocation of 120.000 people from Greece, Italy and Hungary, since the numbers of arrivals in these countries continued to grow significantly after the first proposal in May 2015. Hungary, however, did not want to be included in the new scheme. On September 14, 2015 the Council expressed its willingness to move forward towards a new agreement. In the session Portugal demonstrated its willingness to host 4.500 asylum seekers, corresponding with the distribution key for 160.000 persons. The European Parliament accepted the second proposal on September 17, 2015. On September 22, 2015 the council voted in favor of the adoption. Portugal's then Minister

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> For the complete resolution see http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-11131-2015-INIT/en/pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> For more information regarding the absence of Denmark and the United Kingdom in the resolution, see the source named in footnote 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> See the distribution keys of all Member states in Table 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> For the complete conclusions of the European Council meeting on June 25 and 26, 2017 see http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2015/06/26-euco-conclusions/.

for the Interior Anabela Rodrigues called the adoption a "response which reflects an equilibrated agreement" (Lusa, 2015). Yet, Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania and Slovakia voted against the mandatory quota. They were, however, overruled, which is "highly unusual and perceived as an assault on their sovereignty by the four countries that voted against" (Traynor & Kingsley, 2015). Traynor and Kingsley (2015) even spoke of "forc[ing] a vote on one of the most toxic issues in European politics".

The scheme was applied for the first time on November 4, 2015 with the relocation of 30 Syrian and Iraqi families from Greece to Luxembourg. The number of relocated people from both Italy and Greece grew significantly over the course of the scheme (Fig. 15). While it started off with very low monthly numbers during the last months of 2015 up to the middle of 2016, the numbers of relocated people started growing considerably throughout the last year, until reaching the highest number to date in March 2015 with almost 2.500 relocations, predominantly from Greece. Regarding the current state of play: As of June 9, 2017 20.869 people have been relocated under the EU relocation scheme, so since October 2015. That is only 13% of the desired goal of 160.000. Considering that the relocation scheme expires in September 2017, it is obvious that there exist great difficulties in putting the plan into practice and indicates that the quota will not be fulfilled in time. In total 6.896 people have been relocated from Italy and 13.973 people from Greece. Portugal relocated 299 asylum seekers from Italy and 1.075 from Greece, that makes 1.374 relocated people in total (European Commission, 2017d). Portugal, therefore, is the country with the fourth most relocations in the EU, following Germany, France and the Netherlands, followed very closely by Norway (Table 4).

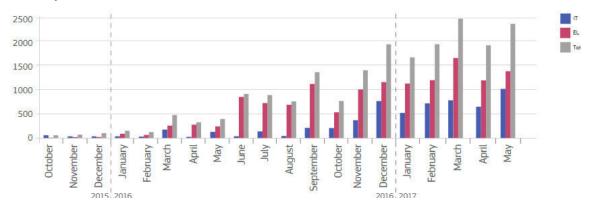


Fig. 15: Relocations from Italy and Greece, October 2015 until May 2017 Source: European Commission (2017d, p. 2)

Since Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic continue to refuse receiving asylum seekers under the relocation plan, the European Commission has launched a legal case

against the three countries in June 2017. Poland did, on September 22, 2015 vote in favor of the regulation, though the government was shortly after replaced by a far-right one which withholds fulfilling the agreed quotas. When Hungary and Austria were, after their initially given "period of grace", called on to fulfill their quotas, both refused. Later on, however, Austria as well as Slovakia agreed to relocate asylum seekers under the EU scheme. Therefore, the European Commission did not launch a legal case against them. In the following chapter the relocation practices in Portugal and more specifically in city of Lisbon, will be presented in detail.

# 4. Recent Reception of Refugees in Portugal

As noted above, Portugal is one the EU members states that participate in the relocation and the resettlement program, based on the EU decisions from September 2015. For the sake of completeness it has to be added though that there is also a third—the "classical" — way through which Portugal receives asylum seekers, so-called spontaneous asylum application. That is to say, people might also arrive independently in Portugal, mostly by airplane, and make a spontaneous asylum application at the airport. In 2016 Portugal received 1.460 spontaneous asylum applications, which was an increase of 62% in comparison to the year before (Table 5). However, in 2015 the number of asylum applications made in Portugal made up only 0.1% of all applications made in the EU member states (Observatório das Migrações, 2016). The biggest groups of applicants in 2016 were nationals from Ukraine, followed by Guinea and Afghanistan. Portugal, therefore, does not follow the general European tendencies presented in the previous chapter. While in 2015 the three main citizenships granted protection status in the EU were Syria, Eritrea and Iraq, in Portugal they were Ukraine (60.6%), Sierra Leone (5.7%) and Somalia (4.1%) (Eurostat, 2016).

The coordination of the relocation scheme from the European until the local level (Lisbon), which will be described in detail in the following, can be illustrated as follows:

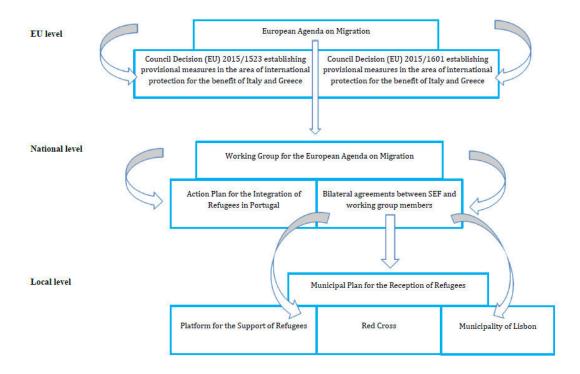


Fig. 16: Relocation Scheme on the European, national and local level

Source: Own presentation

#### 4.1. The National Level

As a reaction to the actions on the European level the Portuguese *Working Group* for the European Agenda on Migration was formed on August 31, 2015 on the basis of the legal order 10041-A/2015. The purpose of the multidisciplinary Working Group was to prepare and plan the national implementation of the measures indicated in the EU Agenda on Migration. In this context the urgency of a quick and appropriate response regarding the planned relocation and resettlement of refugees in Portugal was pointed out (Presidência do Conselho de Ministros, 2015). More precisely, the Working Group was entrusted with the assessment of the Portuguese capacity to host the foreseen group of asylum seekers and refugees and with the preparation of a national action plan for the reception of the relocated asylum seekers until the end of 2015.

In the legal order the following representatives were foreseen as members of the Working Group: the General Directorate for European Issues of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; the Foreigners and Border Service (SEF), which also had the logistical and administrative lead of the group; the Institute for Social Security; the Employment and Vocational Training Institute (IEFP), the General Health Directorate; the General Education Directorate and the High Commissioner for Migrations. Moreover paragraph

4 of the order enabled the group to invite local authorities and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) to participate. Therefore, representatives of the National Association of the Municipalities, the Union of the Misericórdias, the Red Cross, the Portuguese Refugee Council (CPR), as representative for UNHCR in Portugal, and a representative of the Platform for the Support of Refugees (PAR) as well as the Union of Mutualities were also part of the Working Group.

From the working group resulted the *Action Plan for the Integration of Refugees in Portugal*. Unfortunately the plan is not accessible to the public, a notice published in October 2015 by SEF and the ACM Report 2016 give however an idea of its content. The plan illustrates the application of the in the European Agenda on Migration and the following EU directives foreseen steps regarding the relocation of asylum seekers in Portugal. According to ACM the reception should correspond with the following principles:

- Institutional preferring a reception by institutions rather than by individuals
- Decentralized appreciating the reception potential of areas with a medium and low density and preventing aggregation of individuals
- Concerted mobilizing local consortiums of institutions which assure the different necessities for the integration of refugees
- Integrating considering all factors essential for the integration such as housing, alimentation, education, health and the Portuguese language
- Autonomous presenting approaches which allow an increasing autonomy of the refugees, especially regarding housing
   (Alto Comissariado para as Migrações, 2017)

To be precise, the plan defines the responsibilities of the public institutions such as ACM, the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Education and locates the task of hosting the 4.500 asylum seekers agreed to relocate with the civil society (interview with Rui Marques, July 20, 2017). As mentioned before, the action plan envisioned a decentralized accommodation in 112 municipalities in all 18 Portuguese districts as well as in the two autonomous regions Madeira and Azores on a communitarian basis. SEF and ACM had been allocated the task of redistributing the asylum seekers that were assigned to Portugal based on their profile, including age, gender, academic

qualifications, desire for family reunification, language skills, profession etc. (Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras, 2015). Furthermore, it was defined that the local integration processes will be coordinated by the provincial SEF delegations and accompanied by multidisciplinary teams, consisting of the public services, the municipalities, organization from the social and solidary sector and other organizations of the civil society (Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras, 2015). In January 2016, after the landmark decisions were already made, Resolution no° 5/2016 by the Council of Ministers assigned the political coordination to the Minister of State Eduardo Cabrita.

While PAR, for example, had already signed a protocol with the Portuguese government before the Working Group began its work (interview with Rui Marques, July 20, 2017) other bilateral agreements resulted from the concerted work, in addition, to the action plan. There were, for example, agreements made between SEF and the Union of the Portuguese *Misericórdias*, the Red Cross Portugal, and the National Association of Portuguese Municipalities. Following that, three Portuguese municipalities developed municipal programs for the reception of relocated refugees: Lisbon, Guimarães and Sintra<sup>25</sup>. To execute the relocation however, the Misericórdias and Municipalities for their part concluded contracts with the two major Portuguese institutions that have decade-long experience in accompanying asylum processes and refugees: CPR and the Portuguese branch of the Jesuit Service for Refugees (JRS). While CPR is involved in the Municipal plans of Guimarães and Sintra, JRS plays an important role in the Municipal plan of Lisbon as well as on the national level through their role in PAR.

The process of relocation of applicants for international protection is as follows: Asylum seekers who qualify for the relocation program, that is to say, are Syrian, Iraqi or Eritrean nationals apply for the relocation program in their current country stay, Italy or Greece. They have the possibility to name eight countries of preference where they would like to be relocated to. These wishes are, however, unlikely to be fulfilled: Of all under the program *PAR famílias* relocated asylum seekers not one had named Portugal as one of their eight preferences (interview with João Lima, July 21, 2017). The national

.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> The Lisbon Municipal Plan for the Reception of Refugees will be discussed further in in following chapter. Since the focus of the report is the organization of the relocation of refugees in Lisbon, the two other reports will not be discussed any further .For more information on the Guimarães Municipal Plan for the Reception of Refugees in partnership with CPR see Guimarães Acolhe - Plano de Ação do Município de Guimarães para o Acolhimento de Refugiados (2016). For further information on the Sintra Municipal Plan see Proposta - Plano para o Acolhimento e Integração de Refugiados no Conselho de Sintra (2015).

authorities in Greece and Italy together with the European agencies Frontex and EASO then decide who is relocated to which member state. Even though the authorities of the receiving state have no co-determination rights regarding the assignment of asylum seekers to their country, they have the possibility to recuse the reception of an individual if a potential danger for the national security is indicated. Therefore SEF appointed two officials for the direct contact with the Greece, Italian and European entities to monitor the processes and security questions. In Portugal it is SEF and ACM that decide to which hosting institution each relocated asylum seeker will be appointed. While doing so they attempt to take the characteristics and the family constellation as well as the local peculiarities of the available reception places into account, in order to facilitate the integration and autonomy of the refugees (Alto Comissariado para as Migrações, 2017, p. 51).

The possible hosting institutions are the ones that made bilateral agreements with SEF: the Red Cross, the Municipality of Lisbon, the Union of the Misericóridas, CPR and PAR. Many of the actors have then again their own cooperation agreements among each other. The interlinkage between civil organizations and public bodies might be illustrated by the examples of the two main hosting projects on the national level, technically coordinated by CPR and JRS.

In addition to their technical involvement in the Municipal plans of Sintra and Guimarães, CPR also developed an independent nationwide plan for the relocation of refugees in Portugal. Unfortunately this plan is not available to the public (interview with Luís Bernardo, July 7, 2017). It is however a combination of the NGOs good practices and new aspects, introduced in order to comply with the national plan. For example, since the NGO is traditionally Lisbon-based, it had to establish bilateral agreements with local authorities and municipalities throughout the country in order to comply with the principle of decentralization of refugee housing, formalized in the national plan. Therefore, one very important pillar of CPRs plan for the relocation of refugees is bilateral agreements with municipalities. The CPR plan divides the function between the organization itself and the hosting institutions, that is to say the municipalities, and establishes rules for the engagement. CPR offered a standardized bilateral agreement to all municipalities in Portugal. As of July 7, 2017, 19 municipalities accepted the offer to team up with CPR. The distribution of these

municipalities is relatively uneven, since there are more hosting municipalities in the North of Portugal and the Greater Lisbon area than in the South.

In practice this cooperation works as follows: CPR pledges a number of relocations from SEF and ACM based on the amount of people their local partners are capable of hosting. The agreements then foresee the city councils as the "nuclear institution". Some of them are very well embedded in the civil society and are therefore able to mobilize partners and externalize integration tasks. CPR, however, always works as "sort of a technical consultant" for the local authorities, which organize the access to public services such as health centers, schooling, employment etc (interview with Luís Bernardo, July 7, 2017). The authorities try to also provide Portuguese language classes through public services, namely the IEFP, but since it is not always feasible, sometimes language classes are provided by volunteers.

While the municipalities do the day-to-day reception and integration work, CPR transfers knowledge in form of informal trainings regarding different topics. CPR further provides direct support to relocated refugees who are hosted in the Lisbon Region, if there is no local partner present. Furthermore, the NGO provides direct legal support and specialized social work, which means that social workers travel from Lisbon to the hosting cities throughout the country. CPR also has partnerships with more public bodies, such as Social Security, or with civil societal and private partners, for example the Red Cross or the Food Bank, to be able to respond to the refugees and asylum seekers needs as comprehensively as possible.

The other nationwide effort is coordinated by JRS. As one of the founding members it is responsible for the technical secretariat of the Platform for the Support of Refugees. PAR, which was awarded with the European Citizen's Prize in June 2017, is a platform for organizations of the Portuguese civil society for the support of refugees in the current humanitarian crisis. It was created in summer 2015 by Rui Marques, former High Commissioner for Migration and President of the Institute Padre António Vieira. The objective was to unite and coordinate the help offered by municipalities, private persons, the civil society and many more in the light of the humanitarian crisis in the Mediterranean. Members are mainly non-profit solidarity institutions, but also of companies, schools, parishes and more. Besides the hosting institutions, PAR also unites donors and companies and organizations that might provide other types of

support. PAR's work has three dimensions. Firstly, there is the program *PAR linha-da-frente* (engl. frontline) which supports refugee families "on the frontline", meaning it supports families that live in neighboring countries or the even in the countries of origin – in Syria, Turkey, in Jordan or in Lebanon. Secondly, PAR conducts some form of marketing, in the sense of encouraging the public to develop a welcoming attitude towards the reception and integration of refugees (Oliveira, 2015). Finally the third dimension, which constitutes an integral part of the national as well as of the Lisbon model for the relocation of refugees is *PAR famílias* (engl. families).

PAR defined as its priority to help the most vulnerable of all asylum seekers: children. And since the majority of children are accompanied by their families, the program extends to them as well (interview with Rui Marques, July 20, 2017). Currently PAR has 91 member institutions that are capable of hosting refugee families. The member institutions receive, integrate and support relocated refugee families in Portugal during two years. The institutions themselves mobilize the necessary funds to host the family. During this time, there are six pillars of need that are supposed to be taken care of: Learning the Portuguese language, access to health, education and labor, alimentation and accommodation, if possible, autonomous (Oliveira, 2015). The PAR model does not foresee reception centers, but "collective integration" (pt. *integração comunitária*).

JRS, as holder of the technical secretariat of PAR, initially conducted a diagnosis of the hosting capacity of the member organizations and established the procedure the relocated families are supposed to pass through from their arriving in Portugal until the end of the program, which is 24 months later in the case of *PAR famílias* (interview with João Lima, July 21, 2017). When ACM assigned a family of asylum seekers to PAR, the selection of the hosting institution is made by JRS. The NGO tries to match the available offers with the needs of the respective families, regarding the house size or the access to university and schools for example (Oliveira, 2015). Since September 2016 JRS has conducted pre-departure interviews with families in Greece in order to assure that the to-be-relocated families have realistic expectations the Portuguese hosting infrastructure can fulfill and to get a first impression of the needs of the families. At this point they also have to sign a contract in which they agree to the rights and obligations defined by the partner organization. Until now, however, no

family has refused to sign the contract (interview with João Lima, July 21, 2017). Furthermore, JRS acts as intermediator between the hosting member organization and ACM and SEF and monitors the integration process. In short it can be said that JRS provides the knowledge on working with refugees and asylum seekers for the PAR member institutions do not necessarily have experience in this area. The hosting PAR members sign agreements with both, PAR as well as SEF. These agreements define the responsibilities and duties of both sides.

So far of all under *PAR famílias* relocated families 79% were Syrian, 16% Iraqi, 3% Eritrean and 2% stateless, which normally refers to Palestinian refugees that were formerly living in Syria (Fig. 17). Currently, 64 member institutions are hosting 295 people, of which 159 are children.

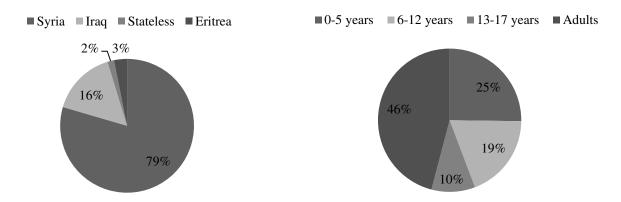


Fig. 17: Nationalities of relocated families within the PAR famílias program as of July 17, 2017
Source: Own presentation on the basis of data provided by João Lima, July 21, 2017

Fig. 18: Age of the relocated refugees within the PAR famílias program, as of July 17, 2017 Source: Own presentation on the basis of data provided by João Lima, July 21, 2017

25% of all relocated asylum seekers and refugees are between zero and five years old, of which 15 children in total were born in Portugal (Fig. 18). Furthermore, 19% are between six and 12 years old and 10% between 13 and 17.

The relocation of refugees in Portugal is subsidized by the Asylum Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF) which was explained briefly in chapter 3.5. In March 2015 the European Commission approved the Portuguese national plan<sup>26</sup> for the use of AMIF funding. Therefore, Portugal is entitled to receive a one-time payment of 6.000€ for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> For the complete Portuguese distributing scheme for AMIF see Ministério da Administração Interna (2017).

every from Greece or Italy relocated person. The country benefitting from the relocation, Italy or Greece, receives 500€ per relocated person to cover the transport to the country of relocation (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2017b). The funds are firstly directed to SEF and then redistributed by the same to the hosting institutions at the local level to cover the costs for housing, social benefit payments (150€ per month in the case of relocated refugees), integration costs, language training, labor market integration etc. (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2017b). According to the OECD the costs for processing and accommodating one asylum seeker is estimated around 10.000€ for the first year. The value can be even significantly higher if during the first year integration measures are applied already or for persons belonging to a particularly vulnerable group, e.g. unaccompanied minors (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2017b). The lump-sum payment of 6.000€ from the EU can therefore only be considered as a help. There exist, however, great delays in paying the respective bodies (interview with João Lima, July 21, 2017).

In summary, it can be said that SEF is the responsible institution at the central level. It has agreements with various institutions which execute the reception and integration at the local level. The main coordination of the hosting institutions on the national level however is done by the civil society organizations JRS and CPR. Since a decentralized placement is desired, the relocated asylum seekers are accommodated all over the country. In the following chapter, the reception and integration of relocated asylum seekers and refugees at the local level, more specifically in the capital of Lisbon, will be illustrated.

# 4.2. The Local Level

The organization of the reception of relocated asylum seekers and refugees in Lisbon is a special case among the Portuguese city councils. While the municipalities in general host and integrate refugees under the CPR or the PAR scheme, the Lisbon city council (CML) created its own plan – the Program for the Municipal Program for the Reception of Refugees in Lisbon (PMAR LX).

On October 14, 2015 the Local Council for Social Action of Lisbon met in order to introduce and approve the Municipal Program for the Reception of Refugees in Lisbon (PMAR LX). On November 16, 2015 a meeting of social organizations and other institutions which might contribute to the fulfillment of the programs objectives took place. During this event the program was officially presented and the present institutions discussed their possible contributions. In Lisbon the following organizations receive relocated refugees under the PMAR LX scheme: the Red Cross Portugal; the Lisbon Santa Casa de Misericórdias; the PAR institutions<sup>27</sup>; JRS (independently from PAR) and the city council itself. CPR, as mentioned before, does not host relocated refugees in the city of Lisbon, even though it is involved in PMAR LX in the scope of the Commission for the Accompaniment of the Reception of Refugees in Lisbon. That is, however, due to the fact that the committee existed already before the municipal program was developed (interview with Luís Bernardo, July 7, 2017).

The Program foresees the reception of 500 refugees in Lisbon (Annex 1). That is to say, the capital which is home to circa five percent of the national population is supposed to host circa 10 percent of the total 4.500 relocations that Portugal agreed to. The responsible for the program is the councilman João Afonso, head of the Department of Social Rights of the Lisbon City Council. The organigram further includes different entities of the city council: the team for the support and reception of refugees as well as the internal services such as or example the municipal directions, the different departments and divisions and many more. The CML has then established a great number of partnerships with different public bodies, such as the Health Centers, universities, the Misericórdias etc. but also with civil society institutions, including PAR, JRS, the Red Cross any many more and international entities such as the intercultural cities network of the Council of Europe and the UNHCR (Fig. 19).

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> The PAR members which are hosting relocated asylum seekers in Lisbon are: The Christian Association of Reinsertion and Social Support (ACRAS); Campos Ferreira, Sá Carneiro & Associates; the Externato Escravas do Sagrado Coração de Jesus; the Obra do Ardina Foundation; the Salesian Parish of the Santa Isabel Foundation; the parent-teacher association of the Colégio do Sagrado Coração de Maria; the Hospitaller order of São João de Deus; the Schoenstatt Association Lisboa; the Social and Parish Center São João de Deus (IPSI); the Association Famílias Diferentes and the Champagnat Foundation PAR (2017).

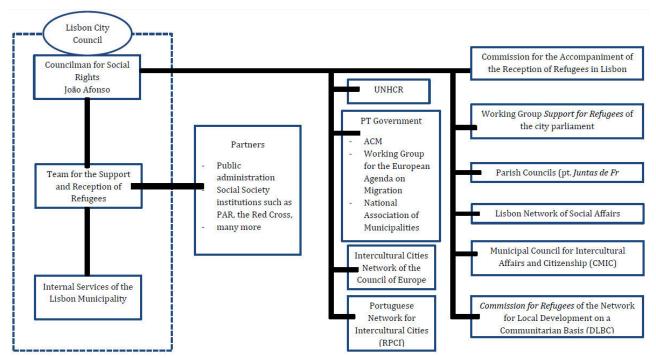


Fig. 19: Organigram of the Program for the Municipal Program for the Reception of Refugees in Lisbon Source: Own presentation based on Programa Municipal de Acolhimento de Refugiados na Cidade de Lisboa (2015)

The total financial resources for the program is 2 million Euros, consisting of internal resources of CML as well as contributions by partners and other national and international communitarian funds (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2015).

PMAR LX covers a two year period of support and is divided in three phases: Reception, Accompaniment and Integration. The first phase includes the transport to Portugal and the reception; the accompaniment and simultaneous translation; the services and infrastructures provided in the "transit center"; diagnosis of the necessary medical, psychological and bureaucratic steps; the regularization and the juristic accompaniment, the satisfaction of basic needs such as health, alimentation, clothing etc. and the geographical distribution of the program participants (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2015). The second phase, accompaniment, includes shifting the focus of support on autonomous housing, health and education, learning the Portuguese language, special training for the immigrant population and preparation for entry into the labor market (ibid.). During this phase the asylum seekers are supposed to move to individual houses. After about the first six months following arrival, the third phase, integration, starts and lasts until the end of the remaining more or less 18 months of the program. This last phase includes the support for accessing the social economy and the labor market; the integration into public health centers, compulsory education and formal Portuguese classes as well as support in general (ibid.).

It is to note, that PMAR LX is very detailed program for the relocation of refugees and asylum seekers and does therefore not represent the reality of other municipalities in Portugal. This might be explained through the incomparable amount and size of social institutions and public bodies in the capital. Another specific feature of the relocation efforts of CML is the creation of an initial reception center, run by the municipality and civil society partners: the Temporary Reception Center for Refugees (CATR). In the following section, the functioning of the center as well as the contents of the internship I did there will be presented.

# 4.3. My internship in the reception center

While doing my Master studies in "Migration, Inter-ethnicities and Transnationalism" at the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences at Universidade Nova de Lisboa, I opted to conclude my studies with an internship and an elaborated report. Since I focused on the studies of refugees and asylum seekers during the Master program, I decided to deepen this specification during the final academic year. I therefore very much appreciated the efforts of the subject coordinator who established contact with CATR. Since I had already done an internship in an NGO led reception center for asylum seekers in Lisbon, I was eager to get an insight into the municipal reception efforts. The internship under the direction of assessor Carla Gonçalves and Professor Dulce Pimentel took place between September 2016 and March 2017 and had a total amount of 800 working hours.

CATR is an initial reception center for relocated refugees and asylum seekers which works as a transit center for asylum seekers that are relocated under the relocation scheme and PMAR LX. The objective of the internship was to gain insight into the processes of a reception center of refugees led by a legislative institution – the city council of Lisbon. Since it is a transit center especially for relocated asylum seekers, I also expected to get to know the relocation process, above all the orientation period from the participants arrival in Portugal until the transition into autonomous houses.

The center was inaugurated on February 22, 2016 and is run by the Municipality itself, or more specifically by the personnel of the CML's department for social rights in collaboration with JRS. It is based in the neighborhood of Lumiar, Lisbon and has the capacity to host 24 adults. It is located in a spacious building which was formerly used by the Association of the Disabled in the Armed Forces and was then renovated by the

CML. It has three floors: On the ground floor there is the office as well as the classroom for the Portuguese lessons, on the second floor there are the common areas such as the living room and the kitchen and on the third floor there are the residents' rooms and bathrooms. Both are separated by gender. The rooms have a capacity of eight adults each. Moreover, the center has a big garden which is often used by the residents to relax. The maintenance of the center is the task of CML. The kitchen is equipped with a fridge and microwaves but no cooking facilities. Food is provided by JRS as well as the Food Bank and Refood. The reason for not placing a cooker at the residents' disposal is to motivate the residents to move to autonomous houses, since the experience shows that many program participants would prefer to stay in the center. CATR is, however, supposed to be a "transit center", where the newly arrived relocated asylum seekers stay during their first month in Portugal. During this first phase, as explained before, the most important needs of the residents, such as social and psychological counseling and the entry in the regularization process, are supposed to be satisfied.



Picture 1: The entrance area of the reception center

Source: Own photograph

Picture 2: View on the reception center from the garden side
Source: Own photograph



Three institutions are taking part in the accompaniment of relocated refugees within the scope of the reception in CATR. Firstly, the Lisbon city council, or more specifically, the Department for Social Rights, which is in charge of the coordination of the center through Mrs. Carla Gonçalves, Assessor to the City Councilor João Carlos Afonso. Furthermore three staff members of the Department for Social Rights work in CATR. Secondly, the *Jesuit Refugee Service* (hereafter JRS) is present in the center with a team of two psychologists and a social worker and occasionally one translator. JRS is an international catholic non-governmental organization founded in 1980. JRS′ aim is to "accompany, serve and advocate the cause of refugees and forcibly displaced persons worldwide" (Jesuit Refugee Service, n.d.). It is present in over 50 countries worldwide. In Portugal their main activities constitute of "Social support [...]; Psychological support; Legal support; Support for the social integration and the professional integration [...]; Higher education support; Housing for homeless migrants [...]; Medical support; Portuguese language courses [...]" (Jesuit Refugee Service, n.d.).

Thirdly, there is the NGO *Crescer na Maior* whose mission is to reduce risks and to promote the integration of vulnerable groups through projects in the communities and trainings. Crescer na Maior comes into play in the second and third phase of PMAR LX. With the transition from the transit center to autonomous houses, the relocated asylum seekers theoretically also transit from CMLs and JRSs responsibility to CnMs responsibility. This cut is not so clear in practice, however, since the CATR team remains a principal point of contact for many asylum seekers and refugees even after leaving the center.

The CML and JRS teams are the ones who receive the program participants at the airport. Upon arrival they immediately make their asylum claims at the SEF office in the airport. When arriving in the center, a first kit of hygiene products, Portuguese learning material as well as general information about the program in English and Arabic is provided. Within the first days, the JRS staff then conducts a psychosocial diagnosis of the new residents through individual interviews.

The third in PMAR LX foreseen phase, integration, is also the final part of the plan. The term *integration* is usually used to refer describe the process of "how immigrants and their descendants can become part of receiving societies and nations" (Castles et al.,

2014, p. 264). Therefore, *integration* is in general understood as happening during a much broader temporal phase. As van Selm (2016) states, one of the key elements of a successful integration is already a *pre-departure orientation*. Pre-departure measures are, however, only possible in cases of planned resettlement or relocation processes. Further key elements of effective integration<sup>28</sup> programs are for example "language and other skills training with an emphasis on self-reliance and employment potential; recognition of and support for vulnerable groups, including the provision of appropriate services; support from and engagement of host communities; coordination across government at the national and local levels in policy, practice, service provision etc.; and coordination between government and non-governmental partners" (van Selm, 2016, p. 520). One way to achieving engagement between the refugees and host communities are the activities offered by volunteers of JRS, such as visits to tourist attractions or even leisure activities like, for example, yoga lessons.

As explained in chapter 4.1., all of the factors mentioned by van Selm are considered in the three phases of PMAR LX. Pre-departure orientation is not provided for the under the CML program relocated asylum seekers. Integrational services that are offered during the stay at CATR are: language training, special support, e.g. psychological or medical, for those who need it; engagement with the host community and the encouragement for self-reliance and a professional activity.

The Portuguese classes for CATR residents are offered by different volunteers of JRS. That is to say, there is no continuous teaching and curriculum development; the courses are short-term solutions with varying teachers. Teaching a language with a different alphabet, differing levels of knowledge amongst the participants and in some cases illiteracy can be identified as the natural difficulties in the process. In January 2017, the inter-university anthropological research network CRIA, in partnership with the rectorate and the Department of Anthropology of the Academic Institute of Lisbon (ISCTE) and the Department for Social Rights of the CML started to offer a course called "Living in a different culture". The course, with a duration of a month and 20 hours per week was by the organizers described as an *Integration Course for Refugees* 

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> The nomination however is quite controversial, since some argue that it "can imply a specific idea of where the process should go" Castles et al. (2014, p. 265). Castles et. al (2014) therefore suggest, for example, the more neutral word *incorporation*. For a detailed specification of the different models of incorporation see Castles et al. (2014).

(Centro em Rede de Investigação em Antropologia, 2017). It is aimed at facilitating the entry of the 22 participating refugees into the Portuguese society and culture and included also language components. Refugees under the age of 18 have the right to attend schools just as Portuguese contemporaries, however, since none of the minors under the CML relocation program stayed long enough in Lisbon to enter school, this is not of direct interest at this point<sup>29</sup>. In July 2017, ACM and the Global Platform for Syrian Students (APGES) signed a protocol that established 12 scholarships for Syrian refugees at Portuguese universities for the academic year 2017/2018. The conditions for an application are to be under the age of 35, to be in the possession of a university entrance qualification and to speak Portuguese as well as English<sup>30</sup>.

Research suggests, that promoting education and access to the labor market are amongst the most effective integration policies (see Castles et al., 2014). The requirement for integration into the regular labor market is to hold an international protection status and a residence permit. Since it takes several months to overcome these major bureaucratic obstacles, the refugees can only be integrated into the labor market after they have left CATR. However, there is the possibility to do skill trainings for those who are still waiting for their authorization: Either in form of an independent internship, or within the training program based on a protocol between JRS and Jerónimo Martins, a Portuguese food and consumer goods retailing business group. The program consists of a tripartite training, including a theoretical training, Portuguese language classes, and the practical training in different fields of work, as for example in a Portuguese supermarket chain, in the kitchen, etc. This goes in line with the general global tendency that migrants are likely to work in low skilled professions (see Castles et al., 2014) and that "labour market segmentation based on ethnicity, race, legal status and gender has developed in all immigration countries" (Castles et al., 2014, p. 272). The same applies to the refugees that are in a regular employment relationship, for instance in call centers, supermarkets or in cooking projects, even though they are in many cases, much better qualified. As Castles et al. state: "Many refugees bring skills with them, although they are not always allowed to use them" (ibid.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> For more information about the age distribution and other characteristics of the relocated asylum seekers as well as the so-called *Secondary Movements*, see chapter 4.2.2.2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> For more information on the scholarship see Aviso de Concurso para a Atribuição de Bolsas de Estudo para o Ensino Superior para Refugiados em Portugal (2017).

The integration into autonomous houses that is supposed to happen in the second phase is based on CnMs project "Housing First". One of the principles of the project is that the houses are available on the free market and therefore no allocation center etc. and that they are distributed over the central neighborhoods in Lisbon. The intention is to "[f]acilitate the access to services and resources that are available to the general population [and] the contact and relations with people that could be natural supports" (AEIPS, 2013, p. 4) and to avoid residential segregation between immigrant communities and the local community which happens in many countries with significant numbers of immigrants. As Castles et. al describe this separation "arises partly from immigrants' situation as newcomers, lacking social networks and local knowledge. Their low social status and income is equally important. Another factor is discrimination by landlords: some refuge to let to immigrants, while others make a business of charging high rents for poor accommodation" (Castles et al., 2014, p. 274).

My activities during the internship consisted mainly of accompanying the processes in the center e.g. through accompanying team meetings, and speaking to the current and former residents in order to get a deep understanding of the processes and their necessities.

Sept. 2016

On September 16 I had the chance to accompany the coordinator of CATR to the headquarters of CnM in Lisbon. There was a meeting between the refugees who had already left the center, Carla Gonçalves, representative for the City Council, and a CnM staff member. The intention was to give the program participants the possibility to articulate the existing frustration about the design of the relocation program. Several of the named problems will be mentioned in chapter 4.3.

Oct. 2016

On October 13 I attended a workshop with the title "Good practices in receiving women and girls refugees" which was organized by the association "Mulheres sem Fronteiras" and the Friedrich Ebert foundation and executed by the Cologne based *agisra* association. The purpose of the workshop was to sensibilize the participants to the fact that female refugees face different, additional challenges in comparison to their male counterparts. In the course of the workshop I developed an awareness of the vulnerabilities female asylum seekers are exposed to in CATR. In a conversation with the translator of JRS

after the event I found out, that several women had already mentioned problems like adjacent bathrooms and the non-existing possibility to lock the women's rooms to her.

On October 15 the event "Trampolim", a cooperative of more than 50 cultural initiatives organized by the "action and communication platform for Portuguese culture" *Gerador* took place in the Lumiar neighborhood. Besides other locations, some parts of the initiatives were presented in CATR. In a meeting with the organizers Carla Gonçalves and I got to know the project and agreed that bringing together people from the center and from outside could be valuable for the integration process as long as the privacy of the residents was protected. I was, therefore, involved in the following preparations for the shows in CATR and the construction of the infrastructure.

On October 19 I had the chance to get to know the headquarters of the JRS in Lisbon where many of the before mentioned services are provided. I furthermore got to know the team who's working there, which helped me in the aftermath of the internship to find an interview partner in the NGO.

Nov. 2016 During November I organized the event "Marhaba Lisboa" (engl. Hi Lisbon) which took place on November 26. The intention was to connect old and new "Lisboners", people who have lived here since several years or are even from here and with more or less newly arrived asylum seekers and refugees. Even though in the end there were only a few external guests, the event was a great success. Firstly, contacts, that still remain, were made. Two participants are, for example, planning on establishing a "Tandem", in order to give the Iraqi participant a chance to practice the Portuguese language. Secondly, the residents of CATR enjoyed the change to their daily life. For the event we received generous food-contributions from the initiative Refood.

On November 22 I participated in a meeting with the *Association for the Natural Valorization of Alta Lisboa* (AVAAL). The AVAAL team and the CATR team were planning a common project in which the residents of the center would cultivate the garden of the center under supervision of volunteering experts from the NGO. In the following I was appointed as one of

the contacts for AVAAL. Due to the onset of winter, the project could unfortunately not be carried forward until the end of my internship.

On the same day a second meeting took place. Participants were representatives of ACM and CML. We discussed the possibility that the relocated refugees participate in the event "Família do lado" (engl. The family next door), which aims to bring Lisbon based families and migrants together for a common lunch. The CML team believed that the event represented a great opportunity to connect the asylum seekers with Lisbon families. Due to the short timeframe, however, we were unfortunately not able to mobilize any families. We agreed to plan the participation in the following year with more anticipation to assure the participation of the asylum seekers.

Dec. 2016

In December I helped organize a winter themed "Get-together" for the current residents and the ones already living in autonomous houses which took place on December 10. The intention was to create a sense of togetherness at a time when many of the participants surely felt a particular wish to be close to their friends and family. We tried to avoid references to religion, such as Christmas songs etc., since the group of refugees is religiously diverse. Once again we received generous food donations from Refood and volunteers. The event was well attended. Besides the residents of the center and the refugees living in autonomous houses, staff members and volunteers of CnM, JRS as well as CML were present. Due to generous gifts from various companies we were also able to give small presents to all program participants.

Jan. 2017 On January 13 I attended a meeting regarding the planned education program in cooperation with Jerónimo Martins that was mentioned before. It was decided that it is the time to spread the information and to recruit interested participants. A month was anticipated for the recruiting process. During this time the teams of JRS, CML and CnM were supposed to be integrated in the matching of participants and job requirements.

Mar. 2017

On March 3 I attended a reunion regarding the institutionalization of medical processes. Participants were the teams from CML, JRS, CnM but also representatives of the health centers, *Médicos do Mundo* (engl. Doctors of the World), and representatives of the Group of Health Centers North and East.

Doctor Clara Pais from the Association of Health Centers Lisbon North and Doctor José Alves from the Lumiar Health Center are important advisors and partners to CATR in the area of health, both also participated in the meeting. It aimed at evaluating how the processes during the first year functioned and what is supposed to be improved. Within a few days after arrival, the asylum seekers are registered at a local health center. During a first consultation an initial medical examination is concluded and a referral to specialists given if necessary. In a second consultation, the participants are supposed to be vaccinated to comply with Portuguese standards. During the meeting short-comings in the conduction of tuberculosis analyses as well as the in treatments by specialist such as dentists and psychologists were identified. The participants agreed to improve communication flows and to focus on ensuring the agreed processes.

Table 6: Activities conducted during the internship in CATR between September 2016 and March 2017 Source: Own presentation

After the internship, during the process of writing this report, I conducted a further three interviews. My intention was to get a deeper and broader understanding of the relocation processes on the national level. I therefore chose to interview Luís Bernardo from CPR about the NGOs´ involvement in the national and local integration plans for relocated refugees; João Lima from JRS about the organizations involvement in PAR and the relocation of refugees in Portugal and Rui Marques, mentor of PAR, about the platforms´ role in the process of relocation, both in Portugal as well as in Greece. Since all three expressed their willingness to participate in the study, I had the chance to conduct the interviews in July 2017.

#### 4.3.1. Characterization of Residents

Between February 29, 2016, when the first group of relocated asylum seeker arrived in CATR, and March 9, 2017 95 residents were living in the temporary reception center. 44% of the group of residents were Eritrean nationals, 42% Syrian, 12% Iraqi and 2% Stateless, that is to say, Palestinian refugees that had their permanent residence in Syria before fleeing the country (Fig. 20).

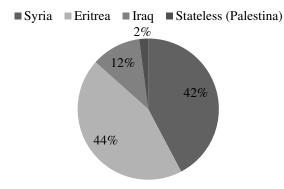


Fig. 20: Nationality of all residents between February 29, 2016 and March 9, 2017 Source: Own presentation on the basis of data provided by CATR

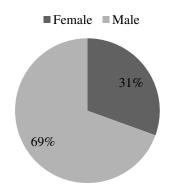


Fig. 21: Sex of all residents between February 29, 2016 and March 9, 2017
Source: Own presentation on the basis of data provided by CATR

The Eritrean asylum seekers reached Libya by foot, crossing the Sahara desert by walking, and then reached Europe via the Central Mediterranean route (Fig. 9), thus they are being relocated from Italy. Syrians and Iraqis on the other hand, take the Eastern Mediterranean route (Fig. 10) and are thus being relocated from Greece. More than two thirds (69%) of all former and current residents CATR residents are male, only 31% of the asylum seekers are female (Fig.21).

In general CATR is intended to be a transit center for adults since the conditions are not very children friendly. In some rare cases, however, CATR accepted family relocations requests from ACM and SEF. Therefore, the majority of residents (52%) were between 18 and 30 years old, 30% were between 31 and 60 and only 2% were older than that. 16% were children under the age of 18 (Fig. 22).

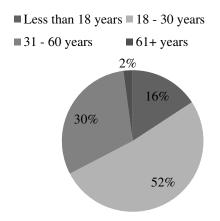


Fig. 22: Age of all residents between February 29, 2016 and March 9, 2017, as of December 31, 2017

Source: Own presentation on the basis of data provided by CATR

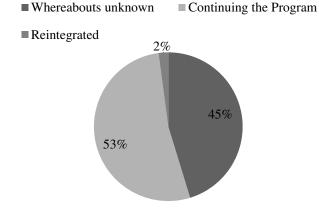


Fig. 23: Secondary Movements Source: Own presentation on the basis of data provided by CATR

The so-called "Secondary movements" are of big concern for the Portuguese public. The nationwide trend of relocated asylum seekers withdrawing from the participation program also confirms the case of CATR: almost half of the asylum seekers (45%) left Portugal and chose to live in other countries (Fig. 23). The reasons for these movements are diverse; one of the most important is the existence of big communities of country men in other countries. Another reason is that many relocated refugees have family members that live in other countries, often in those European countries that host a high numbers of refugees, such as Germany. Moreover, the initial migration plan of many asylum seekers did not foresee Portugal as the country of destination. Therefore, many asylum seekers were "stranded" here, due to unforeseen developments during their journey. Another important factor is certainly the misinformation regarding living conditions in other countries. In a press conference in May 2017 the Minister of the Interior Constança Urbano de Sousa, stated that the reasons for relocated refugees leaving Portugal are currently being investigated. Among those already mentioned, difficulties in accessing universities as well as the labor market and also a possible involvement of human traffickers are being considered. 2% of those who abandoned the program were identified as having violated the Dublin Convention by the Norwegian and German police and were therefore sent back and reintegrated in Portugal (Fig. 23).

### 4.3.2. Key Challenges

From my personal experiences in CATR and the conversations I had with the asylum seekers during the seven months there, I identified several issues which might be improved in order to guarantee a successful integration of relocated refugees in Lisbon.

The biggest problem seems to be the extremely long waiting periods for the regularization of the asylum seekers. There are strong sentiments of frustration amongst the asylum seekers and refugees. Program participants frequently questioned: "Why does Portugal invite us to live here but then they don't give us documents?" Another big problem is the massive delay in family reunification. Refugees have the right to reunify with their family members that live in similar conditions. The spatial separation is a big burden for the asylum seekers. Particularly in cases where the participants' core family including children are still live in the war regions or the often chaotic neighboring

countries, the recuperation and integration of the participants is hindered tremendously. Knowing that their family members are living in a life-threatening environment leads to several of the participants expressing that they would rather go back to Jordan, Egypt or even Syria than continue being condemned to wait, probably for years, in Portugal. However, even this drastic step is one that is preceded by a long waiting period, since the returnees need to wait until the end of their regularization process because they need valid documents to be able to return. Unfortunately the situation is not yet solved when the request for international protection is answered positively. After that the refugees have to wait again to receive the residence permit. The possession of a residence permit is required to work legally. Although professional activity is vitally important for integration, personal wellbeing and simply to earn a living, it unfortunately also takes several months to be able to make this step<sup>31</sup>.

Another problem I see is the weak response to the refugees' professional qualifications. Although language skills, processes of recognition of university degrees and the employment situation in the hosting country have to be taken into account, it seems insufficient to offer lawyers and stockbrokers a practical training in a supermarket or a restaurant kitchen. Access to higher education is also difficult, since generally speaking, the beneficiaries of the relocation program do not have the necessary funds to cover the costs. The scholarships agreed on by ACM and APGES are a good start, however, the very strict limitation in number and nationality of the participants should be revised.

Finally, women's specific needs regarding reception conditions need to be addressed more specifically. Even though only about one third of all CATR residents between February 2016 and March 2017 were females their expressed discomfort has to be taken serious and solutions need to be found jointly with the women. One possibility to identify such necessities is to create a space for women in which they exchange their views and express their needs towards the staff. The creation a contact person which is sensitized for gender specific needs would be another asset.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Unfortunately I could not obtain information on the average waiting time, I know however of exemplary cases of relocated refugees that had to wait nine months for the response regarding the request of international protection and are since then (five months ago, state of July 2017) waiting for the residence permit card.

#### 5. Final remarks

While pointing out the relevance of the discussion regarding the hosting and integration of refugees and asylum seekers worldwide it became obvious that neither Europe nor Portugal in particular is currently facing new dimensions of forced migration. It is on the contrary the war regions and neighboring countries that show a significant increase in forced migrants. What proved to be new are the concentrated arrivals in the Mediterranean and the consequential introduction of two distribution mechanisms. The report focused then on the European and Portuguese responses to the humanitarian emergency in the Mediterranean. The EU developed new communitarian solutions to achieve solidarity between the member states, the relocation and the resettlement mechanism.

The most significant feature of the Portuguese relocation efforts, the interlinkage between civil organizations and public bodies, was then illustrated by the examples of the two main hosting projects on the national level, which are technically coordinated by CPR and JRS. After taking a closer look at the national and local levels of the refugee integration in Portugal, particular attention was paid to the Lisbon city councils' reception center in which I did my internship. The objective of the internship - to gain insight into the processes of a reception center of refugees and the relocation process – was met. I had the chance to accompany the residents during a seven month period and therefore observed the difficulties they were confronted with as well as their successes and steps forward towards a new life project. Furthermore, I gained a good understanding of the relocation process, from the distribution of the relocation refugees over Portugal to the application of the Dublin Convention and the daily integration efforts of both the team and the participants.

To conclude, some final remarks to this report need to be made. Even though there are certainly difficulties in translating the principles of responsibility sharing regarding refugee hosting into effective action, a first step was made by the European Union with the introduction and strengthening of the two distribution mechanisms in the European Agenda on Migration. Portugal's official discourse was welcoming and cooperative and managed to establish an emergency response in a short period of time, which, even though being a small scale response in comparison to other European countries, is effective and manages to satisfy the relocated asylum seekers and refugees most basic

needs. The Portuguese implementation of the EU directives oriented itself on international good practices as well as the year long experience of the NGOs CPR and JRS which play an important role in the relocation process. In the light of Castles et. al observation that "[c]ivil society may play a greater role than the state in incorporation: educational opportunities, labour markets, and housing and neighbourhood relationships can be decisive, while state policies have sometimes been inflexible, unrealistic and inappropriate" (Castles et al., 2014, p. 292) it seems a comprehensible and promising approach to assign the Portuguese civil society with the reception and integration of refugees.

The latest report on relocation and resettlement shows that, as of July 14, 2017, Portugal has effectively relocated 1.400 asylum seekers so far. That is less than half of the legal commitment foreseen in the second council decision (European Commission, 2017e). The relocations of all member states together account for only about a quarter of the foreseen numbers. That is to say that, there are still great efforts to be made, especially since the program is supposed to end in September 2017. So far, there are no decisions made on the extension of the emergency mechanisms.

However, the concept of relocation itself remains questionable. The current EU relocation scheme allows applicants to name their preferred host countries, though as shown before, none of the under *PAR famílias* relocated persons named Portugal as one of their preferences. One might speak of riding over the choices of the program participants and a restriction of the freedom of movements. Unfortunately, finding alternatives that allow sharing responsibilities and respect the relocated asylum seekers choices are not easy to find. One possibility would be to redistribute resources instead of people. This approach, however, is also difficult in practice: Firstly, due to infrastructure problems in times of big influxes as seen in Germany in 2015 and 2016. If there is not enough capacity to host and integrate spontaneously a great number of refugees, money from other states does not constitute a helpful emergency assistance. Secondly, richer countries might be able to buy themselves out of hosting asylum seekers. As Gibney states, "there appears to be a profound tension between doing justice to refugees and achieving justice between states" (Gibney, 2016, p. 52).

The exact reasons for the large secondary movements are not clear. However, it is obvious that the asylum seekers choices of destination depend strongly on their social

networks, that is to say, family members and friends that are already settling in a specific host country; their language skills; and on the social conditions they expect to find during the asylum application process. Even though a common European asylum system does exist, the implementation of the agreed norms varies greatly and the recognition rates differ significantly between the Member states for applicants of the same nationality. Bozorgmehr argues that "unless refugees are assured the same basic conditions wherever they arrive, movements across Europe will continue, regardless of relocation quota" (Bozorgmehr, 2016, p. 6). We therefore have to keep in mind, that "[f]airness can not be achieved by considering only the perspective of receiving countries" (Bozorgmehr, 2016, p. 5).

#### REFERENCES

- AEIPS (Ed.) 2013. Casas Primeiro Program in Portugal: International Conference Housing First. Ending Homelessness. Retrieved from http://hf.aeips.pt/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Jose\_Ornelas.pdf
- Akkaya, K. (2015). Why is the Temporary Protection Directive Missing from the European Refugee Crisis Debate? Retrieved from http://atha.se/blog/why-temporary-protection-directive-missing-european-refugee-crisis-debate
- Alto Comissariado para as Migrações. (2017). *Relatório de Atividades 2016*. Retrieved from
  - http://www.acm.gov.pt/documents/10181/27754/ACM\_RA\_2016\_int.pdf/23b5460f-ff80-4410-b3d1-657415b968b6
- Alto Comissariado para as Migrações, Global Platform for Syrian Students, & Ministro Ajunto. (2017). Aviso de Concurso para a Atribuição de Bolsas de Estudo para o Ensino Superior para Refugiados em Portugal.
- Amnesty International. (2017). *Amnesty Report 2017. Eritrea*. Retrieved from Amnesty International website:
  - https://www.amnesty.de/jahresbericht/2017/eritrea?destination=suche%3Fwords%3Deritrea%2526search\_x%3D0%2526search\_y%3D0%2526form\_id%3Dai\_search\_form\_block&print=1
- Arango, J., Mahía, J., Moya, D., & Sánchez-Montijano, E. (2016). *El año de los refugiados: Anuario CIDOB De La Inmigración nueva época 2015-2016*. Barcelona.
- BBC (2017, April 28). Islamic State and the crisis in Iraq and Syria in maps. *BBC News*. Retrieved from http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-27838034
- Betts, A. (2016). International Relations and Forced Migration. In E. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, G. Loescher, C. Long, & N. Sigona (Eds.), *Oxford handbooks. The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies* (60-73). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Black, R. (2001). Fifty Years of Refugee Studies: From Theory to Policy. *International Migration Review*, *35*(1), 57–78.
- Bösche, M. (2006). Trapped Inside the European Fortress? Germany and European Union Asylum and Refugee Policy. In G. Hellmann (Ed.), *Germany's EU Policy on Asylum and Defence. De-Europeanization by Default?* (pp. 29–90). Basingtoke.
- Bozorgmehr, K. (2016). Europe's response to the refugee crisis: why relocation quotas will fail to achieve 'fairness' from a health perspective. *European Journal of Public Health*, 26(1), 5–6.
- Bundy, C. (2016). Migrants, refugees, history and precedents. *Forced Migration Review*, *51*, 5–6.
- Câmara Municipal de Lisboa. (2015). *Programa Municipal de Acolhimento de Refugiados na Cidade de Lisboa: PMAR LX*. Retrieved from Câmara Municipal de Lisboa website: http://www.am
  - lisboa.pt/documentos/1444307049B9bHL8dw2Fm66PP9.pdf
- Câmara Municipal Sintra. (2015). *Proposta Plano para o Acolhimento e Integração de Refugiados no Conselho de Sintra: PAIR / Sintra*. Retrieved from Câmara Municipal Sintra website: http://www.cm
  - sintra.pt/attachments/article/2612/PROJETO%20DE%20PLANO%20MUNICIPAL %20PARA%20O%20ACOLHIMENTO%20E%20A%20INTEGRA%C3%87%C3%83O%20DE%20REFUGIADOS%20NO%20MUNIC%C3%8DPIO%20DE%20SINTRA.pdf

- Castles, S. (2006). Global Perspectives on Forced Migration. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 15(1), 7–28. https://doi.org/10.1177/011719680601500102
- Castles, S., Haas, H. d., & Miller, M. J. (2014). *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World* (5. ed.). New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Centro em Rede de Investigação em Antropologia. (2017). Formações: Curso "Living in a Different Culture". Retrieved from http://cria.org.pt/wp/formacoes/
- Chatty, D. (2016). Anthropology and Forced Migration. In E. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, G. Loescher, C. Long, & N. Sigona (Eds.), *Oxford handbooks. The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies* (pp. 74–85). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Council of the European Union. (2015). Resolution of the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States meeting within the Council on relocating from Greece and Italy 40.000 persons in clear need of international protection: ASIM 63. Retrieved from http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-11131-2015-INIT/en/pdf
- DeWind, J. (2007). Reponse to Hathaway. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 20(3), 381–385. Elie, J. (2016). Histories of Refugees and Forced Migration Studies. In E. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, G. Loescher, C. Long, & N. Sigona (Eds.), *Oxford handbooks. The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies* (pp. 23–35). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- European Asylum Office. (2017). *Annual Report on the Situation of Asylum in the European Union 2015*. Retrieved from https://www.easo.europa.eu/sites/default/files/Annual-Report-2016.pdf
- European Commission. (2015a). Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions (No. COM(2015) 240 final). Brussels.
- European Commission. (2015b). European Commission makes progress on Agenda on Migration. Brussels. Retrieved from http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\_IP-15-5039\_en.htm
- European Commission. (2015c). Remarks of Commissioner Avramopoulos after the Justice and Home Affairs Council on 20 July 2015. Brussels. Retrieved from http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\_SPEECH-15-5421\_de.htm
- European Commission. (2015d). Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council establishing a crisis relocation mechanism and amending Regulation (EU) No 604/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 26 June 2013 establishing the criteria and mechanisms for determining the Member State responsible for examining an application for international protection lodged in one of the Member States by a third country national or a stateless person: COM(2015) 450 final (No. 1-23).
- European Commission. (2017a). Migration and Home Affairs Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF). Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/financing/fundings/migration-asylum-borders/asylum-migration-integration-fund\_en
- European Commission. (2017b). Migration and Home Affairs: Glossary. Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/e-library/glossary\_en#asylum-migration-and-integration-fund
- European Commission. (2017c). Temporary protection. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/asylum/temporary-protection\_en

- European Commission. (2017d). *Relocation and Reesettlement*. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda
  - migration/20170613\_factsheet\_relocation\_and\_resettlement\_en.pdf
- European Commission. (2017e). Annex to the Report from the Commission to the European Parliament, the European Council and the Council Fourteenth report on relocation and resettlement. Retrieved from European Commission website: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-wedo/policies/european-agendamigration/20170726\_fourteenth\_report\_on\_relocation\_and\_resettlement\_annex3\_en.pdf
- European Commission. (2017f). Annex to the Report from the Commission to the European Parliament, the European Council and the Council: Fourteenth report on relocation and resettlement. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agendamigration/20170726\_fourteenth\_report\_on\_relocation\_and\_resettlement\_annex3\_en.pdf
- European Council. (2004). Council Directive 2004/83/EC of 29 April 2004 on minimum standards for the qualification and status of third country nationals or stateless persons as refugees or as persons who otherwise need international protection and the content of the protection granted: Council Directive 2004/83/EC. Retrieved from Official Journal of the European Union website: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32004L0083&from=PT
- European Council. (2015a). *Special meeting of the European Council, 23 April 2015 Statement*. Retrieved from http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2015/04/23-special-euco-statement/
- European Council. (2015b). Council Decision (EU) 2015/1523 of 14 September 2015 establishing provisional measures in the area of international protection for the benefit of Italy and of Greece: L 239/146. Retrieved from European Council website: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32015D1523&from=EN
- European Union. (2015). Resolution on the latest tragedies in the Mediterranean and EU migration and asylum policies. 2015/2660(RSP) 29/04/2015 Text adopted by Parliament, single reading. Retrieved from
  - http://www.europarl.europa.eu/oeil/popups/summary.do?id=1387923&t=e&l=en
- European Union. Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union: C 326/49.
- European Union. (2002). Consolidated Versions of the Treaty on European Union and of the Treaty establishing the European Community. Retrieved from European Union website: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal
  - content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:12002E/TXT&from=EN
- Eurostat. (n.d.). Glossary: Asylum decision. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Glossary:Asylum\_decision [Consulted 24.07.2017]
- Eurostat. (2016). Asylum decisions in the EU: EU Member States granted protection to more than 330 000 asylum seekers in 2015. Half of the beneficiaries were Syrians. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/2995521/7233417/3-20042016-AP-EN.pdf/34c4f5af-eb93-4ecd-984c-577a5271c8c5

- Eurostat. (2017). Asylum quarterly report. Retrieved from Eurostat website: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statisticsexplained/index.php/Asylum\_quarterly\_report#Main\_destination\_countries
- Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, E., Loescher, G., Long, C., & Sigona, N. (Eds.). (2016). The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies (First published in paperback). Oxford handbooks. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Freire, M. C. (2016, September 25). Dez dias em que Portugal proibiu a entrada de refugiados judeus. Diário de Notícias. Retrieved from http://www.dn.pt/portugal/interior/dez-dias-em-que-portugal-proibiu-a-entrada-derefugiados-judeus-5407525.html
- Gibney, M. J. (2016). Political Theory, Ethics, and Forced Migration. In E. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, G. Loescher, C. Long, & N. Sigona (Eds.), Oxford handbooks. The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies (pp. 48–59). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Goodwin-Gill, G. S. (2016). The International Law of Refugee Protection. In E. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, G. Loescher, C. Long, & N. Sigona (Eds.), Oxford handbooks. *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies* (pp. 36–47). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Human Rights Watch. (2017a). World Report 2017: Eritrea: Events of 2016. Retrieved from Human Rights Watch website: https://www.hrw.org/worldreport/2017/country-chapters/eritrea
- Human Rights Watch. (2017b). World Report 2017: Iraq: Events of 2016. Retrieved from Human Rights Watch website: https://www.hrw.org/worldreport/2017/country-chapters/iraq
- I am Syria. (2017). Death Tolls. Retrieved from http://www.iamsyria.org/deathtolls.html
- Jesuit Refugee Service. (n.d.). Jesuit Refugee Service. Retrieved from http://en.jrs.net/ [Consulted 18.07.2017]
- Lubkemann, S. C. (2008). Involuntary Immobility: On a Theoretical Invisibility in Forced Migration Studies. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 21(4), 454–475.
- Lusa (2015, September 22). Migrações: Portugal vai receber até 4500 refugiados: Decisão do Conselho de Justiça e Assuntos Internos que estabelece medidas adicionais no domínio da protecção internacional: Lusa. Retrieved from https://www.publico.pt/2015/09/22/sociedade/noticia/migracoes-portugal-vaireceber-ate-4500-refugiados-1708681
- Ministério da Administração Interna. (2017). Programa Nacional FAM. Retrieved from Ministério da Administração Interna website: http://www.acm.gov.pt/documents/10181/222893/FAMI+Programa+Nacional+4.3.p df/fb1789e6-a885-4ce9-ba00-ab64e24c5343
- Município de Guimarães. (2016). Guimarães Acolhe Plano de Ação do Município de Guimarães para o Acolhimento de Refugiados. Retrieved from Município de Guimarães website: http://www.cm-guimaraes.pt/uploads/document/file/8042/26\_-\_Plano\_de\_A\_\_o\_para\_o\_Acolhimento\_de\_Refugiados.pdf
- Nunes, M. L. (2016, October 26). Irene Flunser Pimenel Os refugiados fora do 'paraíso'. Journal de Letras. Retrieved from http://visao.sapo.pt/jornaldeletras/2016-10-26-Irene-Flunser-Pimentel-Os-refugiados-fora-do-paraiso
- Observatória da Emigração. (2015). Portuguese emigration. Factbook 2015. Retrieved from http://observatorioemigracao.pt/np4/4924.html
- Observatório das Migrações. (2016). Junho de 2016 Newsletter: A Atualidade de Refugiados em Portugal e na União Europeia. Retrieved from

- http://www.om.acm.gov.pt/documents/58428/383927/Newsletter+OM+%237.pdf/0bebc6cd-fecf-4a87-b408-d17e14f0a818
- Oliveira, P. V. (2015). Rui Marques PAR: A generosidade está espalhada por todo o País. Retrieved from http://www.solidariedade.pt/site/detalhe/12501
- Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2017a). *International Migration Outlook 2017*. Paris. Retrieved from http://www.keepeek.com/Digital-Asset-Management/oecd/social-issues-migration-health/international-migration-outlook-2017\_migr\_outlook-2017-en#page16
- Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2017b). Who bears the cost of integration refugees? (No. 13). Retrieved from https://www.oecd.org/els/mig/migration-policy-debates-13.pdf
- PAR. (2017). Plataforma de Apoio aos Refugiados. Retrieved from http://www.refugiados.pt/ [Consulted 20.07.2017]
- Pimentel, I. F. (2015, December 29). Refugiados em Portugal. *Diário de Notícias*. Retrieved from http://www.dn.pt/opiniao/opiniao-dn/convidados/interior/refugiados-em-portugal-4955411.html
- Pordata. (2017). Saldos populacionais anuais: total, natural e migratório. Retrieved from http://www.pordata.
- pt/Portugal/Saldos+populacionais+anuais+total++natural+e+migrat%C3%B3rio-657 Presidência do Conselho de Ministros. (2015). *Despacho n.º 10041-A/2015*. Retrieved
- from Presidência do Conselho de Ministros. (2015). *Despacho n. \* 10041-A/2015*. Retrieved from Presidência do Conselho de Ministros e Ministérios dos Negócios Estrangeiros, da Administração Interna, da Saúde, da Educação e a Ciência e da Solidariedade, Emprego e Segurança Social website:
  - http://www.refugiados.acm.gov.pt/data/uploads/2015/09/10041-a-2015.pdf
- Roth, K. (2015). The Refugee Crisis That Isn't. Retrieved from https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/09/03/refugee-crisis-isnt
- Roth, K. (2016). Don't panic, Europe, this is not a refugee 'crisis'. Retrieved from http://europesworld.org/2016/06/16/dont-panic-europe-this-is-not-a-refugee-crisis/#.WV0I7OnkXDc
- Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras. (2015). *Nota à Comunicação Social Reunião do Grupo de Trabalho para a Agenda Europeia da Migração*. Retrieved from http://www.sef.pt/portal/v10/PT/aspx/noticias/Noticias\_Detalhe.aspx?id\_linha=6909
- Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras. (2016). *Relatório de Imigração, Fronteiras e Asilo 2015*. Retrieved from https://sefstat.sef.pt/Docs/Rifa\_2015.pdf
- Sousa, L., & Costa, P. M. (2017). Portugal's position on resettlement: a view from the periphery of the EU. *Forced Migration Review*, *54*, 22–23. Retrieved from http://www.fmreview.org/sites/fmr/files/FMRdownloads/en/resettlement/sousacosta.pdf
- Statista. (2017). Anzahl der dokumentierten zivilen Todesopfer im Irakkrieg und in den folgenden Jahren von 2003 bis 2017. Retrieved from https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/163882/umfrage/dokumentierte-zivile-todesopfer-im-irakkrieg-seit-2003/
- Stepputat, F., & Nyberg Sørensen, N. (2016). Sociology and Forced Migration. In E. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, G. Loescher, C. Long, & N. Sigona (Eds.), *Oxford handbooks*. *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies* (86-98). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tasch, B., & Nudelman, M. (2016, March 1). This map shows how much the refugee crisis is dividing Europe. *Business Insider UK*. Retrieved from http://uk.businessinsider.com/map-refugees-europe-migrants-2016-2

- Traynor, I., & Kingsley, P. (2015, September 22). EU governments push through divisive deal to share 120,000 refugees. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/22/eu-governments-divisive-quotas-deal-share-120000-refugees
- Türk, V. (2016). Envisioning a Common European Asylum System. *Forced Migration Review*, *51*, 57–60.
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (n.d.). Internally Displaced People. Retrieved from http://www.unhcr.org/turkey/home.php?lang=en&page=69 [Consulted 21.06.2017]
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (1951). *Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees*. Retrieved from United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees website:
  - http://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10.pdf#zoom=95
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (Ed.). (2016). Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2015 [Special issue]. Retrieved from http://www.unhcr.org/576408cd7.pdf#zoom=95
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (Ed.). (2017a). Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2016 [Special issue].
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2017b). UNHCR Population Statistics: The World in Numbers. Retrieved from http://popstats.unhcr.org/en/overview#\_ga=2.42864678.24901295.1498140921-1350591431.1441361379
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Bureau for Europe. (2017). Desperate Journeys: Refugees and migrants entering and crossing Europe via the Mediterranean and Western Balkans routes. Retrieved from http://www.unhcr.org/58b449f54.pdf#zoom=95
- van Selm, J. (2016). Refugees and Resettlement. In E. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, G. Loescher, C. Long, & N. Sigona (Eds.), *Oxford handbooks. The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies* (pp. 512–524). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Yildirim, O. (2006). The 1923 population exchange, refugees and national historiographies in Greece and Turkey. *East European Quarterly*, 40(1), 45–70.

#### **INTERVIEWS**

Bernardo, Luis (July 7, 2017). Interview by Sophie Hermann-Jung. Lima, João (July 21, 2017). Interview by Sophie Hermann-Jung. Marques, Rui (July 20, 2017). Interview by Sophie Hermann-Jung.

# **FIGURES**

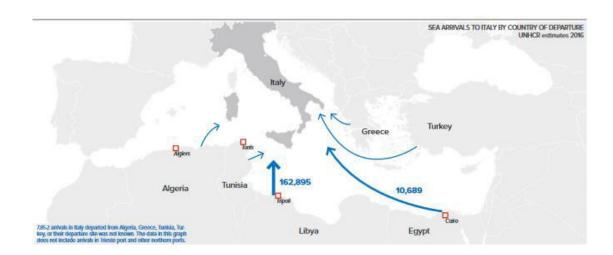


Fig. 9: The Central Mediterranean route Source: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Bureau for Europe (2017, p. 6)

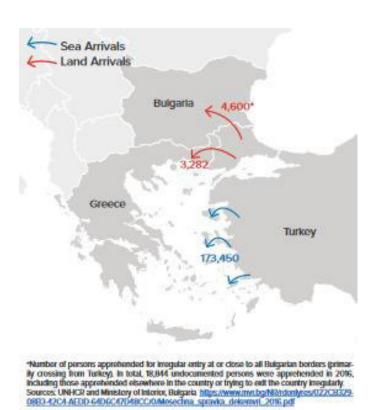


Fig. 10: The Eastern Mediterranean route Source: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Bureau for Europe (2017, p. 3)

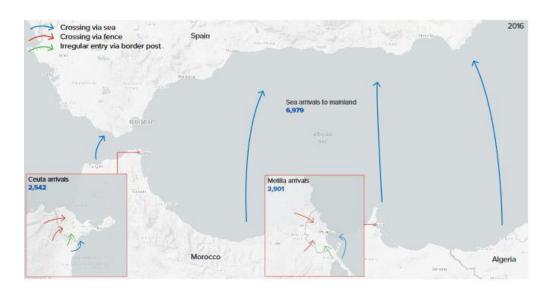


Fig. 11: The Western Mediterranean route Source: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Bureau for Europe (2017, p. 8)

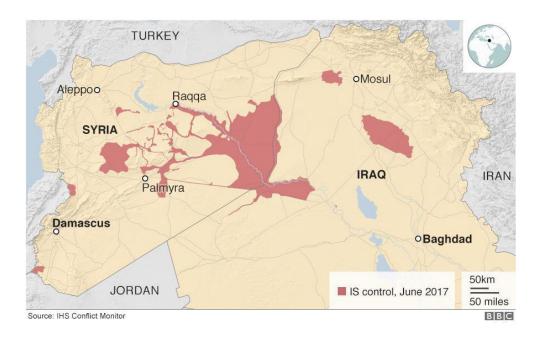


Fig. 12: ISIS controlled areas in Syria and Iraq as of June 2017 Source: BBC (2017)

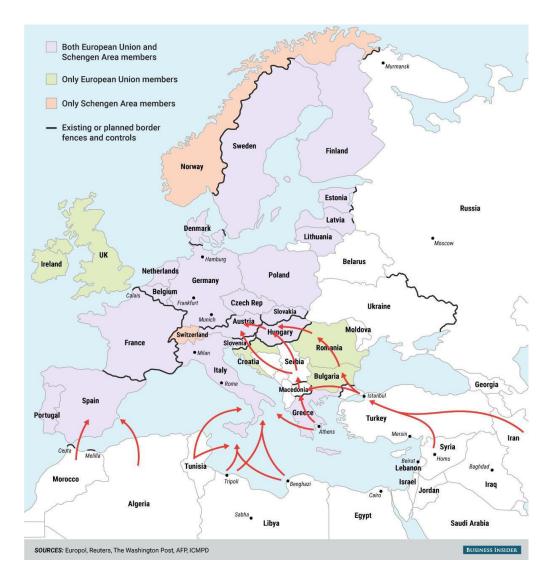


Fig. 13: Existing or planned border fences and controls in Europe, as of March 2016 Source: Tasch and Nudelman (2016)

# **TABLES**

Member State/ Associated State	Total resettled under the 20 July scheme, including under the 1:1 mechanism with Turkey	Total resettled under the 1:1 mechanism with Turkey (since 4 April 2016)	Member State/ Associated State	Total resettled under the 20 July scheme, including under the 1:1 mechanism with Turkey	Total resettled under the 1:1 mechanism with Turkey (since 4 April 2016)
Austria	1 730	57	Latvia	10	10
Belgium	892	311 (242 within 20 July scheme + 69 outside of 20 July scheme)	Lithuania	25	25
			Luxembourg	X	98 (outside of 20 July scheme)
Czech Republic	52	X			1 411 (556 within 20 July
Denmark	481	X	Netherlands	1 000	scheme + 855 outside of 20 July scheme)
Estonia	20	20	Portugal	12	12
Finland	293	504 (outside of 20 July scheme)	Spain	418	186
France	1664	803 (228 within 20 July scheme) + 575 Outside of	Sweden	491	279 (269 within 20 July scheme)
Trance	1004	20 July scheme)	United Kingdom	2200	x
Germany	1 600	2 270 (1600 within 20 July scheme + 670 outside of 20 July scheme)	Iceland	50	x
			Liechtenstein	20	X
Ireland	520	X	Norway	3 416	X
Italy	1 006	257	Switzerland	519	х
		то	TAL		
Total rese	ettled under the 20 July so 1:1 mechanism wi	theme, including under the	Total re	esettled under the 1:1 me (since 4 April 20	
16 419			A total of <b>6 254 people</b> were resettled from Turkey under the 1:1 mechanism; 3 462 of whom through the scheme of 20 July		

Table 1: Resettlement of asylum seekers under both resettlement schemes Source: European Commission (2017d, p. 2)

	Overall Key in %	Allocation per Member state (20 000 applicants resettled)	
Austria	2,22	444	
Belgium	2,45	490	
Bulgaria	1,08	216	
Croatia	1,58	315	
Cyprus	0,34	69	
Czech Republic	2,63	525	
Denmark	1,73	345	
Estonia	1,63	326	
Finland	1,46	293	
France	11,87	2 375	
Germany	15,43	3 086	
Greece	1,61	323	
Hungary	1,53	307	

Ireland	1,36	272	
Italy	9,94	1 989	
Latvia	1,10	220	
Lithuania	1,03	207	
Luxembourg	0,74	147	
Malta	0,60	121	
Netherlands	3,66	732	
Poland	4,81	962	
Portugal	3,52	704	
Romania	3,29	657	
Slovakia	1,60	319	
Slovenia	1,03	207	
Spain	7,75	1 549	
Sweden	2,46	491	
United Kingdom	11,54	2 309	

Table 2: Distribution Key resettlement Source: European Commission (2015b)

	Overall Key in %	Allocation per Member state (32.256 applicants relocateded)
Austria	2,62	0
Belgium	2,91	1.364
Bulgaria	1,25	450
Croatia	1,73	400
Cyprus	0,39	173
Czech Republic	2,98	1.100
Estonia	1,76	130
Finland	1,72	792
France	14,17	6.752
Germany	18,42	10.500
Greece	1,90	-
Hungary	1,79	0
Italy	11,84	-
Latvia	1,21	200
Lithuania	1,16	255

Luxembourg	0,85	320
Malta	0,69	60
Netherlands	4,35	2.047
Poland	5,64	1.100
Portugal	3,89	1.309
Romania	3,75	1.705
Slovakia	1,78	100
Slovenia	1,15	230
Spain	9,10	1.300
Sweden	2,29	1.369

Italy and Greece not included because Member states from which relocations take place do not contribute as a relocating state. Austria and Hungary not included because of their initial "period of grace".

Table 3: Distribution key relocation Source: Own presentation based on Resolution of the Representatives of the Governments of the Member states meeting within the Council on relocating from Greece and Italy 40.000 persons in clear need of international protection (2015) and on European Commission (2015a)

Member States Relocated from Italy		Relocated from Greece	Member States	Relocated from Italy	Relocated from Greece	
Austria	x	x	Luxembourg	110	216	
Belgium	121	502	Malta	47	90	
Bulgaria	X	47	Netherlands	612	1295	
Croatia	18	36	Poland	X	х	
Cyprus	34	55	Portugal	299	1 075	
Czech Republic	х	12	Romania	45	589	
Estonia	X	130	Slovenia	35	164	
Finland	653	987	Slovakia	x	16	
France	330	3 148	Spain	144	742	
Germany			Sweden	228	X	
Hungary			Liechtenstein	X	10	
Ireland	Х	459	Norway	812	533	
Latvia	27	290	Switzerland	649	344	
Lithuania	17	290				
		т	DTAL			
Relocated from Italy			Relocated from Greece			
6 896			13 973			

Table 4: Relocation of asylum seekers from Italy and Greece since the launch of the scheme

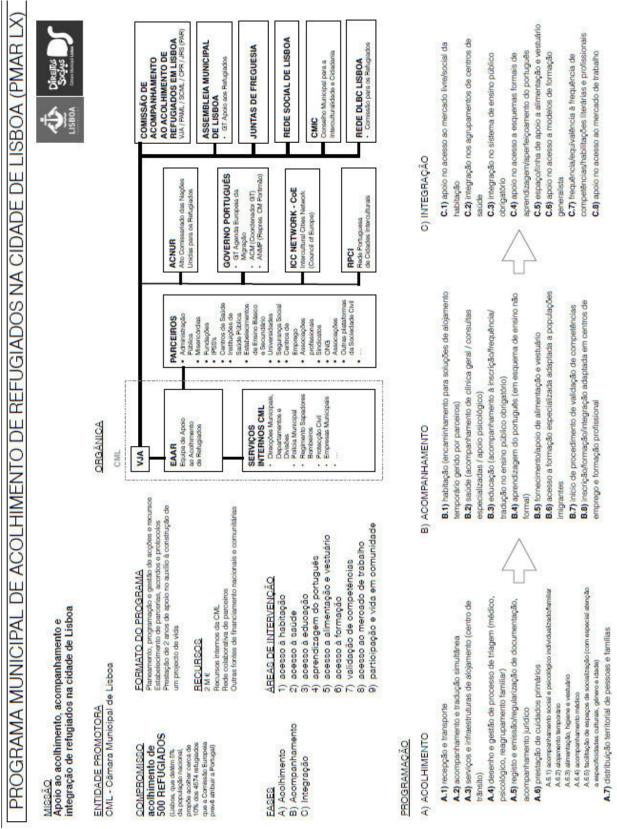
Source: European Commission (2017d, p. 1)

2012- 2014 Annual average	2015	2016	2015- 2016 absolute change	% change 2015-2016	Asylum seekers per million population (most recent year)	Top three origins of the asylum seekers (most recent year)
330	900	1.460	+560	+62	141	Ukraine, Guinea, Afghanistan

Table 5: New asylum applications in Portugal, 2012-2016

Source: Own presentation on the basis of Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (2017a, p. 29)

# ANNEX



Annex 1: Municipal Program for the Reception of Refugees in the City of Lisbon Source: Programa Municipal de Acolhimento de Refugiados na Cidade de Lisboa, 2015