



Anna Paterek

Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski Krakow University
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5777-9129>

Addressing the Root Causes of Migration through Development Aid as a Security-Development Nexus: A Case Study of Germany and Austria

Introduction

The complexity and interrelation of unprecedented post-Cold War challenges, along with the growing pressure of migration and terrorism, has enhanced development assistance with the function of preventive security policy. As such, development aid has become a tool to limit sources of threats to the international community, based on the assumptions of the interconnectedness of security and development. The initiatives of development cooperation have been directed towards immigrants and the root causes of migration in developing states, which is a strategy that benefits the Global North. As an instrument to promote self-sufficiency and independence, development assistance should gradually lessen the dependence of the southern countries. At the same time, it legitimizes the development policy as a defence strategy against immigrants. This case study provides the results of a comparative analysis of official development assistance (ODA) and discourses on refugees and immigrants in German and Austrian development cooperation in the face of the European migrant crisis in 2015–2016.¹ The analytical framework is found in

¹ The paper rests on the research conducted by the author on German development policy after 2014.

utilitarian liberalism,² which connects the theory of liberal foreign policy with utilitarianism. It examines whether the massive influx of immigrants and refugees to Europe has modified the goals of development assistance, as well as both countries' tendency to highlight their national interests. This is done through content and discourse analyses of policy documents, financial data and the projects of German and Austrian development cooperation defines the preferences of the involved parties.

Refugee costs in donor countries reported as official development assistance (ODA): background

Germany is one of the founding members of the OECD's Development Assistance Committee (DAC). Active between January and July 1960, the Development Assistance Group (DAG) was replaced by DAC in October 1961. In 1965, Austria became one of the DAC member states. Currently, Germany is one of the world's leading donors of aid to developing countries. In 2015, it offered the biggest assistance, right after the USA and Great Britain. Between 2016 and 2020, they moved to the second position among the most generous DAC members, following the USA. Austria was 18th in 2015, 17th in 2016–2019 and 18th in 2020.³ On average, German involvement in official development assistance programs doubled the one of Austria between 2015 and 2019. In 2015, the number reached 0.52%. 2016 was the first year when Germany met the UN-imposed target of 0.7% (mainly due to the rise in expenditure on refugees). During the following years, the participation reached: 0.66% in 2017, 0.61% in 2018, 0.60% on 2019 and 0.73% on 2020. On the other hand, Austria arrived at 0.32% in 2015, 0.41% in 2016, 0.30% in 2017, 0.26% in 2018, 0.27% in 2019 and 0.29% in 2020. The higher ODA value for Austria in 2015 and 2016 (+15.4% and +18.3%) was mainly due to the increase in internal costs for refugees. Similarly, Germany marked a rise in 2015 (+25.9%), doubling the expenditure on refugees in 2016, and developed the assistance program, which, in turn, led to a 36.1% increase in ODA.⁴

The decrease of global ODA in 2017 reflects the de-escalation of the migrant crisis. At that point, internal expenses on refugees made up 9.7% ODA of all member states in comparison to 11% in 2016.⁵ As a result of the reduction, Austria cut devel-

² It is based on the premise that internal interests shape a country's approach to foreign policy. It is also assumed that rational actors strive to maximise their usefulness (profits), which they see as externally determined. See more: J. Riley, *Liberal Utilitarianism: Social Choice Theory and J.S. Mill's Philosophy*, Cambridge 2009; C. Freund, V. Rittberger, 'Utilitarian-liberal foreign policy theory', [in:] V. Rittberger (ed.), *German Foreign Policy Since Unification. Theories and Case Studies*, Manchester – New York 2001, pp. 69–84.

³ Based on OECD reports published in 2015–2021, <https://www.oecd.org/dac/financing-sustainable-development/development-finance-standards/official-development-assistance.htm> [accessed: 14.04.2021].

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ OECD, 'Development aid stable in 2017 with more sent to poorest countries', Paris, 9 April 2018, p. 1, <https://www.oecd.org/development/development-aid-stable-in-2017-with-more-sent-to-poorest-countries.htm> [accessed: 12.02.2021].

opment aid by 27.4% in 2017 and by 11.7% in 2018. Germany, on the other hand, decreased it by 3.6% in 2017 and 3% in 2018. In 2019, Austria increased assistance by 7.4% in comparison with the previous year by contributing to international organizations. Comparing to 2018, Germany has been on a downward trend with -1.4%, which is the result of the reduction in expenditure on refugees.⁶ In 2020 ODA from Austria increase by 0.6% due to multilateral contributions, and from Germany by 13.7% due to the mobilisation of additional ODA resources to fight the pandemic.⁷

The costs of refugees and asylum seekers in host countries can be recorded as official development assistance (ODA). The OECD definition of the program allows expenditures for the sustenance of refugees in host countries to be counted as ODA during the first twelve months of their stay. Those cover transport, shelter, sustenance, language courses, voluntary repatriation, and administrative costs.⁸ The internal assistance within ODA increased to address the massive refugee influx and the discrepancies in cost estimating systems in donor countries.⁹ As a result, in 2017, DAC adopted a blueprint to consolidate the way of accounting for the costs of assisting refugees.¹⁰ The spike in refugee-related expenses borne by the members of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) and reported as Official Development Assistance (ODA) in 2015–2016 is controversial. Not everyone agrees that the reason for spending follows the main goal of ODA, which is to support economic progress and prosperity in developing countries. Moreover, the rise in expenses with no accompanying increase in ODA means less available funds for development projects in the partner states.¹¹ In 2015, the internal expenditure on refugees of ten DAC donor states ranged between 10% and 34% of total ODA, and in 2016, between 10% and 40%. In the case of Austria, it was 26.8% in 2015 and 36.4% in 2016. In Germany, 16.8% and 26.6%, respectively.¹²

⁶ Based on OECD reports published in 2015–2020, <https://www.oecd.org/dac/financing-sustainable-development/development-finance-standards/official-development-assistance.htm> [accessed: 10.02.2021].

⁷ OECD, 'COVID-19 spending helped to lift foreign aid to an all-time high in 2020', Paris, 13 April 2021, Detailed Note, <https://www.oecd.org/dac/financing-sustainable-development/development-finance-data/ODA-2020-detailed-summary.pdf> [accessed: 14.04.2021].

⁸ OECD, DAC Secretariat, 'ODA Reporting of in-donor country refugee costs. Members' methodologies for calculating costs', April 2016.

⁹ Four countries included the costs that incurred between submitting the application and receiving the final decision, three countries recorded the costs that incurred only after the final decision, fifteen countries included the expenses from submitting the application and after receiving the final decision.

¹⁰ OECD, Official Development Assistance (ODA), 'What is ODA', April 2020, <http://www.oecd.org/dac/financing-sustainable-development/development-finance-standards/What-is-ODA.pdf>, p. 3; 'In-donor refugee costs in ODA', <http://www.oecd.org/dac/financing-sustainable-development/refugee-costs-oda.htm> [accessed: 20.02.2021].

¹¹ A. Young-Powell, 'Debating the rules: What in-house refugee costs count as aid?', 5 July 2017, <https://www.devex.com/news/debating-the-rules-what-in-house-refugee-costs-count-as-aid-90602> [accessed: 20.02.2021].

¹² See more: OECD, 'In-donor refugee costs...'; *OECD Statistics*, <https://stats.oecd.org> [accessed: 10.02.2021].

Since 2012, Germany has participated in refugee quota programs¹³ that are not part of the ODA expenses. Like in Canada and the United States, German ODA includes resources spent towards those granted asylum (under the convention or temporary protection). The expenses towards the asylum seekers with no final decision are not part of ODA. The costs are also not considered unless the application is approved. The data until the end of 2014 cover standard benefits for those applicants who can remain in Germany based on temporary protection. The benefits are ensured by the Asylum Seekers' Benefits Act and cover the costs of food and medical assistance. The average annual ODA cost per person in 2014 was 8,908 USD.¹⁴ Since 2015, the method of calculating refugee expenditure has been revised to reflect ODA obligations that are not covered by the Asylum Seekers' Benefits Act (including expenses at the federal, regional, and municipal levels).¹⁵ 2016 was a record year in Germany as regards the number of submitted asylum applications, both first-time and confirmatory, with 745,545 applications compared to 476,649 in 2015. It is an increase of 56.4%.¹⁶

Austria does not participate in refugee quota programs. Unlike in Germany, Austria's ODA includes expenses for asylum seekers, regardless of the final decision. The costs are shared between the federal government (Federal Ministry of the Interior) and the state governments in a 60:40 ratio. The costs include housing, sustenance, clothing, health insurance, costs for necessary medical treatment and school supplies. Those granted refugee status receive need-based benefits for the following four months (regardless of other social assistance benefits). The time-frame is not applicable if the application is denied or a subsidiary protection status is obtained. Other benefits, such as scholarships and assistance for those denied asylum (return and resettlement), are included in ODA but under different categories. Costs that qualify as ODA are separate and based on actual expenditure monitored by the Ministry of the Interior. In 2014, the average annual ODA-qualified cost per person was half the costs of Germany, which is 4,608 USD.¹⁷

Apart from Sweden, Austria and Germany were the major destination countries for immigrants seeking asylum in Europe in 2015, while not being their first recipients. Favourable socio-economic conditions were the decisive factor.¹⁸

¹³ Quota refugees are those granted refugee status by UNHCR, usually in the context of a humanitarian relief operation, whom the host country has accepted as part of its quota for resettlement.

¹⁴ OECD, DAC Secretariat, 'ODA Reporting...', p. 14.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ See more: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 'Das Bundesamt in Zahlen 2016', <https://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Statistik/BundesamtinZahlen/bundesamt-in-zahlen-2016.html?nn=284738>; 'Asylanträge in Deutschland', Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung (bpb), <https://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/flucht/zahlen-zu-asyl/265708/asylantraege-und-asylsuchende> [accessed: 10.02.2021].

¹⁷ OECD, DAC Secretariat, 'ODA Reporting...', p. 6.

¹⁸ R. Konle-Seidl, *Integration of Refugees in Austria, Germany and Sweden: Comparative Analysis*, [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2018/614200/IPOL_STU\(2018\)614200_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2018/614200/IPOL_STU(2018)614200_EN.pdf) [accessed: 10.02.2021].

In 2015–2016, Germany recorded approx. 1.2 million asylum seekers,¹⁹ compared to 131,000 in Austria. The number of asylum applications dropped significantly in 2016 in Austria and 2017 in Germany. The reason was the closure of the so-called Balkan route and the EU-Turkey agreement, signed in March 2016. The agreement restricted the influx of immigrants by returning those who crossed to the Greek islands from Turkey illegally.²⁰ Germany remains the main destination country in the EU for immigrants. Out of all first-time asylum applications in the EU during the first half of 2017, 27% (92,285 people) applied to stay in Germany and 3.5% (11,370 people) in Austria. In 2019, Germany had the highest number of all submitted applications for international protection in the EU (142,510 – 21%), and Austria was ranked 12th with 10,790 applicants.²¹ Concerning the population size, the high rate of first-time asylum applications in Austria plunged from 10 per 1,000 residents in 2015 to 5 per 1,000 residents in 2016. In Germany, the ratio went up from 6 per 1,000 in 2015 to 9 per 1,000 in 2016 due to delays in the registration process.²²

Most asylum seekers in Austria and Germany in the 2016–2017 period came from Afghanistan, Syria, Iraq, Eritrea, and Iran. In 2020, most registered asylum applications in Germany were submitted by Syrians, Iraqis, and Afghans. In Austria, most applicants were from Syria, Afghanistan, and Morocco.²³ Recently, the diversification of countries of origin in Austria is greater than in Germany. Similarly, the share of Afghans in the total number of past and present asylum applications is higher in Austria compared to Germany²⁴. On the other hand, in the two countries, the proportion of asylum seekers from conflict-affected countries has dropped significantly since 2017.

The internal ODA refugee costs in Austria went up from 109 million in 2014 to 596 million dollars in 2016. The expense was reduced to 153 million dollars in 2017, and to 31 million in 2019, which was 2.5% of total ODA. Similarly, in Germany, the costs rose from 171 million dollars in 2014 to 6,585 million in 2016. Next, the expenditure was slightly cut down in 2017 to 6,058 million dollars and then again by half to 3,129 million dollars, which is 13.1% ODA, in 2019.²⁵

¹⁹ In 2016, the number of asylum seekers hit a record high. Between January and December 2016, the German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF) recorded as many as 745,545 first time confirmatory asylum applicants. In 2015 the number stood at 476,649.

²⁰ EU-Turkey statement, 18 March 2016, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/pl/press/press-releases/2016/03/18/eu-turkey-statement/> [accessed: 10.02.2021].

²¹ 'Asylanträge in der EU+ 2019', 5 March 2020, <https://migration-infografik.at/eu-asylstatistiken-2019> [accessed: 10.02.2021].

²² R. Konle-Seidl, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

²³ See more: 'Asylstatistik Österreich 2020', <https://www.migration-infografik.at/at-asylstatistiken-2020#herkunftstaaten>; 'Demografie von Asylsuchenden in Deutschland', <https://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/flucht/zahlen-zu-asyl/265710/demografie> [accessed: 10.03.2021].

²⁴ See more: 'Demografie von Asylsuchenden...'; 'Die Asylstatistik 2017 in 12 Grafiken', <https://grundversorgungsinfo.net/2018/03/23/asylstatistik-2017/>; 'Asylstatistik Österreich 2019', <https://migration-infografik.at/eu-asylstatistiken-2019>; 'Asylstatistik Österreich 2020', <https://www.migration-infografik.at/at-asylstatistiken-2020> [accessed: 10.03.2021].

²⁵ Based on the data from OECD-DAC, <https://www.oecd.org/dac/>; <https://stats.oecd.org/>; 'Asylentscheidungen Österreich 2019', <https://www.migration-infografik.at/at-asylentscheidungen-2019>; 'Asylanträge in Deutschland', <https://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/flucht/zahlen-zu-asyl/265708/asylantraege-und-asylsuchende> [accessed: 10.02.2021].

Unlike Austria and most other EU members, Germany has a two-stage process for registering asylum seekers. Initially registered as asylum seekers,²⁶ immigrants are encouraged to submit their formal application. Notably, only the second figure is recorded in Eurostat statistics. Until the mid-2017, the number of people registered in Germany upon arrival was roughly the same as the number of processed applications. The rate of approval was high in both countries, although the percentage of approvals in Germany decreased from 65% in 2016 to 37% in 2018, and increased to 42% in 2019. On the other hand, in Austria, the number went down from 71% in 2016 to 41% in 2018, and up to 48% in 2019.²⁷ The difference lied in the type of guaranteed protection. One in two successful applicants in Germany received only subsidiary protection (including Syrians), and this figure was much lower in Austria.²⁸

Official Development Assistance: a policy tool geared towards alleviating the structural causes of the refugee crisis

The case of Germany

The federal government of Germany has a separate ministry that has shaped the development projects since 1961, namely the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ). Another important ministry involved in this area is the Federal Foreign Office (AA). The BMZ is responsible for creating the principles and concepts of German development policy. It formulates long-term strategies of cooperation within the area of development aid, evaluates its resources, and defines the rules of its application.²⁹

Since the end of the 1990s, German governments have perceived development cooperation in the light of structural and peacekeeping operations on the global scale. It has become a component of German security policy in the area of crisis prevention. In 1994, the Economic Cooperation and Development Minister of the time, Carl-Dieter Spranger, relegated the concept of refugee policy to development cooperation. Apart from preventing the root causes of refugee migration, the policy underlined the need to alleviate the negative impact of refugees on host developing countries and support the process of return to and reintegration in the countries of origin.³⁰ In office since December 2013, the current Minister of Economic Cooperation and Development, Gerd Müller (CSU), goes back to those

²⁶ Data on asylum seekers registered after arriving in Germany have not been published since mid-2018.

²⁷ Based on the annual statistical reports on asylum applications in the EU (2015–2019), <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/> [accessed: 10.02.2021].

²⁸ R. Konle-Seidl, p. 8, 15; 'Asylstatistik Österreich 2020', <https://www.migration-infografik.at/at-asylstatistiken-2020/#herkunftsstaaten> [accessed: 10.03.2021].

²⁹ See more: P. Dann, *The Law of Development Cooperation. A Comparative Analysis of the World Bank, the EU and Germany*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2013, p. 164–169.

³⁰ BMZ, *Konzept Flüchtlingspolitik im Rahmen der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit*, Bonn 1994 (BMZ aktuell, No. 040).

assumptions, as the main objective has been to link German humanitarian engagement with structural support for the development of the host countries and the reintegration of refugees.³¹

Overcoming the problem of refugee flows has the highest priority in German development policy.³² As a response to emerging challenges, the BMZ launched three initiatives in 2014: 1) *Tackling the Root Causes of Displacement, Reintegrating Refugees*, 2) *Stabilization and Development in the Middle East and North Africa*, and 3) *One World – No Hunger*.³³ The first project provides emergency assistance to refugees and host countries to prevent poverty, inequality, and food insecurity. The goal of development cooperation is to create opportunities for refugees and develop the infrastructure and potential of the host communities. The second initiative promotes peace, economic stability, and democracy. The third project aims at eliminating hunger and malnutrition by creating employment opportunities, generating income in rural areas, securing land rights, and protecting natural resources. All initiatives bring up three elements that are essential in overcoming the refugee crisis: overcoming the root causes of refugee flows, stabilizing host regions, and supporting displaced and returning refugees.³⁴

In 2016, ca. three billion euros were spent on reducing the principal causes of refugee migration and providing support to refugees and host communities.³⁵ In 2018, the amount reached 4.4 billion euros. The initiative *Tackling the Root Causes of Displacement, Reintegrating Refugees* provided resources to support the initial host regions, including Lebanon, Iraq, Jordan, Pakistan, and Uganda. It has covered over 7 million affected people since 2014. The main objective of the BMZ is to prevent conflicts from spreading to these countries.³⁶ In an interview with *Die Welt* in June 2014, Müller points out that the remaining 27 EU countries must also take responsibility for refugees. At the same time, refugees should receive support in neighbouring host countries which would facilitate the process of an eventual return to their homeland. Moreover, the refugee issue should become a priority in European

³¹ BMZ, *Die neue Politik des BMZ. 100-Tage-Bilanz von Bundesentwicklungsminister Dr. Gerd Müller*, <http://www.pressebox.de/attachment/655827/28+Anl+100+Tage+Bilanz.pdf>, B. Schraven, 'Tackling the Root Causes of Displacement. The German Discourse', *Notes de l'Ifri*, No. 146, March 2019, p. 24–25, https://www.ifri.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/ndc_146_b_schraven_root-causes_of_displacement_march_2019.pdf [accessed: 25.02.2021].

³² BMZ, *Deutsche Entwicklungszusammenarbeit wirkt*, 07/2020, p. 5, https://www.bmz.de/de/mediathek/publikationen/reihen/infobroschueren_flyer/flyer/Flyer_EZ_wirkt.pdf [accessed: 25.02.2021].

³³ BMZ, *Fluchtursachen mindern – Aufnahmeregionen stabilisieren – Flüchtlinge unterstützen*, https://www.bmz.de/de/themen/Sonderinitiative-Fluchtursachen-bekaempfen-Fluechtlinge-reintegrieren/deutsche_politik/index.jsp [accessed: 25.02.2021].

³⁴ BMZ, *Entwicklungspolitik als Zukunfts- und Friedenspolitik*, 15. *Entwicklungspolitischer Bericht der Bundesregierung*, 03/2017, p. 134, http://www.bmz.de/de/mediathek/publikationen/reihen/infobroschueren_flyer/infobroschueren/Materialie319_Entwicklungspolitischer_Bericht.pdf [accessed: 25.02.2021].

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

³⁶ BMZ, *Perspektive Heimat. Ein Programm für Bleibeperspektiven, Rückkehr und Reintegration*, BMZ Papier 05/2019, p. 3, https://www.bmz.de/de/mediathek/publikationen/reihen/strategiepaapiere/Strategiepapier470_05_2019.pdf [accessed: 25.02.2021].

development cooperation.³⁷ Germany is engaged in the countries neighbouring Syria, Yemen, North and West Africa, the Horn of Africa, South Sudan, the Western Balkans and Ukraine, Afghanistan, and Pakistan.

In 2016, Germany launched an employment drive for the Middle East and a *Cash for Work* program for refugees and host communities in Syria's neighbouring countries. The projects are funded by the initiative to overcome the primary causes of refugee migration and to foster (re)integration of refugees. *Cash for Work* projects operated in Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey with a budget of 200 million euros in 2016, 231 million euros in 2017, and 257 million euros in 2018. By the end of 2020, the initiative contributed to 88,800 new job places making *Cash for Work* the primary source of income for refugees. Between 2016 and 2020, the *Cash for Work* projects added more than 413,000 jobs.³⁸ Providing new workplaces in the host regions is the main objective of many initiatives since it reduces competition on the labour market, and consequently, tensions in local communities. All projects also encourage the participation of women in employment opportunities.

In 2016, the main areas of German engagement were the war-torn regions of the Middle East. Chancellor Angela Merkel promised 2.3 billion euros to aid the situation in and around Syria by 2018.³⁹ According to Gerd Müller, every euro invested in Syria was fifty times more effective than a euro spent in Germany.⁴⁰ The expenses toward refugees have not reduced the budget for other areas of development aid. Minister Müller emphasised that higher spending on refugees in Germany did not mean less funding for refugees in crisis-stricken regions. Investments in the countries of origin to create long-term prospects are twenty times more effective.

2017 marks the start of the *Perspektive Heimat* scheme with a budget of 61 million euros.⁴¹ The main objectives of the program are 1) creating prospects of life and future in partner countries through employment, 2) helping returnees with sustainable reintegration in their countries of origin, 3) reducing illegal migration and contributing to safe, orderly, and legal migration. According to this initiative, it is the way to link return and development.⁴² The program focuses on partner countries with a high proportion of immigrants obliged to leave Germany, such as Afghanistan, Egypt, Albania, Gambia, Ghana, Iraq, Kosovo, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Senegal, Serbia, and Tunisia. The core elements of the *Perspektive Heimat* program

³⁷ 'Hilfe für Flüchtlinge ausweiten. Interview mit Gerd Müller', *Welt*, 23. Juni 2014, <https://www.bundesregierung.de/breg-de/aktuelles/hilfe-fuer-fluechtlinge-ausweiten-400750> [accessed: 5.03.2021].

³⁸ BMZ, *Deutsche Entwicklungszusammenarbeit wirkt*, p. 5; BMZ, *Beschäftigungsoffensive Nahost. Cash for work*, März 2021, https://www.bmz.de/resource/blob/23390/25d145d2a51f72dafb-4946c2326e023c/BMZ163_BO_Nahost_CashForWork_A5_DT_210323_Screen_barrierefrei.pdf [accessed 10.03.2021].

³⁹ 'Germany pledges 2.3 billion euros in Syria aid through 2018', 4.02.2016, <https://www.dw.com/en/germany-pledges-23-billion-euros-in-syria-aid-through-2018/a-19026224> [accessed: 12.02.2021].

⁴⁰ Rede im Bundestag bei der Debatte zur Fluchtursachenbekämpfung, Juni 2016, Deutscher Bundestag, 18. Wahlperiode, 170. Sitzung, 12.06.2016, Plenarprotokoll 18/170, 16705.

⁴¹ BMZ, *Perspektive Heimat...*, p. 3.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 9.

are advice centres providing counsel on employment, migration, and reintegration, established in partner countries by *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit* (GIZ) in cooperation with local employment offices. As of January 2021, they operate in ten partner countries: Albania, Serbia, Kosovo, Tunisia, Morocco, Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal, Afghanistan, and Iraq.⁴³

Adopted in November 2016, the strategy and the action plan for migration and development⁴⁴ highlights the interconnection of active monitoring and shaping migration and refugee processes with the need to create favourable conditions for security and sustainable economic development in affected countries. The strategy assumes that the tools of foreign, internal, development, economic, educational and research policies are complementary to those in the countries of refugee origin. Another emphasis is placed on the cooperation at the EU and international levels to decrease the need for migration and curb refugee and illegal flows. The strategic objectives and guidelines are to reduce the root causes of refugee and illegal migration, protect and support refugees in host countries, use the potential of legal migration and actively shape and control migration processes, support returnees, and promote reintegration in the countries of origin.⁴⁵

German development cooperation is understood as one of the elements of a coherent, comprehensive approach. Apart from linking internal affairs, economy, and security, it also takes into account the implications for the labour market and social policy. To effectively shape and control migration processes and refugee prevention, the cooperation with major host, origin, and transit countries must be enhanced. This pertains especially to the hot spots between West Sahel and Afghanistan, main migration routes, Syria's neighbouring countries, and Turkey.⁴⁶ In 2016, Germany dedicated ca. 7 million euros to control and shape migration processes in host, origin, and transit states.⁴⁷ Development cooperation plays a key role in addressing the structural causes of refugee and illegal migration. The root causes include severe human rights abuses, bad governance, corruption, discrimination, lawlessness, high birth rates, consequences of climate change, food insecurity, and barriers to economic development. German development policy focuses on economic and political support in the countries of origin through investments and creating employment opportunities. For instance, the *Employment for Sustainable Development in Africa* program promotes the establishment of public-private partnerships in the natural resource sector and agriculture. Adopted in 2017,

⁴³ 'Berufliche Perspektiven in der Heimat', https://www.giz.de/de/mit_der_giz_arbeiten/68352.html [accessed: 20.02.2021].

⁴⁴ Die Bundesregierung, *Strategie für Migration und Entwicklung – Aktionsplan für die Außendimension der Migrations- und Flüchtlingspolitik*, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/blob/216858/6c2b8d-4f6eb95c507f0b6244d8cc32e1/migrationentwicklung-data.pdf> [accessed: 20.02.2021].

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3–4.

⁴⁶ German assistance in Jordan provided one million refugees with access to clean water, and 80,000 with electricity. By funding almost 22,000 teachers, over 580,000 Syrian children received education, BMZ, *Deutsche Entwicklungszusammenarbeit wirkt*, p. 5. German contribution to the EU Facility for Refugees in Turkey, which has a budget of 3 billion Euros, is 21%, *ibid.*, p. 8.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

the Marshall Plan with Africa is a “conceptual umbrella and a strategic framework for African policy.”⁴⁸ The main priority is to create new employment opportunities for young Africans, which is essential to ensure peace, security, and better living conditions.⁴⁹ Drawing from the ongoing cooperation, the Marshall Plan has three pillars 1) economic activity, trade and employment, 2) peace, security, and stability, 3) democracy, rule of law, and human rights. Projects implemented in African partner countries received ca. 2.3 billion euros in 2019 as part of the BMZ’s bilateral cooperation.⁵⁰ There is also a new form of cooperation known as reform partnerships (*Reformpartnerschaften*), whose main objective is to improve the structural conditions of the private sector and create new jobs and income sources for young Africans. The funds are directed towards initiatives that promote reforms in these countries. Germany has established partnerships with six states: Tunisia, Ghana, Côte d’Ivoire, Ethiopia, Morocco, and Senegal.⁵¹

In the paragraph on refugee policy, the coalition agreement between the CDU/CSU and the SPD of 12 March 2018, emphasizes that the government wants to fight the causes of the refugee crisis and not refugees themselves.⁵² The first step is to improve development cooperation.⁵³ The main objective is to create opportunities for the future, encourage the return of refugees, and support host countries. This is the key goal of the *Cash for Work* scheme.⁵⁴

The case of Austria

Development cooperation is a component of Austrian foreign policy. The Federal Ministry for European and Foreign Affairs (MFA) and the Austrian Development Agency (ADA) are responsible for its coordination and implementation.⁵⁵ ADA administers the application of all bilateral programs and projects in partner countries. The Federal Law on Development Cooperation of 2002 (amended in 2003) defines the priorities of Austrian Official Development Assistance. Three-year programs,⁵⁶ adopted by the Austrian cabinet, determine specific objectives of ODA. The programs define the topical and geographic orientation of bilateral operations under

⁴⁸ BMZ, *Der Marshallplan mit Afrika in der Umsetzung*, 01/2020, p. 15, https://www.bmz.de/de/mediathek/publikationen/reihen/infobroschueren_flyer/infobroschueren/Materialie460_Marshallplan_Umsetzung.pdf [accessed: 20.02.2021].

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁵² *Ein neuer Aufbruch für Europa. Eine neue Dynamik für Deutschland. Ein neuer Zusammenhalt für unser Land*, Koalitionsvertrag zwischen CDU, CSU und SPD, 19. Legislaturperiode, <https://www.bundesregierung.de/resource/blob/975226/847984/5b8bc23590d4cb2892b31c987ad-672b7/2018-03-14-koalitionsvertrag-data.pdf?download=1> [accessed: 10.02.2021].

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

⁵⁵ Sektion VII – Entwicklung, <https://www.bmeia.gv.at/das-ministerium/geschaefteinteilung/> [accessed: 12.02.2021].

⁵⁶ Dreijahresprogramm der Österreichischen Entwicklungspolitik, <https://www.entwicklung.at/mediathek/publikationen/strategische-dokumente> [accessed: 12.02.2021].

the Austrian development cooperation. In 2016–2018 and 2019–2021, the goals of the 2030 Agenda⁵⁷ largely determined the such initiatives.

Austrian foreign policy traditionally supports efforts to respond to global threats and challenges.⁵⁸ One of the core Austrian identity factors in the international arena is the policy of neutrality established by a constitutional act in 1955. According to the document, the active international policy serves the best interest of any neutral state.⁵⁹ As a medium-sized European state, Austria builds its national security upon a strong, effective, and rule-based multilateral system. For over two decades, Austria's international involvement has been focused on the surrounding countries. It also actively participates in international crisis management and peace-keeping efforts within international organizations, especially the United Nations.

In response to the significant refugee influx in 2015 and 2016, Austria undertook many remedial actions. They included the review of legal and organizational regulations related to the integration of asylum-seekers, restrictions of access to the labour market,⁶⁰ and limiting asylum applications.

Claiming the third position in the number of legal migrants in the EU (ca. 16% of the population was born abroad), Austria supports establishing a global policy framework to regulate migration. Its support is determined by the distinction between ensuring international protection on the one hand and legal and illegal migration on the other. As one of twelve states, Austria abstained from the vote on the adoption of the Global Pact for Safe, Orderly and Legal Migration,⁶¹ fearing that such agreement could eventually lead to recognition of a human right to migration. Moreover, the negative image of migration promoted by the media and the reports of incidents involving immigrants, e.g. in Cologne, Germany, increased the sense of threat in Austrian society, which, in turn, led to polarization.⁶² The 2016 report by the Migration Council for Austria states that this situation presents unprecedented challenges for the state and society as a whole. The authors of the report stress that social peace and social cohesion in Austria and Europe are under threat.⁶³

⁵⁷ *Akteure der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit*, <https://www.entwicklung.at/akteure> [accessed: 12.02.2021].

⁵⁸ Zusammen. Für unser Österreich. Regierungsprogramm 2017–2022, https://www.oeh.ac.at/sites/default/files/files/pages/regierungsprogramm_2017-2022.pdf, p. 22–25 [accessed 12.02.2021].

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 22

⁶⁰ Only for seasonal work, R. Konle-Seidl, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

⁶¹ 152 countries were for, 5 countries were against, and 12 countries abstained, see more: 'General Assembly Endorses First-Ever Global Compact on Migration, Urging Cooperation among Member States in Protecting Migrants', GA/12113, 19 December 2018, <https://www.un.org/press/en/2018/ga12113.doc.htm> [accessed: 12.02.2021].

⁶² Migration Council for Austria, *Report by the Migration Council: Understanding Migration – Managing Migration*, p. 55, https://bmi.gv.at/Downloads/files/Bericht_des_Migrationsrats_PDF_komplett_ENG_23_3_17.pdf [accessed: 12.02.2021].

⁶³ *Ibid.*; The Expert Council for Integration, *Integration report 2017: Evaluating refugee integration – Refocussing on regular integration*, p. 3–4, https://www.bmeia.gv.at/fileadmin/user_upload/Zentrale/Integration/Integrationsbericht_2017/Integration_Report_2017.pdf [accessed: 12.02.2021].

Eurobarometer opinion polls of autumn 2016 confirm a higher percentage of opponents of refugee aid in Austria (28%) than in Germany (10%).⁶⁴

The most recent DAC review of Austrian development cooperation from 2020⁶⁵ highlights Austria's growing importance for long-term conflict prevention, reflected in strategies that bring together security and development. ADA has developed concept papers discussing the issues of development cooperation in fragile regions, food security, climate change, and the role of gender in armed conflicts, among others.⁶⁶ Since 2006, risk analysis has been mandatory for all development cooperation projects in Austria as part of the programming cycle regardless of the level of fragility of lack thereof.

With an unprecedented increase in internal refugee costs in 2015 and 2016, Austria began to link development cooperation with a migration agenda. While before 2015, strategic documents did not mention forced resettlement and migration, it became a priority in the three-year program for 2016–2018. Apart from developing specific tools and migration programs, Austria enhanced its support for multilateral channels, responding to mixed migration flows. The channels included the International Development Association (IDA), the Madad Fund, which is the EU Regional Trust Fund in Response to the Syrian Crisis, and the European Union Emergency Trust Fund for stability and addressing root causes of irregular migration and displaced persons in Africa (EUTF for Africa).

The goals of the Austrian development policy were “poverty reduction, the promotion of human rights, rule of law and democracy, securing peace, environmental protection and gender equality and also providing effective support for education and strengthening inclusive and sustainable economic development.”⁶⁷ Development policy is understood as “an imperative of shared responsibility, [...] an investment in freedom and security for the benefit of us all in a globalised world.”⁶⁸ Development cooperation aims at creating prospects and opportunities in partner countries for everyone concerned. “By promoting a rule-of-law regime, adequate educational chances and sustainable economic development, it makes contributions to improving the local political, economic and social conditions. This way, it also lays the foundation for ensuring that migration is a voluntary mobility option that can be managed to the mutual benefit of the home and destination countries and help achieve development policy goals. With refugees and internally displaced persons reaching record figures worldwide and not least the mounting influx of refugees to Europe, this has become a particularly pressing issue.”⁶⁹ The 2016–2018

⁶⁴ R. Konle-Seidl, *op. cit.*, p. 26–27.

⁶⁵ *OECD Development Co-operation Peer Reviews: Austria 2020*, <https://www.oecd.org/austria/oecd-development-co-operation-peer-reviews-austria-2020-03b626d5-en.htm> [accessed: 10.03.2021].

⁶⁶ *Strategien und Fokuspapiere*, <https://www.entwicklung.at/mediathek/publikationen/strategien-und-fokuspapiere> [accessed: 10.03.2021].

⁶⁷ *Dreijahresprogramm der österreichischen Entwicklungspolitik 2016–2018*, p. 10, https://www.entwicklung.at/fileadmin/user_upload/Dokumente/Publikationen/3_JP/2016-2018_Dreijahresprogramm.pdf [accessed: 10.03.2021].

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

program lists migration among other main areas of interest for Austrian development cooperation, such as peace, human rights, and democracy. The main fields of activity as regards migration include improving living conditions by creating income opportunities and adequate conditions for a sustainable economy, cooperating with partner states to promote rule of law and good governance, especially in relations to policies that are affected by migration such as labour-market, as well as social and mobility policy, supporting peace and tolerance to curb extremism and radicalisation, and cooperating at the EU and UN levels.⁷⁰ The geographical areas that receive the highest priority are Western Balkans (Kosovo, Albania) Black Sea Region/South Caucasus (Georgia, Armenia, Moldova), Occupied Palestinian Territories, West Africa and Sahel (Burkina Faso), East Africa and Horn of Africa (Uganda, Ethiopia), Southern Africa (Mozambique), Himalayas-Hindu Kush (Bhutan), and the Caribbean. As regards migration policy, development cooperation contributes to eliminating the causes of forced flight and illegal migration, such as violations of human rights, conflicts, environmental threats, unemployment, and extreme poverty.⁷¹

The 2017–2022 scheme, launched by Sebastian Kurz's government,⁷² identifies the migration crisis in recent years as one of the critical challenges directly influencing national security. Issues like terrorism, the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, and the situation in the Middle East and North Africa follow the problem of migration. Effective development policy should, first and foremost, support affected populations and help to create prospects for the future in their country of origin. Development policy is also a tool to strengthen Austria's national interest, especially by preventing migration flows.⁷³ Nevertheless, the main area of development cooperation should be the fight against extreme poverty, which follows the UN principles. Moreover, the new three-year development cooperation program should consider the problem of migration as determining topical and regional priorities.

To prevent and reduce migration, Austria calls for more effective protection of the external EU borders. It also advocates the strengthening of cooperation between the member states and Frontex and ensuring public order and security in Austria by introducing internal border controls. According to the official rhetoric, using all means to provide border security is essential until the external European borders are sufficiently protected.⁷⁴ Moreover, the government confirmed its decision to continue to enhance Austrian contribution to international operations, especially along the EU's external borders, the Western Balkans, North Africa and the main migratory routes into the EU. Some of the priorities of the Austrian presidency of the EU Council in the second half of 2018 were the external aspects of migration, the effective cooperation with the countries of origin and transit to limit illegal migration, the fight against human trafficking, creating sustainable protection

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁷² *Zusammen. für unser Österreich. Regierungsprogramm 2017–2022*, https://www.oeh.ac.at/sites/default/files/files/pages/regierungsprogramm_2017-2022.pdf [accessed: 12.02.2021].

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

capacities in the affected regions, as well as securing the process of return, readmission and reintegration.⁷⁵

Considering the complexity of the issue, the Austrian government assumes that creating economic possibilities in the countries of origin is the answer to the root causes of migration. While immigrants are not usually the poorest members of the population, other factors such as violation of human rights and social inequality might generate the urge to leave their home country. In 2016, ADA produced a concept document devoted to migration and development,⁷⁶ which explains the importance of migration and forced relocations for development cooperation. Following the premises of the 2030 Agenda, the core objective of ADA is to “maximise the potentials of linking migration and development and to minimize related risks.”⁷⁷ Austria’s engagement focuses on the development needs of the partner states and the commitment to individual human rights. Whether they are the countries of origin, or they can curb the influx of immigrants to Europe themselves, is irrelevant. However, ADA can contribute to „tackling the root causes of forced migration and displacement, such as armed conflict, natural disasters, environmental dynamics, famine, discrimination of ethnic, religious or sexual minorities, persons with disabilities etc. by supporting measures for resilience, social protection and social inclusion.”⁷⁸ An example of the engagement of Austria’s development aid is the project *Back home – and now? Sustainable reintegration of returnees and vulnerable families in Kosovo* carried out in cooperation with the Austrian Caritas from 1 December 2015 to 30 November 2017.⁷⁹ Austria has committed to donating 8.1 million euros to help Palestinian refugees under the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East in 2020–2022.⁸⁰

Following the premises of the coalition agreement for 2017–2022, the Austrian concept of development cooperation, adopted for the years 2019–2021, should agree with the “responsible migration policy.”⁸¹ The focus on migration is reflected in the notion to provide aid to the countries of origin, which would reduce the structural causes of refugee and illegal migration. Austrian development cooperation was to follow the so-called triple approach (“Trio-Ansatz”), which consists of 1) law-abiding structures and good governance, 2) vocational training and capacity building, especially among the youth, 3) building a private sector which would

⁷⁵ Programme for the Austrian Presidency of the Council of the EU, p. 20, <https://www.eu2018.at/dam/jcr:52862976-3848-403e-a38a-6aac8bcbe34d/Programme%20of%20the%20Austrian%20Presidency.PDF> [accessed: 12.02.2021].

⁷⁶ ADA, Focus Paper on Migration and Development, October 2016, https://www.entwicklung.at/fileadmin/user_upload/Dokumente/Publikationen/Fokuspapiere/Englisch/Focus_on_Migration_and_Development_Oct2016.pdf [accessed: 10.03.2021].

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁸⁰ ‘Nahost: Österreich unterstützt Palästina-Flüchtlinge mit 8,1 Millionen Euro’, <https://www.entwicklung.at/ada/aktuelles/detail/nahost-oesterreich-unterstuetzt-palaestina-fluechtlinge-mit-81-millionen-euro> [accessed: 12.02.2021].

⁸¹ Dreijahresprogramm der österreichischen Entwicklungspolitik 2019–2021, p. 7, https://www.entwicklung.at/fileadmin/user_upload/Dokumente/Publikationen/3_JP/2019-2021_Dreijahresprogramm.pdf [accessed: 12.02.2021].

include economic partnerships / industrialization, as well as technological development/advance.⁸²

Conclusions

German and Austrian development assistance is the major area of external activity that brings together national interests and the readiness to shape global processes inspired by humanitarian ideas. Though delayed in Austria and stronger in Germany, both countries' initiatives in developing countries have become core elements of shaping global structural policy and a preventive internal and external security strategy. Development policy is, thus, understood as conflict prevention and peace-building policy. The clear increase in ODA was a response to the massive influx of immigrants in 2015. The challenges that exerted political pressure on the government determined the amount of official development assistance. The issues of migration and refugees were not part of Austrian development policy before 2015. On the other hand, in Germany, the preventive role of security policy has been tied to development cooperation since the 1990s. The migrant crisis highlighted the importance of development cooperation and its role in preventing illegal migration and sources of refugee flows. The postulates to connect the mechanisms of controlling migration flows with humanitarian values are reflected in German and Austrian public opinion. On the one hand, the main idea is to prevent the situation from 2015 from reoccurring, on the other, there is clear potential in controlled migration, especially concerning the labour market demands in Germany.

While the scale and involvement of Germany are greater, development assistance in both countries has aimed at overcoming the structural and immediate causes of the refugee crisis, which resulted from the instability of developing countries. There is also a strong need to support the host communities, reintegration, and social and political stabilization in partner countries. The common assumption is that in order to prevent the sources of refugee and illegal migration, the countries of origin, of transit, and all members of the international community must work in solidarity.

Development policy becomes a legitimised tool of protection against immigrants by linking the need to overcome the root causes of the refugee crisis with integrating refugees in the transit countries. It is an argument used by NGOs engaged in development cooperation. In their opinion, it is not simply a way to instrumentalize aid for European security but also to discredit it. It means that the expectations of development assistance are set too high.⁸³ There is no possibility to entirely stop or even control migratory flows. Through long-term improvement of living conditions, development cooperation can only reduce the number of those leaving their countries of origin due to the lack of prospects and participation in political life. Migration itself is not a problem but rather living in undignified conditions

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁸³ Deutsche Welthungerhilfe, terre des hommes Deutschland, *Kompass 2030 – Walk the Talk, der 25. Bericht „Die Wirklichkeit der Entwicklungspolitik“ 2017*, p. 17–18, <https://www.welthungerhilfe.de/fileadmin/pictures/publications/de/studies-analysis/2017-publikation-kompass2030.pdf> [accessed: 10.03.2021].

is, since it leaves an increasing amount of people with no alternative. One must fight the causes, not the symptoms, by promoting peace and preventing conflicts. These should be a political priority rather than an internal political interest. Development cooperation should be implemented not just to protect borders but, first and foremost, to ensure a dignified life and further enhance political participation.

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Pomoc rozwojowa w przewyżczeniu źródłowych przyczyn migracji – powiązanie kwestii rozwoju i bezpieczeństwa na przykładzie Niemiec i Austrii

Streszczenie

Artykuł omawia swoistą fuzję polityki migracyjnej, bezpieczeństwa i rozwojowej w Niemczech i Austrii w kontekście kryzysu migracyjnego, jaki dotknął Europę w latach 2015–2016, poprzez dogłębną analizę treści i dyskursów zawartych w kluczowych dokumentach dotyczących kierunków i obszarów kształtowania polityki obu państw. W artykule postawiono tezę, że pomoc rozwojowa ma za zadanie sprostać ryzyku, które w długiej perspektywie może osłabić bezpieczeństwo narodowe darczyńców; można to uczynić poprzez podjęcie stosownych działań, które wyeliminują strukturalne przyczyny migracji przymusowej i niuregulowanej. W części poświęconej podsumowaniu i wnioskom przedstawiono pokrótce główne wyniki badań przeprowadzonych na potrzeby artykułu.

Słowa kluczowe: polityka rozwojowa Niemiec, polityka rozwojowa Austrii, koszty przyjmowania uchodźców wewnątrz krajów darczyńców, Oficjalna Pomoc Rozwojowa (ODA), powiązanie migracja – rozwój, powiązanie bezpieczeństwo – migracja – rozwój, analiza porównawcza

Addressing the Root Causes of Migration through Development Aid as a Security-Development Nexus: A Case Study of Germany and Austria

Abstract

This paper examines Germany's and Austria's merging of migration, security and development in the context of the European migrant crisis 2015/2016 through content and discourse analyses of key German and Austrian development policy documents. It argues that development aid is expected to manage long-term risks to the national security of donors by addressing the structural causes of forced and irregular migration. The concluding section synthesizes the key findings of the research paper.

Key words: German development policy, Austrian development policy, in-donor refugee costs, official development assistance (ODA), the migration-development nexus, the security-migration-development nexus, comparative analysis

*Entwicklungshilfe zur Überwindung von Hauptursachen
der Migration: Entwicklung und Sicherheit am Fallbeispiel
Deutschland und Österreich*
Zusammenfassung

Der Artikel erörtert die besondere Verknüpfung von Migrations-, Sicherheits- und Entwicklungspolitik in Deutschland und Österreich im Kontext der europäischen Migrationskrise 2015–2016. Anhand von Schlüsseldokumenten werden Inhalte, Diskurse und Bereiche der Politikgestaltung analysiert. Es wird die These vertreten, dass die Entwicklungshilfe das Risiko beinhaltet, die nationale Sicherheit der Geberländer langfristig zu schwächen. Das kann durch Maßnahmen verhindert werden, die die strukturellen Ursachen der erzwungenen und irregulären Migration angehen. Die wichtigsten Ergebnisse der Forschungsarbeit werden in Schlussfolgerungen zusammengefasst.

Schlüsselwörter: Deutsche Entwicklungspolitik, Österreichische Entwicklungspolitik, Kosten der Flüchtlingspolitik, Offizielle Entwicklungshilfe (ODA), Verknüpfung von Migration und Entwicklung, Verknüpfung von Sicherheit, Migration und Entwicklung, vergleichende Analyse

*Помощь в преодолении основных причин миграции –
взаимосвязь вопросов развития и безопасности.
На примере Германии и Австрии*
Резюме

В статье рассматривается проблема слияния миграционной политики, политики безопасности и политики развития в Германии и Австрии в контексте миграционного кризиса, который затронул Европу в 2015–2016 годах, на основе анализа содержания основных документов, касающихся направлений и областей формирования политики обоих государств. В исследовании выдвигается тезис о том, что в долгосрочной перспективе помощь в развитии, должна нивелировать риск ослабления национальной безопасности Германии и Австрии. Эту задачу можно решить путем устранения структурных причин вынужденной и нерегулируемой миграции. В заключительной части статьи представлены основные результаты и выводы исследования.

Ключевые слова: политика в области развития Германии, политика в области развития Австрии, расходы государств на прием беженцев, Официальная помощь в целях развития (ОПР), связь между миграцией и развитием, связь между безопасностью, миграцией и развитием, сравнительный анализ