

# MIGRATION AS SECURITY ISSUE - NEW CHALLENGES AND RISKS OF STATES

**Goran ZENDELOVSKI**  
**Sergej CVETKOVSKI**

Faculty of Philosophy – Institute of Security, Defense and Peace  
goranz@fzf.ukim.edu.mk

## **Abstract**

The phenomenon of migration is as old as human history. The reasons for migration were numerous. Some of them were voluntary and others were forced. As in the past, today it is intensively approaching the explanation of migration, with some glorifying it, and others marginalizing it. Migration processes are continually linked to current contemporary social, political, economic, social, cultural and security developments.

In certain countries and regions, the question arises as to whether migration brings them development, stagnation, stability or insecurity? The effects of international migration can be interpreted in many ways. On the one hand, the dynamics of the economic processes of globalization have increased mobility of people, capital and services that have enabled people to improve their economic status, to gain a higher level of education and better health care services. On the other hand, there are assurances that migration is one of the global issues that led to fundamental changes and the creation of new structures and a different development of international relations in the world.

The migration processes have increased the risks and threats to national and regional security. Trinity migration, security and globalization are closely linked to the emergence of conflicts, hunger, poverty, climate change, economic crises and political repression. In particular, current migration movements with religious and fundamentalist content were trigger for deterioration the security situation in foreign countries. Due to the security implications of migration, the perception of security in many countries has changed, and political nationalist movements have been formed, whose views have been directed to protecting from the waves of migrants.

**Key words:** Migration, Security implications, Risks, States.

## **Introduction**

The unequal distribution and prevalence of the economic aspects of globalization have led to the emergence of migration movements. Today international migration is considered one of the larger consequences of globalization that has changed the image of contemporary relations between states, regions and the world as a whole. Because of the rapid and dynamic changes that bring new and often unpredictable risks and dangers, migration is considered a high priority issue by states, international organizations, non-governmental organizations and the wider public around the world.

After the Cold War, migration is often represented in security agendas and is interpreted as a serious security issue for people in the countries of destination, and in the countries of origin, but also as a challenge that affects the stability and prosperity of the

countries. Especially, when it comes to its management, the possible consequences for national and regional security, the need for coordination and cooperation between actors at national and international level.

The questions are what kind of migration is a security threat? Does migration threatens the state (national security) or people (human security)? Which states are threatened by migration movements? Of course, there are states, peoples and groups who are satisfied and those who are affected by the way of its manifestation. As a very dynamic and asymmetrical phenomenon, migration for some contributed to prosperity and welfare, but for others created stagnation, scepticism, and a series of problems.

Hence, the effects of international migration can be interpreted in many ways. On the one hand, it contributes to the cohesion, the achievement of better living standard, building a new identity and freedom of choice. On the other hand, there is scepticism in the sense that the contemporary processes of globalization allow only the free movement of the capital, trade and transactions, but is an unequal process when it comes to the movement of people and the freedom of choice as an element of individual human rights.

### **The Process of Securitization of Migration**

The traditional concept of security which was been related with the military sector now has been expanded with new categories that relate to the societal, economic, and political dimensions (Buzan, 1983). The expanding the concept of security with new content has contributed to addressing issues that include poverty, international migration and the environment as security risks and threats. As in the past, the state remains the standard unit for security and defense and is responsible to protect the territorial integrity and sovereignty, population, economic interests, culture and identity. The security does not apply only to the protection from an external military threat, but also to the risks and threats for the political and economic and social well-being of the people and the state. However, the post-modern states have a limited choice in defining national interests and security policies as a result of crossing of national and international processes. The state is forced to minimize national security policy in the context of international security policy and is expected to have a more complex, pluralistic and decentralized role in the field of security. The success of post-modern states should be based exclusively on openness and transnational cooperation due to differences in economic development, state resources, demographic opportunities, and the intensity of external international pressure, where the borders should be less important (Kuper, 2007).

As a consequence of the liberalization and collapse of the borders, dramatic changes occurred. So, the question is whether the openness and free movement of people can leave security implications on the contemporary state and international order? The answer to the question is in the migration term, which it represents “the movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border, or within a State. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes. It includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification” (IOM, 2018).

According to this definition, there are different categories that can be treated as security challenges for states. First, it relates to the type of migration, which means that a distinction should be made between legal and illegal migration. When considering the relation of migration and security, the focus of attention is directed towards illegal migration or irregular migration, which is defined as “movement that takes place outside the regulatory

norms of the sending, transit and receiving countries” (World Migration Report, 2017). Second, there is a broad categorization of migrants from refugees, displaced persons, asylum seekers, to economic migrants, and it is unclear which category of migrants is a threat to national security.

The nexus migration - security is very complex when viewed through the opposed approaches to national and human security. The debates are divided by the question whose security, that is, whether the priority is the security of the state or the security of the humans? (Wohlfeld, 2014).

*Koser* argues that migration is being used to justify greater surveillance, border controls, detention, deportation and more restrictive policies by states. However, these restrictive measures and controls contribute to the refusal of asylum seekers and access to safe countries, causing more migrants to find themselves in the hands of migrant smugglers and human traffickers, and contribute to an increased anti-immigration tendency in the public and the media. Also, the negative perception of migration is that in most cases it links with terrorism, organized crime, spreading infectious diseases, weapons and drugs trafficking and others. According to the concept of human security, migrants should not be criminalized and placed in a worse security position, because it will create conditions for insecurity in the society, and that can lead to the emergence of a migration crisis. For this reason, non-governmental organizations and international organizations take care of the rights, protection and status of migrants and contribute to better conditions in the settlement countries (*Koser*, 2011).

Migration has always played the role of a social, political, economic and security valve rather than a threat to national security. But over time, international migration has become a threat to the security of immigrant receiving countries, although this is not a threat of a military nature (*Waever*, 1993). It is due to its massive phenomenon. In 1990, there were 153 million migrants in the world (which accounted for 2.9% of the world's population), and at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, this number increased to 173 million migrants. While in 2017, the total number of international migrants reached up to 258 million people, who were about 3.4% of the world's population (International Migration Report, 2017). Compared to 1990, the number of international migrants has increased by more than 100 million people.

The increased dynamics after the Cold War contributed to the securitization of migration. Particularly refers to the intensity of illegal migration, which according to the United Nations is between 30 and 40 million people, or between 15 and 20 percent of the total number of international migrants in the world (International Council on Human Rights Policy, 2010).

Namely, the perception of migration as a security threat is a consequence of the following: (1) rapid increase in the number of international migrations as a result of the unequal distribution of the economic aspects of globalization which contributed to the free movement of people, capital, and services globally, and this has increased the flows of illegal migration; (2) imported conflicts from migrants contributed to the emergence of violence and secessionism in the host countries; (3) the increased number of terrorist attacks in the host countries, polarized the societies on “us” and “them”, linking migrants with terrorists; (4) “the war on terror” and military interventions in the countries of the South were a trigger for the internationalization of threats and the massive flow of migrants and refugees.

## Security consequences of migration

The trinity of security, migration and globalization is closely related to the emergence of conflicts, hunger, poverty, climate change, the standard of living, economic crises, and political repressions that forcefully or not, have contributed to the transfer of a large number of people around the world. Therefore, national policies and international migration are always in the middle of confrontations, between the low level of fertility, respect of human rights, the need for cheap labor force, and on the other side, unemployment, social issues, cultural changes, xenophobia and national security. This conflict is more pronounced at the level of states and regions.

But, there is contradiction on this issue. On the one hand, highly developed countries are pushing the governments of developing countries to reduce or prevent migration, whereby fueling the passions and create tensions between the host country and the country of origin. On the other hand, with the globalization processes, many countries are rapidly became multiethnic, thanks to the open liberal migration policy, which in many cases proved to be a dangerous undertaking. This is confirmed by the increased number of terrorist attacks, ethnic tensions and conflicts as a result of neglect in societies or the non-fulfillment of their rights, indicating that they could be affected by fragmentation.

Parallel to this, xenophobia and nationalism in developed countries have increased as a response to “job theft”, an increase in unemployment, a disruption of state welfare, jeopardize of national security by the migrants. Such accusations always have a chain reaction, for example, Americans complain of Mexicans and almost all of Western Europe complains from the Africans and the Balkans. Often, in highly developed countries, migrants or foreign minorities were considered as the cause of insecurity, and therefore the state was asked to intervene through its “cleaning” mechanisms in order to get rid of the “excess of undesirable citizens” (Cirn, 2003).

The paradox is that during the Cold War developed countries blamed communist governments because they did not allow their citizens to migrate, and today, migration is preventing those countries that the most criticized this attitude. But, the tendency of migration to polarize society is greater in pluralist states, because more political actors are involved in protecting the rights of immigrants or in supporting anti-immigrant activities (Waever, 1993). As a consequence of the pressure of migrants and the increasing number of terrorist attacks in many European countries, political nationalist movements were formed whose views were directed at protecting against the waves of migrants. Extreme right-wing parties that profited from anti-immigration policies and the refugee crisis have almost conquered the whole of Europe. Such parties are the National Front in France, the National Alliance in Italy, the Freedom Party of Austria, the National Party in Switzerland, the Alternative for Germany, the Party of Anti-Islamic Freedom in the Netherlands, the Movement for Better Hungary, the Neo-Nazi Party in Greece, the People's Party - Our Slovakia, etc (Davis and Sweeney, 1999).

Hence, some countries of the First World, instead of strengthening the multicultural concept in their societies and seeking multilateral solutions to refugee crises, they have opted for isolationism, barriers and more stringent measures against migrants. The current refugee and humanitarian crisis (which is the largest since Second World War) has contributed to the creation of new boundaries that would ensure the order and stability of the states and regions. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, more than 40 countries worldwide have erected fences against more than 60 neighboring countries, and only 15 new walls have been built in 2015 (Munich Security Report, 2016:5). For example, the border wall between the United States and Mexico is estimated to reach 33 billion dollars, and so far the United States has spent more than 250 billion dollars on border security and immigration policies.

This phenomenon represents a “new racism” based on cultural differences and values imposed by the majority culture, forcing migrants to absorb a new culture, norms and regulations of the host country. This type of racism can be experienced in a different way in certain discriminated groups which can easily be “ignited” and cause chaos and disorder (Giddens, 2001). There are cases where migrants can be used by some countries as “political weapon” for the realization of their goals. Certain countries encourage migration in order to influence on their former territories, which can sometimes be a trigger for preventive military intervention. Or encouraging emigration in order to achieve cultural homogeneity or dominance of one ethnic community over another, as well as, colonizing the areas beyond the national borders, or destabilizing a neighboring state. For example, Russia has done this several times for the protection of its minorities inhabited in the former Soviet republics, or the act of the former President of Venezuela Hugo Chavez, who threatened the European countries that he would stop delivering oil if they did not change the policy towards the millions of Latin American immigrants. We consider that many countries are easily vulnerable to external influences, i.e. from the migration flows that caused economic and social tensions in societies due to the clash of different cultural and religious values.

### **The asymmetric migration as a new security issue**

During human history, the reasons for migration were numerous, some were voluntary and others were forced. The theory of migration elaborates the “push” and “pull” factors of migration. The push factors refer to the dynamics of relations in sending countries that have forced people to evict, such as war, hunger, political repression, etc. On the other hand, pull factors relate to recipient countries whose policies are aimed at extracting migrants from the other countries, due to a better living standard, social issues, low level of population, etc. (Giddens, 2001). Due to the changing economic, political and cultural relations between the states, these factors will be an indicator in the future for increasing the migration waves, and thus the perception of security will change from one state to another.

The question arises in which direction the international migrations will take place and for which countries they will present a security risk and a threat? So far, the migration and security debates have focused on the challenges and threats to developed countries as recipients of migrants, and less talked about the possible implications of migration to developing countries and transit countries as a destination of migrants.

The result of migrations is the constantly changing the demographic picture of the countries and regions in the world. Its asymmetry contributes to greater polarization between the North and the South. The demographic deficit in the North and the demographic expansion and economic stagnation of the South are considered the most complex security issues in international relations. Hence, the question is how to prevent the illegal mass migration from the South to the North?

The biggest migration movements originate from the African continent, whose population will double by 2050. This is confirmed by The President of the European Parliament, *Antonio Tajani*, who says that if they do not invest billions of euros and develop a long-term strategy for the stabilization of the continent, it is estimated that in the next ten years from 10 to 30 million immigrants will arrive in the European Union (Kern, 2017).

The division of the North and the South resembles the differentiation of power between globally rich and globally poor and describes the inequalities between these two categories. The blame lies in the neoliberal concept that has contributed to the economy to have an authoritative and dominant place in the social processes. Economic globalization has

produced two categories of societies, those which are open, characterized by greater social mobility, tolerance and free flow of people and services, and which have a democratic organization and other, closed societies that are traditional, hierarchical, socially inactive and autocratic.

This classification notes the differences between open societies stationed in the center and closed societies which are located on the periphery of the world, burdened with poverty, unemployment, conflict, anarchy and terror. At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, out of 200 sovereign states in the international system three quarters belonged to the periphery and faced with numerous anomalies in the development, in terms of authoritarian rule, isolation from the free market, etc. It is understandable that they are a threat to the world peace and security (Mandelbaum, 2004).

In this context, *Wallerstein* believes that there will be a conflict between the two hemispheres, where the South has developed three strategies for fight against the North: (1) affirmation of the need for radical change; (2) direct confrontation and (3) the transfer of population. The third strategy relates to migration, and the fact that the countries of the North do not have enough working-age population and can't meet the needs in their societies. They are faced with a demographic deficit and therefore they need immigrants from the countries of the South. In addition, it is expected that the migration waves from South to the North will be carried out in an illegal way, whereby, the North will be crowded with people who doesn't have political, economic and social rights. This will lead to new political difficulties and tensions between the two hemispheres, and by the way, would be created different relations within the North. As a result of the settled population from the South, would be created so-called South within the North (Wallerstein, 1995).

Certain data shows that migrations of the type South-South (across developing countries) are as numerous as those from the South to the North (from developing to developed countries). For example, in 2015, about 90 million migrants resided in other countries in the South, compared to 85 million people who were born in the South, but resided in countries in the North (IOM, 2018).

From an economic point of view, migrations are of enormous importance for the countries of the South. It is estimated that in 2015 worldwide remittance flows amounted to over 601 billion dollars, of which developing countries received about 441 billion dollars. (Migration and Remittances Factbook, 2016). However, from the aspect of national and human security, the management of migration is a huge security and economic challenge for the weaker states of the South than for the developed states of the North. Most of the illegal migrants are not able to arrive in highly developed countries, on the contrary, as their final destination, are the transit countries i.e. developing countries.

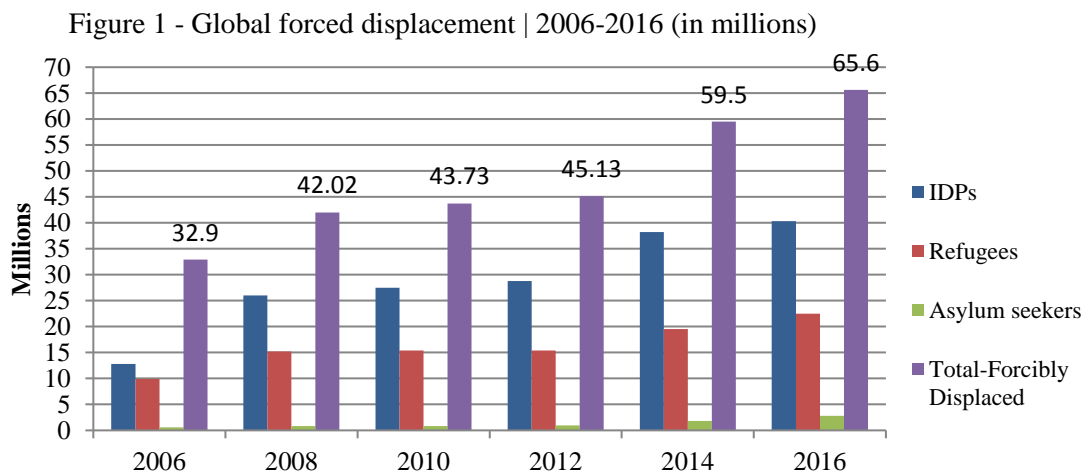
As in the past and today, the Mediterranean area is the most important route for entry of illegal migrants into the EU. About 90% of the irregular migrants arrive in the EU across its sea border. Because of this, the Mediterranean Sea is becoming one of the most militarized and patrolled areas in the world. Among the most affected member states of the Union are Italy, Spain and Greece, which recorded a high unemployment rate due to the immigrant population. According to the European Border and Coast Guard Agency (also known as Frontex), in 2016 the number of illegal border crossings was 511 371, which is 72% less compared to 2015, where there were 1.8 million illegal crossings (Risk Analysis, 2017). For this reason, the first line of defense of the EU is securing the external borders with the countries of the South that are burdened with armed conflicts, poor governance, social unrest, organized crime, high unemployment, dysfunctional societies and terrorist groups.

The difference between the North and the South is that the highly developed countries have the possibility to regulate the dynamics of the migration and the refugee crisis with financial resources. Over the past years, the European Union has invested across Europe and Africa in order to limit the flow of people into the Union. For example, EU financial assistance to refugees in Turkey was around 3 billion euros for the period from 2016 to 2017. Also, during the reign of Gaddafi, Italy was forced to invest about 5 billion euros annually in Libya (which is a key point for the entry of illegal migrants into the EU) in order to prevent the illegal migration from Africa to Europe (Raineri and Rossi, 2017).

The other security issue is the forced migration resulting from armed conflicts in Mali, Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, Ukraine, South Sudan, Yemen and others. Conflicts in the southern hemisphere have intensified illegal migration from Africa, Asia and the Middle East towards the developed countries of the North. The focus of the migrations is directed towards those countries which are lagging behind the countries of the First World on a security and economic plan. According to UNHCR data, in 2016 there were 65.6 million people who were forcibly displaced as a result of armed conflicts, violence, natural disasters and climate change (UNHCR, 2017), or, it is approximately 1% of the world's population. About 55% of the total number of refugees in the world comes from three countries affected by armed conflicts, which are Syria, Afghanistan and South Sudan.

During the past years, several countries from the southern hemisphere are carrying the largest burden of the refugee crisis, such as Turkey, Pakistan, Lebanon, Iran, Uganda and Ethiopia. According to the World Bank Report, the forced displacement is a crisis whose center is located in developing countries, which hosted 89 % of the world's refugees or 99 % of internally displaced people in the world (World Bank, 2017).

This data show that the countries of the South were permanently an important factor in maintaining the balance of international migration and refugee crises. They are still considered as the key barrier for the entry of immigrants (refugees, asylum seekers, displaced persons) in the countries of the North. The table below shows the total number of internally displaced persons in the world, including internally displaced persons, refugees and asylum seekers for the period 2006 to 2016.



Source: UNHCR, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2016.

According to the above, the total number of forced displaced persons in the world was 65.6 million people, or it is about 25% of the total number of international migrants. While, refugees and asylum seekers make up about 10% of all international migrants. This is the negative side of migration when it is considered through the prism of the categories of forced displaced persons and refugees.

Conflicts, violence and natural disasters continually are generators of migration and refugee crises. By the end of 2016, out of a total of 40.3 million displaced persons, 30 million people were stationed in the undeveloped countries of the southern hemisphere. For the period from 2000 to 2015, the conflicts and violence contributed to an average number of forcibly displaced persons to reach 7.6 million persons per year, or more than 20 000 persons per day. Each year since 2008, an average of 25.3 million people have been newly displaced by disasters (World Migration Report, 2017). These figures show that the disasters are greater reason of immigration and forced displacement of persons, than armed conflicts and violence.

In the future, countries will be overloaded with the risks and threats of forced migrations due to conflicts, natural disasters and climate change. In particular, it will reflect on developing countries which have less resources and capacities to deal with migration and refugee crises.

## **Conclusion**

Almost all countries in the world are part of the global migration system, whereby migration policy of one country can influence on the migration policy of another country. This means that states must harmonize national policies in the context of international processes and movements. Although in practice, states have different approaches to migration movements, when it comes to the freedom of movement of people, security and justice. Only a few countries have focused on managing migration and implementation of effective integration policies for immigrants. While most countries have focused on restrictive anti-immigrant policies (laws, norms, and procedures for entry into the country), increased security measures, strengthening of national borders, increased anti-terrorism and organized crime budgets.

The complexity stems from the fact that the relationship among international migration and security is viewed as a global and as a local problem, because it includes a wide range of countries (of origin, transit and destination countries), and different categories of migrants (legal and illegal). Migration can be interpreted from several aspects, which to a greater or lesser extent have an impact on security and socio-economic stability of the countries. However, not every migration is a security risk, on the contrary, it refers only to illegal migration, which represent a serious threat to the national security and stability of the states and regions.

We consider that the current migration crisis is a more humanitarian crisis because migrants and refugees have need assistance and protection. It is a real threat to human security, rather than a threat to national security. It is important to make a difference between legal and illegal migrants as well as between economic migrants and refugees. Also, migrants should not be identified as terrorists or as members of organized criminal groups. Although, a certain religious fundamentalist groups have used the migrant and refugee crisis for terrorist attacks and violence in many countries, but also as an opportunity of polarization and fragmentation of societies.



## References

1. Buzan, B. (1983). People, states and fear: The national security problem in international relations. Wheatsheaf books Ltd.
2. Ceccorulli, M. (2009). Migration as a security threat: internal and external dynamics in the European Union, Forum on the Problems of Peace and War, Florence GARNET Working Paper No: 65/09.
3. Cirn, M. (2003). Upravljanje sa one strane nacionalne drzave. Filip Visnjic, Beograd.
4. Davis, K.J. and Sweeney, J.M. (1999). Strategic Paradigms 2025: U.S. Security Planning for a New Era. Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis. Brassey's.
5. Giddens, A. (2001). Sociology (Fourth edition). Polity Press. Cambridge.
6. International Migration Report (2017). New York: United Nations. Available at :[http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/doc/MigrationReport2017\\_Highlights.pdf](http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/doc/MigrationReport2017_Highlights.pdf) [Accessed 23 January 2018].
7. International Organization for Migration. Key Migration Terms. Available at :<https://www.iom.int/key-migration-terms> [Accessed 4 March 2018].
8. International Organization for Migration. Global Migration Trends Factsheet. Available at <http://gmdac.iom.int/global-migration-trends-factsheet> [Accessed 19 February 2018].
9. Irregular Migration, Migrant Smuggling and Human Rights: Towards Coherence (2010). International Council on Human Rights Policy. Geneva. Available at : [http://www.imumi.org/attachments/article/89/Irregular\\_Migration\\_and\\_Smuggling\\_2010.pdf](http://www.imumi.org/attachments/article/89/Irregular_Migration_and_Smuggling_2010.pdf) [Accessed 3 April 2018].
10. Izquierdo, M. Jimeno, F.J. and Lacuesta, A. (2015). Spain: from immigration to emigration? Banco de Espana, Madrid. Available at : <https://www.bde.es/f/webbde/SES/SeccionesPublicaciones/PublicacionesSeriadas/DocumentosTrabajo/15/Fich/dt1503e.pdf> [Accessed 7 November 2017].
11. Kern, S. (2017). "Europe: Migrant Crisis Reaches Spain". Available at :<https://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/10840/spain-migrant-crisis> [Accessed 14 March 2018].
12. Koser, K. (2011). "When is Migration a Security Issue?". Available at :<https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/when-is-migration-a-security-issue/> [Accessed 21 February 2017].
13. Kuper, R. (2007). Raspad nacija: Poredak i kaos u XXI veku. Beograd: Filip Visnjic.
14. Mandelbaum, M. (2004). Ideje koje su osvoile svet. Filip Visnjic, Beograd.

15. Migration and Remittances Factbook (2016). World Bank Group. Available at : <https://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1199807908806/4549025-1450455807487/Factbookpart1.pdf> [Accessed 2 April 2018].
16. Munich Security Report (2016). "Boundless Crises, Reckless Spoilers, Helpless Guardians". Munich Security Conference. Available at : <https://www.securityconference.de/en/discussion/munich-security-report/munich-security-report-2016/> [Accessed 4 July 2017].
17. Raineri, L. and Rossi, A. (2017). "The Security-Migration-Development Nexus in the Sahel: A Reality Check". IAI working papers 17|26. Istituto Affari Internazionali and Foundation for European Progressive Studies.
18. Risk Analysis for 2017 (2017). FRONTEX. Available at : [https://frontex.europa.eu/assets/Publications/Risk\\_Analysis/Annual\\_Risk\\_Analysis\\_2017.pdf](https://frontex.europa.eu/assets/Publications/Risk_Analysis/Annual_Risk_Analysis_2017.pdf) [Accessed 27 March 2018].
19. UNHCR (2017). *Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2016*. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Available at : <http://www.unhcr.org/statistics/unhcrstats/5943e8a34/global-trends-forced-displacement-2016.html> [Accessed 5 March 2018].
20. Waever, O. Buzan, B. Kelstrup, M. and Lamaitre, P. (1993). *Identity, Migration and The New Security Agenda in Europe*, Pinter Publishers Ltd.
21. Wallerstein, I. (1995). *After Liberalism*. New York : The New Press.
22. Wohlfeld, M. (2014). Is migration a security issue?. In O. Grech, & M. Wohlfeld (Eds.), *Migration in the Mediterranean : human rights, security and development perspectives* (pp. 61-77). Msida: Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies.
23. World Bank (2017). *Forcibly Displaced : Toward a Development Approach Supporting Refugees, the Internally Displaced, and Their Hosts*. Washington, DC: World Bank. Available at : <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/25016> [Accessed 9 February 2018].
24. World Migration Report 2018 (2017). International Organization for Migration. Available at : <https://www.iom.int/wmr/world-migration-report-2018> [Accessed 10 February 2018].
25. Зенделовски, Г. и Нацев, З. (2014). *Глобализација мирот и безбедноста*. Скопје:Филозофски факултет.