

LUXEMBURGISH IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CEAS: INSIGHTS FROM A SMALL-SCALE COUNTRY.

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INTRODUCTION

- 602,005 INHABITANTS IN LUXEMBOURG WITH 48% OF THEM NOT BEING OF LUXEMBOURGISH NATIONALITY (1ST OF JANUARY 2018).
- LUXEMBOURG'S ONLY 'EXTERNAL' BORDER IS THE AIRPORT.



GENERAL SITUATION OF LUXEMBOURG IN THE CEAS

- COMPARED WITH THE POPULATION OF EACH MEMBER STATE, THE HIGHEST RATE OF REGISTERED FIRST-TIME APPLICANTS DURING THE FIRST QUARTER 2018 WAS RECORDED IN CYPRUS (1 551 FIRST-TIME APPLICANTS PER MILLION POPULATION), FOLLOWED BY GREECE (1 204), MALTA (856) AND LUXEMBOURG (753).
- NUMBER OF APPLICATIONS IN 2017: 2.322
- MAIN COUNTRIES OF APPLICANTS: SYRIA (15,8%), ERITREA (9,6%), MOROCCO (8,8%), SERBIA (8,2%) AND ALGERIA (7,3%)
- SOLIDARITY: RELOCATION AND RESETTLEMENT

THEORETICAL CONTEXT


- LAND BORDERS: “A CONTINUOUS LINE DEMARCATING THE TERRITORY AND SOVEREIGN AUTHORITY OF THE STATE, ENCLOSING ITS DOMAIN AND PROTECTING ITS POPULATION” (WALTERS 2006:145).
- THE BORDER ‘BECOMES ALIVE’ (BURNS 2017)
- BORDERING PRACTICES: THE WAYS IN WHICH BORDERS ARE DELIMITED AND MANAGED, BORDERS AS BOTH A PROCESS AND AS AN INSTITUTION (NEWMAN 2006:148, SEE ALSO VOLLMER 2016).

METHODOLOGY

- 9 INTERVIEWS WITH ASYLUM SEEKERS, REFUGEES AND 1 REJECTED ASYLUM SEEKER (MEN AND WOMEN FROM SYRIA, IRAQ, ERITREEA AND GUINEA)
- ARRIVED IN LUXEMBOURG FROM 2015 ONWARDS
- 10 INTERVIEWS WITH INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS AT NATIONAL AND EU LEVEL (OFFICIALS FROM THE REFUGEES UNIT OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AND EUROPEAN AFFAIRS, BORDER AGENTS, INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS, MEP)
- ETHNOGRAPHY AT FINDEL AIRPORT (LUXEMBOURGISH EXTERNAL BORDER)
- CHALLENGES:
 - NARRATIVE FLUIDITY - CREDIBILITY AND TRUTH: *'WHAT YOU SAY DURING AN INTERVIEW [WITH PUBLIC OFFICIALS] IS DIFFERENT FROM WHAT YOU TELL TO A FRIEND'* (SYRIAN REFUGEE, MALE)
 - ABSENT NARRATIVES - TRAUMA (SYRIAN FEMALE TRANSGENDER ASYLUM SEEKER)



EMERGING PATTERNS: 2 PERSPECTIVE ON BORDERS: VISIBLE AND INVISIBLE BORDERS

- VISIBLE BORDERS – CLOSED BORDERS
 - INVISIBLE BORDERS – OPEN BORDERS
 - SYSTEMS OF CONTROL
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EXTERNAL BORDERS

- **THE MATERIALITY OF BORDERS:**

- *“THE FIRST DIFFICULT POINT [WAS] THE SEA BETWEEN TURKEY AND GREECE. THE SECOND DIFFICULT POINT WAS HUNGARY BECAUSE THERE WERE A LOT OF POLICEMEN AND THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT BUILT SOMETHING TO NOT ALLOW YOU TO COME INTO THE COUNTRY. NOT A WALL, BUT SOMETHING TO PREVENT YOU TO COME INTO THE COUNTRY. [A BARBED WIRE FENCE].” (SYRIAN REFUGEE, MALE)*

- **BODILY REPRESENTATIONS OF BORDERS:**

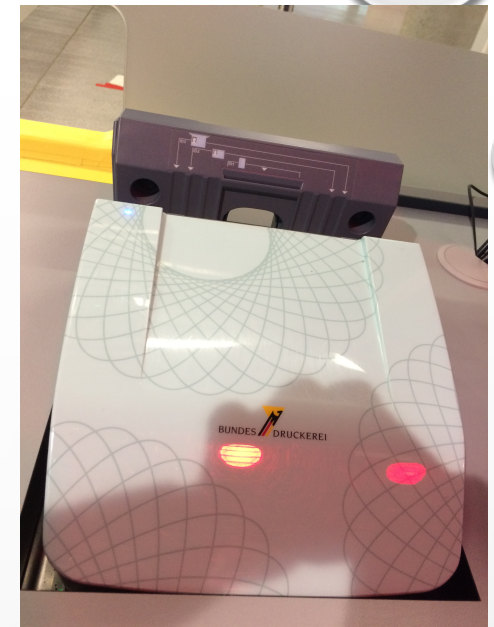
- *“WHEN I WAS IN TURKEY, MY FRIEND TOLD ME THAT HUNGARY IS BUILDING [THIS FENCE] THE LONG OF THE BORDERS. WHEN I ARRIVED IN BELGRADE THEY FINISHED IT. THERE WERE A LOT OF POLICEMEN.” (SYRIAN REFUGEE)*
- *THE SERBIAN BORDER EMERGES THROUGH VIOLENCE OR THE THREAT OF VIOLENCE OF BORDER AGENTS. (IRAQI REFUGEE, MALE)*



- **PRESENCE OF CONTROL**

- **SYSTEMS - LUXEMBOURG AS A BORDER STATE**

- BORDER – “REFERS TO CONTROLS REQUIRED BY THE LAW. BORDER CONTROLS ARE IMPORTANT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AND IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE SCHENGEN AREA COUNTRIES FROM TERRORIST THREATS” (HEAD OF THE BORDER CONTROL UNIT, LUXEMBOURG AIRPORT)
- THE LUXEMBOURGISH BORDER REPRESENTS “THE CONTROL FOR ALL THE SCHENGEN COUNTRIES”. “THE AIRPORT WOULDN’T EXIST IF THE CONTROL WAS JUST FOR LUXEMBOURG (PASSPORT CONTROL OFFICER, LUXEMBOURG AIRPORT).



INTERNAL BORDERS

- **OPEN BORDERS:**

- *“IT IS POSSIBLE TO GO TO THE BORDERING COUNTRIES”* (REJECTED CAMEROONIAN ASYLUM SEEKER, MALE)
- THE GERMAN-LUXEMBOURGISH BORDER IS ‘OPEN) (IRAQI REFUGEE)

- **LACK OF CONTROL:**

- *“THERE ARE NO BORDERS. ONE CAN EASILY MOVE AROUND, THERE IS NO MORE CONTROL, THERE IS NO MORE... I DON’T THINK BORDERS ARE VERY EFFICIENT [IN THE MANAGEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION]. WE CAN SEE THIS IN THE SPIKE OF DUBLIN CASES, MANY PEOPLE WHO HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN IN OTHER MEMBER STATES GET HERE”* (DEPUTY HEAD OF THE REFUGEES UNIT AND JURIST, MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AND EUROPEAN AFFAIRS).
- THE SHUK – 64% OF ‘DUBLINER’ ASYLUM SEEKERS DECIDE TO LEAVE THE DETENTION FACILITY BEFORE THE TRANSFER TAKES PLACE

CONCLUSIONS

- THE PRESENCE OF BORDERS DID NOT INFLUENCE PARTICIPANTS' MOBILITY.

BUT

- PARTICIPANTS' MOBILITY INFLUENCED THE CREATION OF BORDERS
- EXTERNAL/CLOSED BORDERS COME INTO BEING THROUGH THE PRESENCE OF A CONTROL SYSTEM IMPEDING PEOPLES' MOBILITY.
- BORDERS COULD NOT BE MADE VISIBLE WITHOUT THE PRESENCE OF MATERIAL AND IMMATERIAL THINGS. BORDER CONTROL, HERE, TAKES THE FORM OF HUMAN AND MATERIAL PRACTICES OF BORDERING AGAINST CITIZENS FROM STATES WHICH ARE FEARED TO POSE A SECURITY RISK.