

2. NONMILITARY SECURITY

DEALING WITH ILLEGAL MIGRATION – BALKAN ROUTE

ALEKSANDER ANDRIC

ABSTRACT

DOI: 10.26410/SF_1/20/3

Illegal migration of people across the state border is a problem, which is troublesome, dangerous, harmful and which needs to be addressed, given more attention and ultimately eliminated or at least reduced. The paper outlines the notion of migration and illegal migration and their impact on security in the Balkan countries, with an emphasis on the impact this phenomenon has on the Republic of Slovenia as a member of the EU and the Schengen area.

KEY WORDS

Migration, illegal migration, Balkan Route, border crossing, Schengen border.

ALEKSANDER ANDRIC
the Republic of Slovenia

Introduction

International migration is a phenomenon that has a long history and is present in all societies. Thus, people have been migrating ever since, and only the causes that lead people to decide to migrate are changing. Migration is a constant in the history of mankind. People had been migrating for millennia and for centuries nations and confederations have been emerging from all directions. Anyone whose memory includes several generations of their ancestors is aware that we all came from somewhere else and that we (or our descendants) may someday become migrants as well. Today international migration plays an important role in national, regional, and international affairs. Migration or resettlement is a complex global phenomenon, which all countries are facing. A country can be an origin of migrations, a transitional travel destination or a place of immigration. It is usually all three at the same time (IOM, 2005). People are always striving for something better, new, more acceptable. That is why,

over the centuries, millions of people had been moving to other places despite many obstacles, trying to find better living conditions for themselves and their loved ones.

We can only talk about the extensive migration, as we know it today, from the beginning of the “modern” era, since the world trade began to flourish and communication began to develop (in connection to globalization). Cities also began to develop, leading to mass relocation to cities (Cohen, 1996).

Today, migration is one of the biggest problems of the modern world, as it has never occurred in such an extensive form, especially illegal migration. According to IOM, in 1990 there were 153 million migrants in the world, in 2000 that number was just under 174 million and in 2019 it rose to 271.6 million, representing 3.5% of the world's total population. Most migrants choose EU countries as their final destination (MDP, 2020).

Recent migration 'crises' raises important geopolitical issues. Who is the "migrant" to whom contemporary politics apply to? Furthermore, an examination of the usage of the terms "migrant" and "refugee" in different circumstances and for different purposes raises critical questions about mobility, citizenship, and the nation-state. Despite Europe's massive investment in advanced border controls, people are still coming to the shores of the continent under desperate circumstances. Europe's attempts at "protection" or "border protection" are unsuccessful, which politicians themselves are increasingly acknowledging – but more of the same responses are emerging again as an answer to the escalating "refugee crisis".

The mechanism and logic of the European 'border security model' need to be understood. The industry of border control has emerged on Europe's borders, which includes European defence contractors, security forces of EU member states, as well as numerous non-governmental groups. Whenever another "border crisis" occurs, this industry grows again and feeds on its apparent "failures". This vicious cycle can break when policymakers begin curbing the border security economy they are based on - but the challenges are great.

Who are Illegal Migrants?

The characteristics of the modern world in the age of globalization are: developed infrastructures and the development and accessibility of communication means that enable great mobility of people, capital, goods, and services. On the other hand, the modern world is also characterised by great differences between the developed and the underdeveloped world. This is why more and more people, in their desire for a better life, are choosing to move to other, more developed countries. They are

even ready to become illegal migrants to achieve their goals, although this brings considerable uncertainty (from the abuse by criminal organizations that organize illegal border crossings to the exploitation by the employers who have a better bargaining position when hiring illegal migrants). Migration is not only a feature of the modern world but has taken place throughout history and individual countries have even encouraged migration in the past. Restrictive migration policy is still used by developed countries today. However, to date, none of the developed countries has managed to use an effective tool to limit unwanted migration. The helplessness of developed countries regarding this issue is the reason that illegal migration is becoming one of the main problems addressed by their migration policies. The fundamental problem with migration (including illegal migration) is that there are many more people willing to move from poor countries than the rich countries could ever accept.

There is no generally accepted definition of illegal migration. From the destination countries' perspective, illegal migration regards entry, living and/or employment in their country without the necessary authorization or documents required by migration regulations. From the sending country's point of view, the illegal migration is manifested in cases where a person crosses an international border without a valid passport or travel document or fails to meet the administrative requirements for leaving the country. However, there is a tendency to limit the use of the term to cases of migrant smuggling and trafficking. The term illegal / not legal migration refers to the transfer of persons to a new place of residence that goes beyond the regulatory norms of the sending, transit and recipient countries.

While the term “illegal” or “undocumented” migration is used by the UN, the European Commission has long advocated the term “illegal immigration” and has lately referred to “illegal migration” (European Commission, 2016).

To avoid misunderstanding the European Union (EU) has adopted the definition of irregular migration. By EU definition: “In the global context, a person who, owing to irregular entry, breach of a condition of entry or expiry of their legal basis for entry and residing, lacks legal status in a transit or host country. In the EU context, a third-country national present on the territory of a Schengen State who does not fulfil, or no longer fulfils, the entry conditions as set out in Regulation (EU) 2016/399 (Schengen Borders Code) or other conditions for entry, stay or residence in that EU Member State” (European Commission, 2016).

The International Labour Organization (ILO) defined illegal migrations, in the Convention adopted in 1975, as those in which migrants in transit, on arrival, or at the time of their residence and employment, find themselves under conditions that define their status outside the international agreements or national regulations (ILO 1975). Definition of illegal migration (Convention No 143, adopted at the 1975 ILO Conference): Illegal migration is one where migrants violate international multilateral or bilateral instruments, agreements or national laws and regulations during migration, on arrival or during their stay and with employment (Tapinos, 1999, p. 229). This means that non-legal or illegal migrant is a person who does not meet the host country’s requirements for entry, stay or pursuit of economic activity.

Migration, their Impact on National Security and EU Regulation

The term “migration”, understood as population movement across the state border or within the country itself can be divided into emigration, immigration and illegal migration. The reasons may be economic, political, ecological and other (Bučar Ručman, 2014, p. 211-215).

The Resolution on the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Slovenia defines that “Illegal migration affects Slovenia primarily on account of the migration routes running across its territory. Since the mass migrations of 2015 and 2016, there has been constant pressure of illegal migration on the Slovenian part of the external inland Schengen border. The vast majority of migrants who apply for international protection in Slovenia leave Slovenia before the end of the procedure, indicating abuse of this institution. Secondary movements of asylum seekers thus flow mainly from Slovenia to other EU countries. The systematic abuse of the international protection system has been detected on the Balkan Route, on other migration routes, and throughout the EU. This security threat is given further significance on account of its connection to organized crime and terrorism. The Balkan Route of illegal migration also remains interesting because of the return of potential ‘foreign fighters’ from the battlefields of the Middle East, and other members of various terrorist organizations who wish to enter the territory of the EU” (MoD, 2019 p. 24.).

The resolution emphasizes that “The pressure on the Republic of Slovenia caused by the flow of illegal migration is greatly determined by the socio-economic and political-security situation in the world and the region. The wide scope of the illegal or mass migration may pose a general threat to the safety and well-being of Slovenia’s inhabitants, and a significant burden

on the entire Slovenian national security system. Increased migration pressure on Slovenia and the wider environment may also have an indirect effect on the development of extremism, the deterioration of the security situation, and on foreign and domestic policies" (MoD, 2019p. 24.).

Different measures have been taken by the EU Member States to reduce the obstacles to the proper functioning of the asylum (international protection) system and to effectively deal with the increased number of asylum applications. One measure was the adoption of a list of "safe third countries of origin" and an accelerated asylum procedure for those applicants who came from these countries. To this end, some Member States have also adapted their return policy and eligibility for admission to a Member State. On the other hand, due to internal political tensions, EU countries had also begun to tighten conditions for acquiring a refugee status or asylum, as they have introduced the "safe country rule". With this rule asylum applications are rejected if the person is coming from a country that the EU determined as safe.

All these limitations of legal migrations and restrictions of the possibilities for entry into a country have opened the way to illegal migration, which also entails side effects such as the rise of organized crime and the rise of human trafficking, illegal work, prostitution, etc.

The "Schengen Agreement" was signed by the governments of Germany, the Netherlands, France, Belgium and Luxembourg on June 14th 1985 in the Luxembourg city of Schengen, to abolish controls at their common borders. Since the original agreement was signed 25 EU countries and Switzerland have joined the Schengen area.

Under the Schengen Code, external borders can be crossed at border crossings and during fixed working hours (REGULA-

TION (EU) 2016/399, article 5). The control of the external Schengen border is in the interest of all Member States, even if it is carried out by a Member State at the external border, as this will allow the removal of internal borders and thus the free movement of people. Border surveillance should help combat illegal migration and prevent any threats to Member States' internal security, public order, public health and international relations (REGULATION (EU) 2016/399, preamble 7). A national of another country who arrives at a border crossing point and wishes to enter the EU territory, but does not fulfil all the conditions for entry, shall be refused entry unless he/she exercises the right to international protection or qualifies for a visa at the border crossing point. This is without prejudice to the application of specific provisions relating to the right of asylum and international protection or the issuance of a long-stay visa (REGULATION (EU) 2016/399, article 14).

International migration will certainly affect all countries, whether they are immigrant, emigrant or both (Castles and Miller, 1998, p. 4). This means that migration has a major impact on the countries of origin of migrants, and these impacts are not only negative, as migrants return part of their earnings to their home country, which provides at least minimal economic stability. Also, the impacts of migration are not only negative for the destination countries of migrants, as they usually change the demographic picture of the country. It should also be known that migrants not only do jobs that the native population does not want because they are dirty, dangerous and poorly paid but also work in professions for which there is not enough qualified staff in the receiving country. So-called migrant quotas determine the number of foreigners who will receive work permits or citizenship (Castles and Miller 2009, p. 114).

From this, we can conclude that the countries with the biggest migration problems are transit countries where the smuggling of people and drugs occurs and the number of crime increases, while the state has only the costs of combating such activities.

In 2014-2016 EU Member States faced an unexpected increase in migration flows into the EU. The number of asylum applications was increasing from 443,015 in 2013 to 1,320,000 in 2015 and then started to decrease (1,260,000 in 2016). The increase in the number of applications was not the same across the EU. The largest number of applications was detected in Germany, Sweden, Italy, Hungary, France, Austria, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and Belgium. Some of the members-only noticed the impact of the increased number of applications in a later period, more so as a result of secondary movements of asylum seekers who had recourse to another Member State because of an unfavourable application and resubmitted an application there. The increased number of applications has put enormous pressure on national asylum systems, which have failed to respond in a timely and effective manner. The Joint Report "Changing the flow of asylum seekers 2014-2016" analyses the different types of measures (efficiency of national asylum systems, availability of registry centres capacity, integration programs, preparedness and efficiency of the local community, etc.) implemented by the EU member states to mitigate and appropriately target the increased number of migrants and asylum applications in their territory (EMN, 2018).

In 2018 the EU denied entry to more non-EU citizens than in 2017, with fewer illegal migrants found within EU borders. In 2018, the EU denied entry to 471,000 people outside the EU, 7% more than in 2017 (439,500). At the same time, 478,000 people were deported from the EU, which

is 7% less (478,000) than in 2017 (516,000). At the same time, the number of illegal non-EU nationals decreased by 3% (601,500 in 2018 compared to 618,800 in 2017). Their number has fallen sharply since 2015 when 2,154,700 non-nationals were staying illegally in the EU. In 2018 68% of EU, illegal migrants resided in Germany, France, Greece and Spain. Germany was estimated to have the largest number of illegal migrants (134,100) from non-EU countries, 105,900 were residing in France and 93,400 in Spain (Euronews, 2019).

Impacts of Illegal Migration on the National Security of Slovenia

Due to its geographical location, Slovenia has been and will continue to be an important part of the so-called Balkan Route, through which transport of illegal goods is organized. First, it enters Slovenia and then it continues its path to other EU countries by various modes of transport. Organized crime also plays an important role in this as these routes are used for the supply of various illegal goods, illicit drugs, weapons, and human trafficking.

Migration policy design is a sensitive issue everywhere in the world. The reason this policy is needed is the extremely complex phenomenon of migration: from refugees, migrants, seasonal workers and illegal migrants, to organized international crime. At the same time migration poses a challenge in an economic and humanitarian aspect, security and defence policy. Slovenia adopted the "Resolution on Immigration Policy of the Republic of Slovenia (RelPRS)" (National Assembly RS. 1999). It aims to determine the positions and directions of the country's immigration policy, which will contribute to the well-being of the population, social development, health protection, security and peace.

Slovenia emphasizes in the RelPRS (based on its own experience from the events in the Balkans) that armed conflicts and low-intensity conflicts in crisis areas pose a threat to international peace and security. This has a direct effect on the broader regional and global stability, development, migration flows, and the creation of safe havens for the terrorist groups, violent extremism, and organized crime. The resolution also clearly states that Slovenian national security is strongly affected by the uncompleted post-conflict transition of the Western Balkans. This can be noticed in a greater likelihood of non-military sources of threat, such as organized crime, corruption, illegal migration, human, arms and drugs trafficking, terrorism and violent extremism (MoD, 2019 p. 18).

Slovenia's entry into EU and consequently into the Schengen area did not change the migration routes much, but what it did change was the thinking process of migrants. Slovenia became largely a destination country because it is part of the EU, which is, after all, the goal of migrants: entry into the EU and the enjoyment of the social rights it offers.

Slovenia is a transit country for illegal migrants from Eastern Europe and the African area since their destination countries are primarily the richer countries of the EU. For migrants from the territory of the former Yugoslav republics, Slovenia is also one of the destination countries (Cinac, 2006).

In the last decade, Slovenia has also been dealing with a significant increase in the number of illegal migrants, which can be explained by its geographical position, as it lies at the crossroads of migration routes. On the other hand, Slovenia is also interesting as a destination country because of the increase in its economic development as a member of the EU and therefore requires more migration policies. In 2019 police ac-

tivity in the field of organized crime and terrorism-related crime focused primarily on the detection and investigation of organized forms of cross-border crime, the origin of which is mainly or related to South-eastern Europe and the Western Balkans. Organized crime accounted for 48.1% of the criminal offences of prohibited crossings of the border or territory of the country (Slovenian Police Department, 2019ba).

Due to its geographical location, Slovenia faces threats to national security in the context of illegal migration, organized crime, human and weapons trafficking, terrorism and money laundering. Just over 16,000 illegal migrants came to Slovenia in 2019, mostly from Pakistan, Algeria and Afghanistan. Many more came in 1991 and 1992 (approximately 70,000 according to the Ministry of the Interior of Slovenia) when the war broke out in the Balkans (M.K., D.L., 2011). In 1993 there were approximately 35,000 illegal migrants (Miklavc, 2011). The largest number of illegal migrants crossed the territory of Slovenia in 2015 when the police handled 360,213 illegal border crossings. Citizens of Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq were most frequently treated (Slovenian Police Department, 2016). The Balkan Route was still one of the major routes from the end of 2017 and 2018 by which large numbers of migrants attempted to gain access to the destination country in Western or Northern Europe by illegally crossing the border or territory of the country. According to police data, there were 290 cases in 2018 (Slovenian Police Department, 2019a).

According to data provided in the police annual report for 2018 the volume of illegal migration increased due to the situation in the countries of origin and the establishment of new routes across the Western Balkans. Police have increased border controls with Croatia through the redeployment of staff, technical equipment to control the

green border, and the establishment and maintenance of temporary technical barriers. The number of illegal migrants detected in 2017 and 2018 has increased. The police officers handled 14,086 cases in 2018 and 10,392 in 2017. 9,223 unauthorized external border crossings were handled in 2018 and 1,934 in 2017. The number of Pakistan nationals stood out in 2019. Due to Istanbul's many flight connections, Turkey is the main transit area for illegal migration. The paths have been routed through the Western Balkans with Bosnia and Herzegovina as an important area for gathering and detaining illegal migrants (Slovenian Police Department. 2019a).

Illegal flows of migrants, drugs, dangerous substances, infectious diseases and weapons pose a threat to national security. Prezelj (2001, 137) notes: "The worst part is that these flows are controlled by a non-governmental, organized criminal or terrorist group that is not subjected to any normative restrictions. For example, infectious diseases or transfers of dangerous substances pose far more serious risks if criminal and terrorist groups are behind their spread."

The Situation on the Balkan Route

In principle the Balkan Route begins in Turkey and then branches off in two directions: one towards Bulgaria and other towards Greece and further through Northern Macedonia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia to Slovenia. The use of the Balkan path began in 2012, when EU relaxed visa restrictions on Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Northern Macedonia.

For migrants, technology is very important. They help each other to locate border points that are open and closed with mobile phones and applications such as Facebook. Migrants often pay high sums

of money to smugglers, who then help them cross the ocean to get from Turkey to Greece. In March 2016 Northern Macedonia, Croatia and Slovenia announced that their borders were shut and that the Balkan Route was abolished (Dockery, 2017).

However, the closure of the Balkan Route did not stop the migrants. At the end of March 2016, the first arrivals of migrant groups along the so-called Adriatic route were recorded. This route runs along the coast via Albania, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Slovenia towards Italy. Thus migrants must have found new routes to enter the EU (M.G. 2016).

Continuous, non-decreasing migration flows from areas of Central Asia, the Middle East and Africa have different effects on destination countries, where the attitude towards migrants is becoming increasingly negative. These countries are faced with a variety of internal political, social, economic, security and, in recent months, especially health challenges (the spread of COVID-19), which are addressed through ad hoc or medium-term solutions containing the larger flow of migrants.

The volatile security situation, political interests and relations in the Middle East pose an (in)direct risk of a migrant wave spreading from that region to Europe, with the concentration of displaced populations at the Syrian-Turkish border in refugee centres reaching almost one million people. Turkey is overwhelmed with refugee issues and short term, ad hoc arrangements with the EU further complicate the situation. The situation in the region is also more or less successfully exploited by (mainly economic) migrants from other continents (mainly from Central Asia and North Africa) who use the established migration routes to Europe.

According to Franck Düvell: "From spring 2015 around 1 million refugees left Turkey, usually irregularly, first for Greece

and then through the Balkans to Northern Macedonia, Serbia, Hungary (later Croatia and Slovenia), to Austria, Germany and Scandinavia. These movements are related to multiple crises of displacement and EU border controls" (Allen et al., 2018).

Turkey reports it cannot cope with more than four million refugees, but the threat of Turkey opening its borders should be seen in the broader context of the Syrian war, Turkish-EU relations and Balkan politics. Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan issued a warning at the meeting of his ruling Justice and Development Party: "We will open the borders, let Europe think about refugees" (Buyuk, 2017). The migration and refugee flow across Turkey to the Balkans and to the EU, which peaked in 2015, sharply slowed down after the EU reached an agreement in 2016 to pay more than 6 billion dollars to Ankara to tighten its borders.

The current health challenge, which must be highlighted in terms of the impact on migrant conditions, is the proclaimed worldwide COVID-19 pandemic. Most countries where migrants are coming from are facing a rapid rise in the numbers of infected people. There is a lack of reporting on the incidence of migrants already in Europe, as well as migrants in the countries of origin, which is why we do not have a realistic estimate of the infections of migrants. Regardless we assume that there is a very likely broader infection rate of migrants, as access to health care is limited in most countries they are located in.

According to the data collected by the IPCR, the migration on the Mediterranean migration routes in 2020 has increased mainly on the maritime routes, which is also due to the security and politically unstable situation in North Africa. In the first third of 2020, 16,878 migrants were registered in all Mediterranean destinations (13,492 in 2019), of which 14,206 by sea (10,283 in

2019) and 2,672 by inland migration routes (3,209 in 2019). 211 migrant deaths were recorded in the Mediterranean during the same period (2,828 deaths in 2019). In the eastern Mediterranean route (Turkey - EU), 8,871 migrants were recorded in the first third of 2020. This was an increase compared to the same period in 2019 when 6,206 migrants were recorded. At the same time, 64 deaths or missing migrants were recorded. The increased number of migrants is the result of a higher number of illegal crossings from Turkey to Greece (IPCR, 2020a).

They also presented information according to which there were 3,873 migrants recorded on the central Mediterranean direction (Libya, Tunisia - Malta, Italy) in the first third of 2020 (to Italy and Malta) compared to the same period in 2019 when 472 migrants were recorded. At the same time, 115 deaths or missing migrants were recorded. The increased number of migrants is mainly the result of a looser Italian policy towards the migrant issue and a reorientation of transitions from the western Mediterranean. In the western Mediterranean route (Morocco, Algeria - Spain) 5,199 migrants were recorded in the first third of 2020, which is a decrease compared to the same period in 2019 when 6,258 migrants were recorded. There were 40 deaths or missing among migrants during the same period. The smaller number of crossings is mainly due to the diversions to the central Mediterranean direction (IPCR, 2020a).

According to IPCR, there is an estimated number of migrants located in the Western Balkans: Turkey (3.9 million, most Syrians), Greece (104,082, islands 41,474), Hungary (137), Northern Macedonia (132), Serbia (12,888), Montenegro (13), Kosovo (154), Albania (306), Romania (559), Bulgaria (472), Croatia (362), Bosnia and Herzegovina (7,300) and Slovenia (322). The

number of illegal migrants in Serbia has also increased due to better accommodation conditions in migrant centres, tightened controls at the Croatian state border and the return of migrants to Serbia, from where they began to shift towards Hungary. Due to the COVID-19 outbreak countries in the Balkan region have adopted safety and health measures that prevent or make the movement of migrants in the region more difficult (IPCR, 2020b).

The main course of illegal migration flows in the region currently goes through Northern Macedonia, Serbia and Hungary to the destination countries of Western Europe. In 2019, a total of 9,400 illegal border crossings were recorded at the Serbian-Hungarian border. In the first three months of 2020, there were already 3,400 illegal border crossings. The alternative route from Serbia runs through Croatia and Slovenia to the destination countries of Western Europe, which is manageable. In the first quarter of 2020 there were 1,361 illegal crossings at the Slovenian state border and 1,364 in the comparable period in 2019. Illegal crossings are organized through criminal organizations. Regardless of the number of illegal migrants' migrations to Slovenia the health status of migrants presents a high risk (Slovenian Police Department, 2020).

Conclusion

The volatile security and political situation in the Middle East, the threat reflected by Turkey's increasing burden of more than 4 million refugees on its soil and the prospect of another million, as well as the demographic trends and poor economic situation of a large number of countries, including Africa and Central Asia, will continue the migration flows to the current destination countries in the near future. In parallel, international terrorism, conventional and hybrid threats, mostly used by non-state

actors who already have a wide range of capabilities as institutional security forces (information and propaganda, armaments, financial resources, etc.) will also continue. The war in Syria, involving all the major powers of this world, is affecting the borders with Turkey. EU expects that all the partner countries, including Turkey, will abide by the agreements that have been made. However, within its own country, Turkey faces quite a few security problems and the migration flow from Turkey to the EU is just one of them. Because of EU's uncoordinated action in the refugee crisis, Greece has been dealing with migrants most of the time and the institutions at the Turkish-Greek border have been ineffective in curbing illegal migrants. The uncoordinated and indecisive action of the EU has been felt in the countries on the Balkan migrant route, with each country individually confronting the migrants, trying to stop them. The migration crisis has been shown to affect each country differently, depending on its position, status and location. Countries on the Balkan Route, which are not migrant destination countries, face a great deal of disregard for their laws because migrants have nothing to lose by disregarding them. Unlike the destination countries where those same migrants abide by the law and regulations because they can lose everything.

The multitude of different objectives for combating illegal migration, the diversity of forms of illegal migration, conflicts of interest between different groups in the countries of destination and the opposition in the public opinion dictate the use of a wide range of instruments to combat illegal migration. The protection of the state border is conducted with a purpose to detect illegal migration and cross-border crime prevention. Ensuring security for citizens is based on a coherent and coordinated management of the external borders.

Mass migration is a major challenge for EU member states as well as for the wider region. In the future, migrants will also leave their places of residence or migrant centres and will not have interest to return to their countries of origin voluntarily. The upward trend or decline in the number of migrants on individual Mediterranean routes will also depend on the actions of individual EU Member States. The situation will continue to provide conditions for the uncontrolled movements of members and sympathizers of various Islamist and radical groups in the context of migration flows and it will intensify the activities of organized crime and smuggling groups.

So far, the fact that the coronavirus has a different incubation period and spreads rapidly in the crowd was recognized. Therefore, given the conditions migrants live in, there is a high likelihood of high incidence of infection among them. Consequently, COVID-19 will also have a negative impact on migrants' countries of arrival in the coming period. Migration is likely to increase on all Mediterranean routes due to the probable state of emergency in destination countries after they have taken control of infections. This period also coincides with the most favourable weather and navigable conditions for migrant movements.

The increasing number of migrants in individual countries is fuelling discussions on restricting migration and closing borders to those migrants who do not seek international protection. Many are convinced that migrants are a great threat, which they could not withstand, but the risk assessments of all countries on the Balkan migrant route show they are a low or even very low threat. They are just an annoying element because they come from a different social environment with different social relationships.

Migration control can be carried out by border control or through state offices. From our experience so far we learned that tougher measures do not curb illegal migration. Measures were taken by countries on the Balkan Route (technical barriers, fences), the joint action plans and the tightening of the reception of migrants in each country only diverted migrant routes to other countries.

The directions of migrants' movements will change and adapt to the situation so far, but they will take place mainly in unprotected areas or where the level of control is lower. There is a strong likelihood of continuation of the transit nature of migration, which is strongly linked to the abuse of the asylum system, as there are disproportionate differences between the high number of intentions expressed and the significantly smaller number of actual applications for international protection.

Bibliography

- Allen, William, Düvell, Franck & Others. 2018. Who Counts in Crises? The New Geopolitics of International Migration and Refugee Governance. *Geopolitics*, 23:1, 217-243, [Online] 01 Jun 2017 [Cited: 12 March 2020.] DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2017.1327740>.
- Bučar, Ručman, A. 2014. Migracije in kriminaliteta. Pogled čez mejo stereotipov in predsodkov. Ljubljana: ZRC SAZU.
- Buyuk, Hamdi Firat. 2017. Balkaninsight. Syrian Refugees a Bargaining Chip for Turkey's Erdogan. [Online] 17 September 2017 [Cited: 11 February 2020.] <https://balkaninsight.com/2019/09/17/syrian-refugees-a-bargaining-chip-for-turkeys-erdogan/>.
- Castles, Stephen and Miller, J. Mark. 1998. *The age of migration: International Population*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Castles, Stephen and Miller, J. Mark. 2009. *Movements in the Modern World*. London: Macmillan.

- Cinac, Ehra Zeka. 2006. Nezakonite migracije. *Obramba* 39 (1): 24-25.
- Cohen, Robin. 1996. *Theories of Migration*. Cheltenham, Edward Elgar Publishing Company.
- Dockery, W. 2017. The Balkan route – explained. *Infomigrants.net*. [Online] 29 March 2017 [Cited: 24 March 2020.] <https://www.infomigrants.net/en/post/2546/the-balkan-route-explained>.
- EMN. 2018. EMN Study: "Changing Influx of Asylum Seekers 2014-2016". [Online] September 2018. [Cited 7 February 2020.] <http://emm.si/en/publications/emn-study-changing-influx-of-asylum-seekers-2014-2016-september-2018/>.
- European Commission. 2016. Migration and home affairs. Irregular migrant. [Online] 2016 [Cited: 20 March 2020.] https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/networks/european_migration_network/glossary_search/irregular-migrant_en.
- EU regulation. 2016. Regulation (EU) 2016/399. Schengen Borders Code [Online] 2016 [Cited: 22 March 2020.] <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=LEGISSUM:I14514>.
- EURONEWS. 2019. Germany, France, Greece and Spain host 68% of illegal migrants in EU, Eurostat report finds. [Online] 12 July 2019. [Cited 7 February 2020.]. <https://www.euronews.com/2019/07/12/germany-france-greece-and-spain-host-68-of-illegal-migrants-in-eu-eurostat-report-finds>.
- IOM. 2005. International Organization for Migration. *World Migration: Costs and Benefits of International Migration*. Report 2005, page 13. [Online] September 2008. [Cited 20 March 2020.] <https://www.iom.int/world-migration-report-2005>.
- ILO. 1975. International Labour Organization. *Convention No. 143. Migration Workers (Supplementary Provisions)*. [Online] August 2015 [Cited: 15 March 2020.] https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C143.
- IPCR. 2020a. Integrated Situation Awareness and Analysis (ISAA) Situation Report No 205, 206. Migration and Refugee Situation [Online] April 2020 [Cited: 21 April 2020.] <https://ipcr.consilium.europa.eu/Activation/Full-Activation/Migration-Crisis/ISAA-Input-and-Products/show/291/RfiMid/1505#1505>.
- IPCR. 2020b. Integrated Situation Awareness and Analysis (ISAA) Situation Report No 207. Migration and Refugee Situation. [Online] 21 April 2020 [Cited: 22 April 2020.] <https://ipcr.consilium.europa.eu/Activation/Full-Activation/Migration-Crisis>.
- MDP. 2020. Migration data portal. Total number of international migrants at mid-year 2019. [Online] January 2020. [Cited 28 March 2020.] .
- M.G. 2016. Black predictions are realized: The first migrants illegally across the Slovenian Primorje. *Nova24tv.si*. [Online] 28 March 2016 [Cited: 22 March 2020.] <https://nova24tv.si/slovenija/crne-napovedi-se-uresnicujejo-prvi-migranti-ilegalno-ze-po-drugi-balkanski-poti-skozi-secovlje/>.
- M.K., D.L., 2011. Italija grozi z izstopom iz EU. *24ur*. [Online] 11 April 2011. [Cited 12 March 2020.] <https://www.24ur.com/novice/svet/v-manj-kot-stirih-mesecih-pribevalo-vec-kot-25-000-ljudi.html>.
- Miklavc, Petra. 2011. EU za pomoč pri soočanju z begunci, Italija razočarana. *STA*. [Online] 11 April 2011. [Cited 12 March 2020.] <https://www.sta.si/1625988/eu-za-pomoc-multi-pri-soocanju-z-begunci-italija-razocarana?q=eu,za,pomo%C4%8D,pri,soo%C4%8D,dan,z,begun,ital,razo%C4%8D,dar>.
- MoD, 2019. Official gazette of the Republic of Slovenia No. 59/2019, dated 4 October 2019. Resolution on the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Slovenia (ReSNV-2). [Online] 2020. [Cited 12 March 2020.] <https://www.gov.si/assets/ministrstva/MO/Dokumenti/ReSNV2.pdf>.
- National Assembly RS. 1999. Official gazette of the Republic of Slovenia

- No. 40/99. Resolution on the Immigration Policy of the Republic of Slovenia (ReIPRS). [Online] 14 May 1999 [Cited: 24 March 2020.] <https://www.uradni-list.si/glasilo-uradni-list-rs/vsebina/1999-01-1991/resolucija-o-imigracijski-politiki-republike-slovenije-reiprs#>.
- Prezelj, Iztok. 2001. Grožnje varnosti, varnostna tveganja in izzivi v sodobni družbi. *Teorija in praksa* 38 (1): p 127-141.
- Schengen Agreement. 1985. The Schengen Agreement- History and the Definition. [Online] October 2019. [Cited 13 February 2020.].
- Slovenian Police Department. 2016. Border Matters and Foreigners. Illegal migration-statistic data. [Online] January 2016. [Cited 26 March 2020.] <https://www.policija.si/o-slovenski-policiji/statistika/mejna-problematika/nedovoljene-migracije-na-obmocju-republike-slovenije>.
- Slovenian Police Department. 2019a. Annual reports on the work of the police. Annual report on the work of the police in 2018. [Online] April 2019 [Cited: 13 March 2020.] <https://www.policija.si/images/stories/Statistika/LetnaPorocila/PDF/LetnoPorocilo2018.pdf>.
- Slovenian Police Department. 2019b. Annual reports on the work of the police. Review of the police for the first half of 2019. [Online] 18 September 2019 [Cited: 13 March 2020.] <https://www.policija.si/images/stories/Statistika/LetnaPorocila/PDF/PorociloZaPrvoPolletje2019.pdf>.
- Slovenian Police Department. 2020. Border Matters and Foreigners. Illegal migration-statistic data. Nedovoljene migracije v obdobju od 1. Do 31 marca 2020. [Online] April 2020. [Cited 20 April 2020.] <https://www.policija.si/images/stories/Statistika/MejnaProblematika/Illegalne-Migracije/2020/Januar-marec2020.pdf>.
- Tapinos, Georges. 1999. Clandestine immigration: Economic and political issues. Trends in international migration: continuous reporting system on migration (SOPEMI): annual report. Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1999, p 328.