Cross-Border Cooperation on Migration: Human Security Perspectives in the EU and Ukraine

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Abstract: *The recent flow of Ukrainian migrants in Europe has heightened the focus on human security in the aftermath of the conflict between Ukraine and Russia. Human security for Ukrainian migrants encompasses a wide range of needs, including migrant safety, economic stability, access to health services, and social needs. Furthermore, for Ukrainian migrants, human development includes not only survival needs but also the development of long-term opportunities for education, professional growth, and community integration. The issue of human security becomes important by examining how human security policies in European Union governments meet the basic needs of migrants and refugees. The focus of human security is on individuals, not on the state's foreign and security policies. By utilizing the concept of human security, this article seeks to analyse and see to what extent the EU has implemented human security, human rights, and human development in dealing with migrants from Ukraine.*

Keywords: *Border Security, EU Migration Policies, Human Security*

Abstrak: Arus migran Ukraina baru-baru ini di Eropa telah meningkatkan perhatian terhadap isu keamanan manusia pascakonflik antara Ukraina dan Rusia. Keamanan manusia bagi para migran Ukraina mencakup berbagai kebutuhan, termasuk keselamatan migran, stabilitas ekonomi, akses terhadap layanan kesehatan, dan kebutuhan sosial. Lebih jauh lagi, bagi migran Ukraina, pembangunan manusia tidak hanya mencakup kebutuhan untuk bertahan hidup, tetapi juga mencakup pengembangan peluang jangka panjang dalam pendidikan, pertumbuhan profesional, dan integrasi komunitas. Isu keamanan manusia menjadi penting dengan menelaah sejauh mana kebijakan keamanan manusia dari pemerintah Uni Eropa dapat memenuhi kebutuhan dasar para migran dan pengungsi. Fokus dari keamanan manusia adalah pada individu, bukan pada kebijakan luar negeri dan keamanan negara. Dengan menggunakan konsep keamanan manusia, artikel ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis dan melihat sejauh mana Uni Eropa telah menerapkan prinsip-prinsip keamanan manusia, hak asasi manusia, dan pembangunan manusia dalam menangani para migran dari Ukraina.

Kata Kunci: Keamanan Perbatasan, Kebijakan Migrasi Uni Eropa, Keamanan Manusia

INTRODUCTION

In 2014, the ongoing conflict in Ukraine, particularly since Russia's annexation of Crimea, led to a continuous war and significantly increased migration flows. The conflict triggered a significant surge in refugee flows, causing many Ukrainians to seek asylum or temporary protection in European Union countries. Some of the countries receiving the largest refugee flows today are Poland, Romania, Russia, Hungary, Moldova, Slovakia, and Belarus (Darva, 2022). The recent wave of migration is characterized by an increased urgency for humanitarian assistance and the need for a coordinated

policy response across the European Union. Sudden migration patterns caused by war can result in rapid population changes. The population of Ukraine has decreased due to the Russian invasion, which has led to a refugee crisis. The conflict has resulted in numerous civilian deaths and injuries, leaving Ukrainian society battle with severe social, environmental, and financial challenges. More than 10,000 civilians, including more than 560 children, have died and more than 18,500 people have suffered injuries following the Russian Federation's massive attack on Ukraine (UN, 2023). As of January 2024, 6.5 million Ukrainians had sought refuge abroad, with 4.2 million in the EU and around 5 million still displaced within the country. Within Ukraine itself, there are around 17.6 million people in need of humanitarian assistance (Düvell, 2024).

The war in Ukraine has caused Ukraine to lose critical infrastructure, including health facilities, schools, homes, ports, and service facilities such as energy sources and food storage. Two years after the war, the World Bank estimates that direct damage has resulted in losses exceeding USD 152 billion. Total repairs and reconstruction are estimated to reach USD 486 billion. This has caused Ukraine's poverty rate to rise from 5.5% to 24.1% in 2022. The Ukrainian economy has experienced a very significant decline, causing many people to lose their jobs and workforce, an estimated 7.1 million people suffer from poverty (IOM, 2023). The ongoing insecurity and conflict in Ukraine have put Ukrainian society in danger and threat, threatening their safety and well-being and increasing emergency protection for the Ukrainian people.

In response to these challenges, the European Union has developed a range of measures for Ukrainian migrants, ranging from temporary protection to integration programs. The EU's approach has evolved to address humanitarian needs and long-term integration strategies, reflecting the complexities of managing large-scale migration flows while upholding human rights and promoting human development. This historical perspective underlines the dynamic and evolving nature of Ukrainian migration to Europe, highlighting the interplay between regional conflicts, economic conditions, and international policies. Understanding this context is crucial to addressing the current and future needs of Ukrainian migrants, ensuring their security, and facilitating their successful integration into European society.

To understand this issue comprehensively, it is important to understand the concept of human security. In international relations, the concept of human security is a relatively new but transformative approach. Traditionally, the concept of security itself is more state-centric, emphasizing territorial integrity and national defence. However, along with global complexity and interdependence, there is a growing awareness that security does not only include national borders and military power. Human security, which now encompasses more than just border security and places a greater emphasis on human security and sustainable human development, has replaced national security, expanding the definition of security from survival to liveability (Sudiar, 2018). After the Cold War, Human Security emerged as a more comprehensive approach than the traditional approach, which focused more on national security. The end of the Cold War and the rise of globalization brought vulnerabilities often overlooked by the traditional security paradigm. Meanwhile, intra-state conflict, economic instability, environmental degradation, and human rights violations are increasingly becoming major concerns for international stability.

For a long time, people have

narrowly interpreted the concept of security to mean either the protection of national interests in foreign policy or territorial security from external aggression. This concept is more related to the nation state than to its people. National security is considered a traditional approach that focuses on protecting the state, but its main object remains the individual. The state cannot 'feel' safe directly because the state is not a tangible entity. Modern nationalism often bases the notion of a nation's security on the comparison between humans and nations, perceiving the nation as a comprehensive entity that necessitates protection, including individual security (Shinoda, 2004). Policymakers often forget the valid concerns of ordinary people who seek security in their daily lives. For those seeking protection, security represents protection from disease, unemployment, social conflict, environmental hazards, oppression, hunger, and political oppression. Most people experience feelings of insecurity primarily due to concerns about their everyday survival. Ultimately, human security is not a matter of weapons, but of survival and human dignity (Fukuda-Parr, 2004).

The international community first focused on the emergence of human security when the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) published the Human Development Report in 1994. The report itself emphasized the importance of prioritizing individual security over state-focused security. Human security, as defined in this report, includes freedom from fear or a lack of necessities of life, as well as the ability to overcome threats such as conflict, poverty, disease, and environmental threats (Fukuda-Parr, 2004) . There are seven important categories of human security according to the Human Development Report: economic, health, personal, political, food, environment, and community insecurities (Gómez & Gasper, 2013).

This article aims to comprehend how the European Union defines and integrates the concept of human security into its foreign policy, particularly in relation to refugees from Ukraine. This understanding is crucial in promoting the European Union's role as a major player in global security. This article uses the notion of human security to examine how the EU has used human rights, human security, and human development when addressing the issue of Ukrainian migration.

LITERATURE REVIEWS

The first research conducted by Stefania Panebianco and Benjamin Talks is related to the "Special Issue on 'Shifting Borders of European (In) Securities: Human Security, Border (In) Security and Mobility in Security'". The research focuses on the past decade, the European Union (EU) has grappled with a severe migration crisis that has reshaped discourses on borders and security. This crisis has not only tested the EU's policy responses but has also reignited debates on the balance between state security and human security. The migration crisis in the EU has revealed the intricate relationship between security and mobility, challenging simplistic narratives of inclusion versus exclusion. While traditional border security measures continue to dominate EU policies, emerging scholarship advocates for a more comprehensive and nuanced approach—one that acknowledges the shifting nature of borders and the interplay between state security and human security (Panebianco & Tallis, 2022).

The second research conducted by Jill M Williams is related to "The Safety/Security Nexus and the Humanitarianization of Border Enforcement". This research focuses on border enforcement has traditionally been associated with the securitization and militarization of national boundaries. However, contemporary scholarship

highlights an emerging trend—the **humanitarianization** of border governance. This process involves framing border control policies in terms of migrant safety and human rights while simultaneously justifying increased security measures. This review examines the intersection of securitization, militarization, and humanitarian discourse in border enforcement, particularly through the lens of the **safety/security nexus**—the discursive strategy that reconciles concerns for migrant well-being with strict border enforcement policies. The literature on border governance highlights the **entanglement of securitization, militarization, and humanitarianism** in contemporary border enforcement. While humanitarian discourse may appear to introduce a more ethical approach to migration management, scholars argue that it ultimately reinforces state power, justifies restrictive policies, and sustains territorialized sovereignty (Williams, 2016).

The third research was conducted by Adhista Cahya Mustika and Andry Indrady regarding "Implementation of Immigration Functions in Border Areas Based on Human Security Perspective". This research focuses on Border areas are often sites of both **traditional and non-traditional security threats**, requiring comprehensive governance strategies. In Indonesia, border regions with neighbouring countries face territorial disputes, military concerns, and a high prevalence of transnational crimes, particularly **human trafficking** and the **illegal dispatch of migrant workers**. Given the increasing focus on **human security**, the role of immigration authorities in mitigating these threats has become crucial. This literature review explores existing research on **border security, human security, and immigration functions** in Indonesia's border management framework. Indonesia's border regions face **complex security and human rights challenges**, requiring a **comprehensive approach to immigration governance**. Strengthening immigration functions—**law enforcement, community welfare, and legal migration facilitation**—is crucial for reducing **human trafficking, illegal migration, and socio-economic vulnerabilities** (Cahya Mustika & Indrady, 2024).

The fourth research was conducted by Blessing Chugo Idigo related to "Cross Border Migration and Human Security in Nigeria". Idigo highlights that cross-border migration in Nigeria presents significant challenges to economic security. While migration is often seen to alleviate poverty and create new economic opportunities, the study reveals that ineffective governance and weak migration policies have led to increased socio-economic instability. Instead of fostering economic growth, unregulated migration has contributed to rising poverty levels, public health concerns, and cross-border criminal activities. These findings emphasize the need for better migration management, stronger border security, and policies that address both the root causes of migration and its unintended consequences on human security. This review explores scholarly perspectives on how migration influences economic security, poverty levels, and disease spread, particularly within the Nigerian context. The literature on cross-border migration and economic security in Nigeria presents a multifaceted picture. While migration has the potential to enhance economic development through remittances and labour mobility, its benefits have not been fully realized due to structural economic challenges, inadequate policy frameworks, and poor border management (Idigo, 2024).

The difference between this study and the previous studies mentioned is that this study focuses on Examines how the EU and Ukraine cooperate to manage migration in the Russia-Ukraine conflict,

emphasizing human security as a policy priority. This study also focuses on effective cross-border migration policies require balancing security concerns with migrant rights and human security. Within the European Union (EU) and Ukraine, cross-border cooperation on migration management has emerged as a critical area of concern. This study also provides a deep understanding of the concept of Human security perspectives, focusing on the protection of individuals rather than the state, providing a lens through which migration can be understood not only as a demographic or economic issue but as one that directly affects the dignity, well-being, and rights of people involved.

METHODS

This article will use the concept of human security to examine and explain the case study of the role of the European Union in dealing with immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers from Ukraine resulting from conflict between Ukraine and Russia. This research employs qualitative as its method. There are several definitions of qualitative research. Neuman focuses the qualitative approach on understanding the overall explanation of how a phenomenon can occur through analysis of various sources (Neuman, 2014).

Various experts define qualitative research in different ways. According to Punch in the Mohajan journal, qualitative research is a type of social science research that gathers and analyses non-numerical data, with the aim of interpreting its meaning to better understand social life within the target population (Mohajan & Mohajan, 2018). Meanwhile, Denzin and Lincoln, in the journal "What is Qualitative in Qualitative Research?" authored by Aspers and Corte, provide the following information: 'Qualitative research focuses on various methods, involving interpretive and naturalistic approaches to its subject matter.' (Aspers & Corte, 2019). Thus, qualitative researchers investigate phenomena in their natural environment with the aim of explaining or interpreting events in the context of the meanings that individuals give to the events. Qualitative research allows for the study of various empirical events in human life, such as personal experiences, case studies, interviews, and observation texts.

This article aims to analyse and explain the case study applied in this study, with an emphasis on internet-based and internet-based analysis carried out on online publications such as news or activity reports. In the meantime, authors conduct literature-based research on contemporary studies concerning human security phenomena. The data sources in this article refer to the websites and reports of international organizations such as IOM and UN used to provide a deeper perspective. In the context of Human Security issues, especially those related to refugees, asylum seekers, and human rights implementation issues, this study utilizes complex and diverse data, presented systematically in the form of written data. This approach aims to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the challenges and dynamics faced in these issues.

RESULT AND DISCUSSIONS

In recent years, the concept of human security has gained considerable attention in the study of international relations, especially in Europe. Complex issues such as geopolitical changes, economic instability, and socio-political transformations are increasingly challenging the idea of national security. Human security, which emphasizes individual protection and empowerment over border security and military power, provides a more critical framework for understanding the problems of evolving challenges such as immigration.

The complex and interdependent environment of Europe highlights the importance of maintaining human security, not only for national interests but also for the well-being of diverse

societies. With increasing global threats such as terrorism, economic inequality, and climate change, the concept of 'traditional security' is considered incapable of addressing the root causes of insecurity in each individual. The concept of human security is considered capable of providing a more holistic approach, encompassing economic and social stability as well as protection from violence and threats, which are important for creating sustainable stability.

A Historical Overview of Human Security

The simplest definition of security is the absence of insecurity and threat. Feeling safe means being free from fear (of physical, sexual, or psychological abuse, violence, persecution, or death) and from want (of gainful employment, food, and health). Therefore, the ability to identify threats correlates with human security. This broader interpretation of the term security encompasses two key concepts: Firstly, the notion of' safety surpasses the traditional notion of physical security, and secondly, it posits that 'social security' safeguards people's livelihoods from disruptions or threats. The end of the post-Cold War period laid the foundation for the elaborated concept of human security. States failed to provide a sense of security to their citizens due to an excessive focus on state sovereignty. The end of bipolar competition also led to the emergence of a new phenomenon where actors outside the state, such as international organizations and NGOs, played an important role in international relations. The end of the bipolar era marked a new awareness of terrorism, poverty, and illegal immigration. Threats now have no borders between countries and are closely interrelated.

Human Security provides a reason to consider the interests of humans; these interests may be subjective, but it is the subjective sense of individual security that ultimately becomes very important. If security is basically a feeli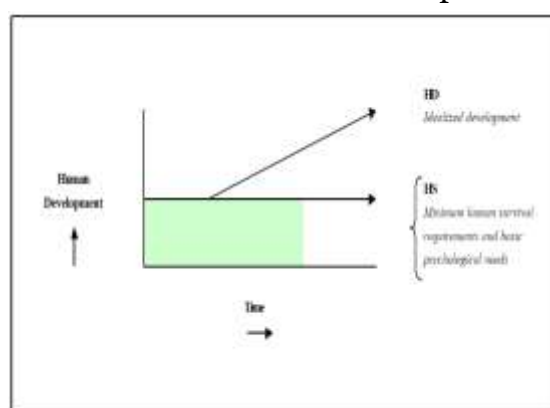ng, then human security must be a felt experience (Tadjbakhsh, 2005). Each person interprets human security differently due to their unique life experiences and challenges. However, we can generally define human security as a state in which individuals and groups, both individually and collectively, are able to feel and achieve a life free from fear and want (Asaka, 2022). These diverse experiences stem from global conditions, which many perceive as unsafe and rife with various threats.

The shift in understanding security that is currently able to reach not only traditional issues, but also closer to non-traditional issues should be able to provide us with a better definition to at least understand security in the context of risks or uncertainties faced by levels of society at the grass-roots level (The London Schools of Economics, n.d.). In this case, developing a global strategy that supports sustainable growth and development to improve the quality of life of the international community is a challenge that will be the main agenda in Human Security policy(Vietti & Scribner, 2013), so this emphasizes that in the study of international relations, humans and their lives are important (Mingst et al., 2019).

Bajpai (2003), explains that there are several potential challenges faced by society globally related to the issue of human security, including threats to economic security, food, environmental health, personal (individual), community, and politics. According to Fukuda (2003) the above threats will become increasingly complicated along with the complexity brought by globalization if the country is not ready to formulate the right policies. Human security should prioritize human development. Later, this will establish a connection between the concepts of human security and human development, allowing them to work in harmony and complement each other. Kaldor (2008)asserted that the notions of human security and human development are interconnected and mutually beneficial. Shokunbi (2019) and

Muguruza (2007) also argue that human development expands the life choices of many people because this concept focuses on providing and increasing opportunities. Human Security is here to ensure and guarantee that the community will be able to access all these options sustainably, to produce the same vision, human freedom. Human Security itself is the main requirement or a condition that must be achieved before starting to participate in the human development strategy (Leaning & Sam Arie, 2000), as seen in the following graph:

Figure 1.1: Human Security as a Minimum Foundation for Human Development

Source: (Leaning & Sam Arie, 2000)

According to the graph above, the achievement of development, especially for humans, should be inclusive and fair. For development to be inclusive and equitable, it must be pursued as a fundamental individual right for everyone and not as a privilege for a few who enjoy a disproportionate share of the results of economic growth (Asolund & Reyes, 2021). There is a strong connection between security and good governance. In fact, human security can only be achieved through human development, which is possible only if governance is both effective and democratic, within the framework of a well-functioning market economy. However, when the underlying causes of conflict stem from economic and social inequalities within and between regions and communities, human security can only be achieved in the long term through human development (Asolund & Reyes, 2021).

The concept of human security itself cultivates a development perspective, focusing on four key characteristics. First, human security is a universal concern that affects everyone, everywhere. Each person experiences many threats, and they are different, but all threats to human security are real and will continue to grow. Second, the components of human security are interdependent, no longer restricted by national borders, but rather integrated with each other. Third, prevention, the concept of human security is considered easier through early prevention than intervention later. Fourth, from a people-centered perspective, human security revolves around how individuals live and interact in society, the freedom they must make choices, and whether they live in peace or conflict (Fukuda-Parr, 2004).

The Importance of Human Security in the European Union

In 2016 alone, there were around 1.3 million applications for international protection filed in the European Union. The largest number of asylum applications came from Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, and Nigeria (EASO, 2017). Specifically, there were around 181,000 asylum seekers and migrants who crossed the Mediterranean Sea to seek protection, and 5,136 were missing and died to reach the borders in Europe, including in Italy(Missing Migrants Project, 2024). Many things make migrants and asylum seekers seek protection, including the conflict in Libya and economic instability in Sub-Saharan Africa (European Commission, 2017). However, what happened was not only a border crisis or a humanitarian crisis, but also a political crisis in Europe (Morrissey, 2020). The influx of migrants into the European Union has led to an increase in irregularities and instability in various areas such as politics, social, economic, and security. The criminalization and irregularization of

migrants have created anti-migrant, racist, and xenophobic sentiments that question the existence of a liberal, democratic, and multicultural Europe (Wodak, 2015).

ince the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, the movement of people across borders has been controlled by the sovereign states themselves, which determine who is allowed to enter or exit their territories (Vietti & Scribner, 2013). The Global Commission on International Organizations highlights the fact that 'the authority to regulate the flow of entry and exit through borders' is an integral part of state sovereignty (Pécoud & De Guchteneire, 2005). Irregular migration flows are considered migration that disrupts the security and sovereignty of states and questions the ability of states to regulate their borders and control over their territorial areas (Vietti & Scribner, 2013). The close relationship between progressive migration and organized crime poses a security threat to receiving countries. Migration securitization is identified as a threat to state security and can lead to radical political policies that favor the state over individuals (Grytsenko, 2010).

Human Security and EU Policy Frameworks

The European Union adopted the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. The General Assembly of the United Nations drafted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which the European Union adopted on 10 December 1948. This declaration aims to ensure universal recognition of human rights, namely, freedom from fear and want (OHCHR, n.d.). The Council of Europe believes that the purpose of this declaration is to achieve greater unity among its members to achieve the goal of implementing human rights and fundamental freedoms. The European Court of Human Rights (European Court of Human Rights, n.d.) reaffirms that upholding effective political democracy and understanding

human rights form the fundamental basis of freedom.

The Council of Europe itself has signed the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR). This convention signifies that governments agree to comply with several policy standards that aim to meet the basic needs and freedoms of the community. This is an agreement to promote democracy in European countries (Amnesty International, 2023). The background to the formation of the ECHR was based on the Second World War, which hit Europe in the 1949s. The purpose of this agreement was to prevent governments from abusing people's rights and inhumane acts (Amnesty International, 2023). The EU will promote human rights in all aspects, including integrating its policies in trade, technology, the internet, energy, CSR, the environment, development policies, and security and defence policies (Council of the European Union, 2015).

The EU will continue to promote anti-discrimination policies for human rights, including migrants and refugees. An independent and strong civil society is the foundation for democracy and the implementation of human rights. Effective engagement is the foundation for the success of human rights policies. The EU can apply various strategic frameworks to achieve human rights, such as implementing human rights-based policies, promoting the universality of human rights, pursuing coherent goals, integrating human rights into all EU external policies, implementing EU priorities in human rights, collaborating with bilateral partners, and working through multilateral institutions.

Migration Cooperation Between the EU and Ukraine: A Strategic Overview

Russia's invasion of Ukraine, which violates human rights, forced millions of Ukrainians to seek refuge in European countries on February 24, 2022. This incident is encouraging European countries' ability to support

Ukraine, combat the aggressor in their neighbour, and assist their own citizens in coping with the invasion's humanitarian crisis. Since the war between Russia and Ukraine, Europe has begun to show solidarity to support the Ukrainian people.

The EU has responded to the Ukraine crisis by taking action to defend Ukraine, including imposing sanctions on Russia in economic sectors, providing more than €700 million in funding, and providing direct aid to Ukraine as a form of humanitarian assistance. Furthermore, Ukraine has received €9 billion in financial assistance for state operations and the economy. To protect refugees and migrants, on March 4, 2022, the EU issued the Temporary Protection Directive (TPD), which allows Ukrainian citizens to live, gain access to education, and work in Europe. This policy encompasses a range of measures, including the facilitation of mechanisms that provide assistance and accelerate the legal status of Ukrainian refugees, enabling them to obtain their rights. The EU also provides emergency funds to meet the needs of migrants and refugees, including food, health, housing, and education, during their stay in the European Union. In addition, the EU also increased the AMIF (Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund) and the ISF (Internal Security Fund) by around €420 million budgeted for needs such as accommodation, food and health. Europe's efforts to fund and protect refugees from Ukraine have helped save them from the crisis (Conference of Peripheral Maritime Regions, 2022).

In line with this mechanism, the European Union also issued an emergency policy in the form of granting the right to live and work for Ukrainian refugees in 27 member countries for three years (Rankin, 2022). The European Union may continue to consider the conflict situation in Ukraine and extend this status for an additional two years. Previously, Ukrainian refugees had received visa freedom for 90 days to settle

and cross the border. Given that the European Union only implemented a similar mechanism to address the crisis after the 2001 Balkan War, the policy's approval successfully demonstrated the European Union's seriousness in addressing the humanitarian crisis for Ukrainian refugees (Rankin, 2022). In addition, in supporting its policy, the European Union Commission has prepared an aid fund of 17 billion euros under the framework of Cohesion's Action for Refugees in Europe (CARE), which will be relocated to several member countries receiving Ukrainian refugees (Council of The European Union, 2022).

The European Commission submitted a Pact on September 23, 2020, addressing migration and asylum protection through a comprehensive and long-term approach. This agreement seeks to involve all parties, including EU members, NGOs, and the Community. After obtaining accession status on 23 June 2022, Ukraine is now determined to get closer to the EU through targeted agreements. On 15 July 2022, Ukraine signed one such agreement that enables the country's health system to meet short-term needs and support long-term recovery. Many see an opportunity to accelerate and strengthen the accession process by investing in a smarter, greener economy and advancing democratic reforms, such as a decentralization process that will give local and regional authorities more roles and responsibilities, during Ukraine's future reconstruction (Conference of Peripheral Maritime Regions, 2022).

Ensuring Human Rights Protection in the European Union

There are several reasons why the European Union should use a human security approach. In December 2003, the European Council approved the European Security Strategy (ESS), which refers to several components that can be defined as the Human Security agenda, although it does not refer specifically and explicitly to it. The ESS states that

security is a prerequisite for development (Council of The European Union, 2009). The ESS lists five main threats to Europe: terrorism, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, trans-organized crime, regional conflicts, and failing states. The Barcelona Report of the Study Group on Europe's Security Capabilities (The Barcelona Report of the Study Group on Europe's Security Capabilities, 2004)states that all these threats are interrelated, creating insecurity that is not solely military in nature. The current security threats focus not only on insecurity within national borders, but also on insecurity within individuals. When viewed from a human rights perspective, the approach to human security is considered more relevant than interventions that use war as a solution to problems.

We can understand Human Security as a strategic framework that has the potential to advance the integration of the European Union's foreign policy. Understanding human security helps clarify the ideas, values, interests, and goals that underlie EU cooperation. The EU itself consists of 27 member states, and it is critical to unite and achieve common understanding to create effective policies. Human security is defined as a concept that encompasses conflict prevention and crisis management, emphasizing responsibility to protect', 'effective multilateralism,' and 'human development' (Kaldor et al., 2008). In the EU, the Human Security approach must include protection for every individual and not only focus on EU border defence.

Based on the report 'A Human Security Doctrine for Europe' there are several reasons why the EU should adopt the concept of human security. First, human security must be based on morality. Humans have the right to feel safe and dignified. Second is law. European countries and international institutions such as the European Union have a legal obligation to pay attention to human security (The Barcelona Report of the Study Group on Europe's Security Capabilities, 2004). Articles 55 and 56 of the United Nations Charter require states to promote universal respect for and observance of human rights (UN, n.d.). The final reason, known as 'enlightened self-interest', stems from the EU's inability to feel secure in the face of global insecurity. Because it is a combination of morality and law, it is considered a form of realism, not just idealism. This reason will provide absolute security for the people of Europe (The Barcelona Report of the Study Group on Europe's Security Capabilities, 2004).

The General Assembly of the United Nations drafted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on December 10, 1948. This declaration aims to ensure universal recognition of human rights freedom from fear and want (OHCHR, n.d.). The Council of Europe believes that the purpose of this declaration is to achieve greater unity with its members in order to achieve the goal of implementing human rights and fundamental freedoms. Reaffirming that the basic foundation of freedom is to maintain effective and dependent political democracy through an understanding of human rights (European Court of Human Rights, n.d.). In this context, political democracy is seen as essential for guaranteeing individual freedoms, and its effectiveness is directly linked to the recognition and protection of fundamental human rights.

The Council of Europe itself has signed the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR). This convention indicates that governments agree to comply with several policy standards aimed at meeting the basic needs and freedoms of the community. This is an agreement to promote democracy in European countries (Amnesty International, 2023). The background to the formation of the ECHR was based on the Second World War, which at that time hit Europe in the 1949s. The purpose of this agreement was to prevent governments from abusing people's rights

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Rethinking Migration Policy: A Human Security Approach

Adopting a human security perspective offers a transformative lens for addressing these challenges, focusing on the protection and empowerment of individuals rather than solely on state-centric or security-oriented issues. Traditional approaches to migration policy often emphasize border control, security, and movement regulation, often prioritizing state interests over migrants' needs and rights. In contrast, a human security perspective centres on the well-being and dignity of migrants, recognizing that their safety and opportunities for development are critical to effective and humane migration management.

A human security approach broadens the scope of migration policy to encompass not only migrants' immediate physical safety but also economic stability, access to essential services, and social inclusion. Addressing the underlying drivers of migration, such as conflict, poverty, and environmental degradation, is crucial, as is ensuring the protection of migrants from exploitation, discrimination, and marginalization in their host communities. Rethinking the design and implementation of policies is necessary to integrate human security into migration policy. It calls for a shift from reactive and restrictive measures to a proactive and supportive framework that prioritizes migrants' needs throughout their journey from departure and transit to arrival and integration. This approach advocates a comprehensive support system, including access to health services, education, legal aid, and social services, which are essential to foster resilience and facilitate successful integration.

International migration itself is the movement of individuals across national borders to reside permanently or temporarily in their destination country (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2015). Europe has long been a destination for transcontinental migrants who come from various backgrounds, such as domestic conflict, discrimination, and political instability, which will later force them to improve their quality of life in a new place in terms of security and economy (Morrissey, 2020). Penninx in Van Mol (Garcés-Mascareñas B, 2016) added that large international migration to Europe comes from African countries, the Middle East, Asia, the Balkans, and also the former Soviet Union.

The Inter-Parliamentary Union (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2015) highlights the challenge of recognizing and accepting the diverse racial, ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious identities of these migrants to foster valuable diversity. Barbashin in Syzdykova (Syzdykova et al., 2023) also emphasizes the statement above, arguing that ideally migration not only connects society and the state in economic and

social relations, but also cultural relations. In addition to economic factors, security issues also play a significant role in migration, particularly when individuals migrate from dangerous zones to safer destinations, as noted by the United Nations Population Fund (United Nations Population Fund, n.d.). The need for a sense of security ensures that each individual feels safe, protected, and receives acceptance from the local population. International agreements ideally require each country to safeguard those in need of protection and refrain from returning refugees to their homeland (Paul & Ventures, n.d.).

The human security perspective itself encourages international cooperation and shared responsibility by recognizing that migration is a global problem that requires collaborative solutions. This approach promotes policies that enhance the capacity of countries of origin and host countries to manage migration effectively while preserving human rights and promoting development. There are several actions that can be taken to achieve this goal.

The first step involves substituting the notion of illegal migration with legal migration. Proposing to eradicate the foundation of the smuggling industry and tackling the issue of illegal migrants in Europe necessitates devising a legal migration strategy that aligns with the actual labor demand. Furthermore, we must ensure the safety and legal regulation of migration policies by offering safe and legal alternatives for migrants.

Second, we should focus on the concept of 'Protection-Seeker' and emphasize the importance of developing a migrant-centred approach that protects and promotes their human rights. The European political community must promote a persuasive message so that asylum seekers can trust Europe as a security provider. One step that needs to be considered is the regularization mechanism and the facilitated return of refugees, so that EU citizens also feel safer.

Third, the regulation and facilitation mechanism for voluntary returns must consider the principle of sustainability. A sustainable integration process depends on cooperation between authorities and illegal immigrants on the principle of protecting migrants. Fourth, the combination of human rights criteria with the calculation of consequences and self-interest is also important. Humanitarian law should be a set of temporary and pragmatic governance measures, not just an 'ideal rights norm'. The essence of human security is that Europeans cannot feel secure while the rest of the world lives in insecurity (Morrissey, 2020).

Key Reasons for the EU to Establish a Human Security Agenda

According to Kotsopoulos (Kotsopoulos, 2006), the European Union should incorporate a human security approach into its foreign policy for several important reasons:

1. Soft power, by promoting human security in its foreign policy, it has a positive impact because it focuses on individual needs and is far from the use of violence or military. The EU can increase its prestige and strengthen its international influence.
2. Comprehensive security is security that is interdependent between all dimensions of security, namely, political, socio-economic, ecological, military, and cultural, therefore, it is necessary to formulate an integrated policy for all of them. Both soft power and hard power approaches encompass the human security agenda.
3. The diplomatic process, one of the functions of public diplomacy is to engage with various communities so that a 'bottom-up' approach is needed. When viewed from this

perspective, human security can provide the EU with the opportunity to expand the 'diplomatic process' by involving foreign policy actors such as NGOs and civil society involved in human security programs. In the same way, the European Commission delegation in a third country can use the human security agenda as an opportunity to break down barriers in diplomatic relations with non-traditional partners.

4. Public opinion, the evolving security situation requires a stronger and larger-scale response, thus expanding the opportunities for public support of the EU policy with a human security approach.

5. Achievability, dealing with a dynamic security environment requires a paradigm shift in terms of responding to an issue. Because threats are complex, traditional security is considered incapable of dealing with contemporary threats.

6. By bridging the 'expectations-capabilities' gap, a measurable EU human security agenda can help the EU achieve a better focus for its external actions. This can help bridge the gap between public expectations and EU institutional capabilities.

7. The transnational nature of human security, with its emphasis on the needs of individuals, essentially transcends national borders, thus allowing various actors to commit to this goal. The human security approach is an extension of the internal integration method (Kotsopoulos, 2006).

CONCLUSION

Overall, this article aims to argue that the EU has a significant interest in developing its capacity to contribute to global human security, given the close link between human security and European security. Through its foreign policy, the EU has made a positive impact on human security by providing the Temporary Protection Directive (TPD), which allows Ukrainians to live, gain access to education, and work in Europe. Among other things, this policy facilitates mechanisms for granting assistance and rapid legal status to Ukrainian refugees, enabling them to obtain their rights. This shows the strength of the EU in dealing with non-traditional security issues. Human rights and human security share numerous connections. First, the individual is the primary focus and bearer of human rights and human security. Human rights and human security both place the individual at the center of attention. From a human security perspective, the EU has implemented highly influential policies to welcome migrants from Ukraine, focusing on meeting their basic needs, protecting them, and ensuring their access to basic daily necessities. The EU has issued policies like temporary shelter and emergency support to safeguard individuals fleeing conflict and uphold their basic rights. This approach is in line with the broader human security framework, which emphasizes protecting individuals from threats to their safety and well-being.

In terms of human development, the EU response has included efforts to integrate Ukrainian migrants into the EU Community through access to education, employment opportunities, and social services. These measures are crucial to establishing long-term stability, allowing migrants to contribute to and benefit from their new communities. Development Integration also reflects a commitment to not only meeting immediate needs but also promoting sustainable growth and well-being for individuals. However, challenges remain. The dynamic nature of the migration crisis requires adaptive policies that not

only respond to immediate humanitarian needs but also anticipate and mitigate potential long-term impacts on migrants and EU societies. Overall, the EU's efforts in responding to Ukrainian migration have demonstrated a commitment to human rights and security while also highlighting the importance of integrating these principles into the broader human development framework. Continued focus on these areas will be critical in ensuring that both immediate and long-term needs are met, fostering an environment where human rights are universally respected and human development is broadly pursued.

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