



PICUM

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Criminalisation of solidarity with migrants in the EU

2025 report



Acknowledgments

This briefing highlights cases of criminalisation of solidarity with migrants in the EU in 2025. It is followed by an extensive list of media sources of the cases of individuals who were criminalised for providing solidarity.

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- Groupe d'information et de soutien des immigré-es (Gisti, France)
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Executive Summary

In 2025, PICUM's media monitoring confirmed an ongoing trend: at least **110** individuals faced judicial proceedings for acting in solidarity with migrants in the EU. In addition to these cases, the report also found that at least **11** civil society organisations and other entities have been subject to administrative fines and sanctions. Moreover, in 2025, we registered at least **33** cases of non-judicial harassment, such as intimidation and smear campaigns that targeted both individuals and civil society actors.

The figures stem from media monitoring and research conducted by the Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants (PICUM) and its partners Groupe d'information et de soutien des immigré·es (Gisti), Greek Council for Refugees (GCR), Hungarian Helsinki Committee (HHC), Oxfam Italia and Ocalenie Foundation throughout 2025, in the framework of EU-funded project WING.¹ This is most likely an undercount, as statistical and official data is often lacking and many cases go unreported because people fear retaliation, especially migrants themselves. In addition, some cases reported by the media might not have been detected by our monitoring system.

Beyond the continuously high number of people who have been criminalised in 2025, this report highlights different trends. Despite numerous and protracted judicial proceedings, the vast majority of people are eventually acquitted from all charges. Under the current legal system, charges of facilitation and smuggling – as well as more serious charges such as organised crime and terrorism – are often misused to criminalise actions with a clear humanitarian purpose or the provision of basic services to migrants. This report also looks at the several cases of civil society organisations and other entities – mostly search and rescue organisations operating in the Mediterranean – who received administrative fines or other sanctions aimed at restricting their operations and obstructing their work. Finally, we monitor several other forms of non-judicial harassment against people and organisations across Europe, which give an insight into the different forms (such as public attacks, threats, seizure of equipment or personal belongings, or physical intimidation) of a complex and widespread phenomenon.

The report also includes an annex detailing key developments affecting civic space in the countries covered by the WING project (France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, and Poland), which shape the context in which this report is written.

In 2025:

110 individuals faced judicial proceedings for acting in solidarity with migrants in the EU

11 NGOs and other entities have been subject to administrative fines and sanctions

33 cases of non-judicial harassment

Introduction

The criminalisation of solidarity actions towards migrants has emerged in recent years as a consistent and increasingly visible trend across Europe.² This trend undermines civic space and the rule of law within the EU, and has a disproportionate punitive effect on migrants. Despite the seriousness of this phenomenon, statistical and official data remain scarce.³ To address this gap, since 2018, PICUM has been monitoring media sources across the EU, to track cases of individuals accused, charged, or convicted for smuggling and related offences, as well as cases of administrative sanctions and harassment for actions in solidarity with migrants.

Now in its fourth consecutive year, PICUM's monitoring continues to reveal a disturbing pattern of criminalisation affecting hundreds of solidarity actors across Europe. This briefing presents the findings of PICUM's desk research and media alert system, drawing on a range of national news outlets over a twelve-month period spanning January to December 2025.

Since mid-2025, PICUM's data collection efforts have been further strengthened through involvement in the **WING project ('EmpoWerING Actors in Civic Space Protection')**⁴ – a transnational initiative responding to the growing criminalisation of solidarity and the shrinking of civic spaces across Europe. Within the WING framework, PICUM received support from partner organisations: Groupe d'information et de soutien des immigré-es

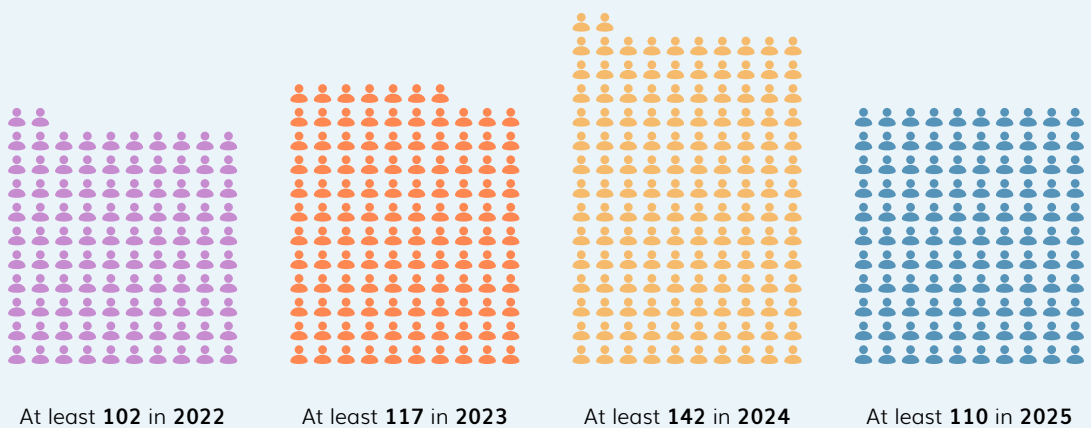
(Gisti) in France, Greek Council for Refugees (GCR) in Greece, Hungarian Helsinki Committee (HHC) in Hungary, Oxfam Italia in Italy, and Ocalenie Foundation in Poland. Project partners contributed to data collection through targeted monitoring of the media and other relevant reports, submissions and other publications, judicial activity tracking, and collecting information directly through their own networks. Partners also played a key role in fact-checking and verifying the accuracy of the information presented in this report.

Support from the WING project also enabled PICUM to conduct more extensive research on different forms of criminalisation in addition to judicial proceedings: administrative sanctions against non-governmental organisations and other entities, and other forms of harassment against civil society or individuals acting in solidarity with migrants.

While the scope and accuracy of our monitoring have expanded and improved, this report does not claim to be comprehensive: some cases may go unreported, undetected by our alert system, receive no media coverage, or be excluded for reasons of confidentiality.

In countries where no national partner was involved, the research relies solely on publicly available sources. Nevertheless, the report offers a meaningful comparative overview of this trend across EU member states and documents how it has evolved over time.

The criminalisation of solidarity is a persistent trend over the last years in the EU, with hundreds people facing judicial proceedings for helping migrants:



The scope of this report

This report focuses on the criminalisation of solidarity – that is, cases in which individuals face criminal proceedings, administrative sanctions or other forms of harassment for assisting or showing solidarity to migrants. Solidarity serves as the guiding thread throughout, regardless of the background or nationality of those concerned. Therefore, this report also includes a number of cases of people who were themselves migrating and who, in acting in solidarity with fellow travellers, faced prosecution for facilitating their arrivals.⁵

The report does not, however, aim to document the full extent of the criminalisation of migrants as such – a phenomenon in which hundreds of people attempting to reach Europe (see below) are unfairly accused of “smuggling” each year, often for actions as minimal as touching a boat’s wheel, switching on a GPS, or simply being present in a vehicle or vessel crossing an EU border.⁶ Many such cases are particularly difficult to monitor in a systematic manner: many never come to light, and those affected are frequently without access to legal support or media attention, making systematic documentation particularly challenging.

Nonetheless, it is important to note that the criminalisation of solidarity with migrants exists on a continuum with the criminalisation of migration itself, both rooted in restrictive migration policies that make border crossing unsafe and create a hostile environment against those considered to have entered or to reside in an irregular manner.

The severity and breadth of criminalisation of migrants is being documented by organisations working on the ground, whose work we strongly recommend following. Their findings point to a phenomenon that extends well beyond the cases tracked in this report in 2025:

Greece

The **De:criminalise EU** network and **50 out of Many** regularly document the situation of Sudanese refugees in Greece, many of whom fled war only to face criminal

prosecution upon arrival. In November 2025, De:criminalise reported that over **300 people from Sudan – most aged between 15 and 21 – were in prison (due to being sentenced, or in pre-trial detention), for either steering a boat or helping others to safety.**⁷

The **Border Violence Monitoring Network (BVMN)** conducts trial monitoring in cases of criminalisation of migrants in Greece.⁸ Their Annual Trial Monitoring Report for 2025, published jointly with **Community Peacemaker Teams (CPT)**, covers 123 cases involving 190 defendants that took place in Greece.⁹ BVMN also publishes broader criminalisation reports covering different forms of formal and informal criminalisation.¹⁰

Italy

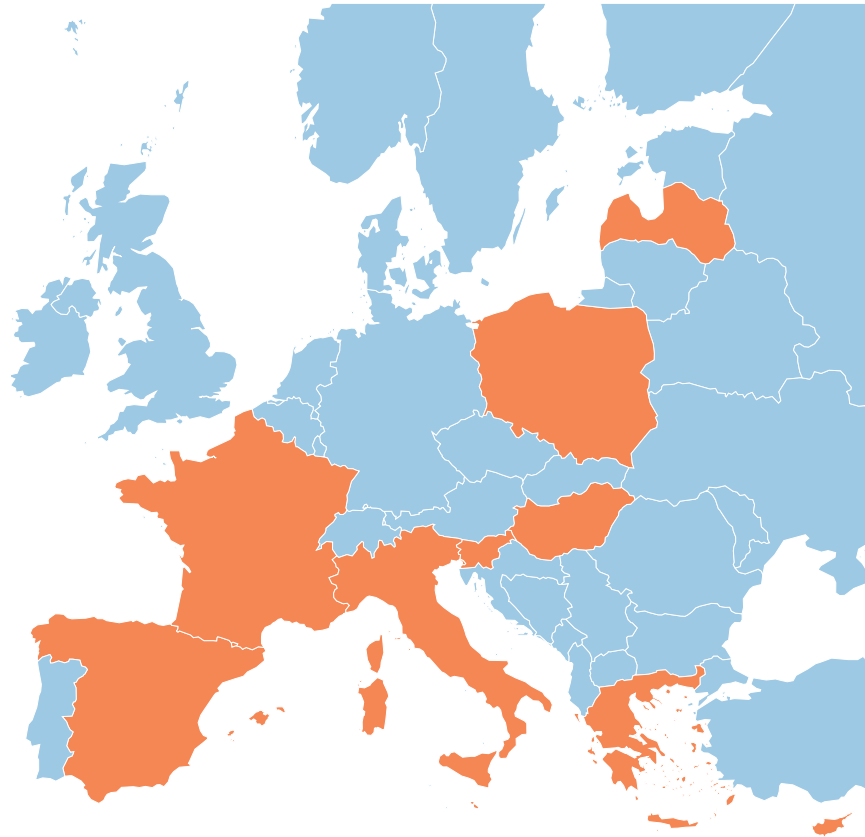
In Italy, **ARCI Porco Rosso**'s 2025 report on the criminalisation of migrants records a total of 467 people arrested on grounds of facilitating irregular migration. The organisation also follows directly the cases of **147 people accused or sentenced as alleged “boat drivers”** – half of whom remain in prison.¹¹

Spain

In Spain, the **Patrones Project** collects data regarding the number of people charged with the crime of facilitating migration in Spain.¹² Their most recent report highlights that, as of 2022, around 300 people have been arrested on these charges each year. It also shows how the lack of fair trial guarantees means most are either convicted or pressured into accepting a plea bargain to avoid lengthier prison sentences.

Poland

In Poland, the **We Are Monitoring Association** co-created a solidarity humanitarian network on the Polish-Belarusian border together with other organisations and initiatives. They collect, analyse and share data on the scale of movement, abuses of power and various forms of violence at the border, including collecting testimonies from those who have experienced pushbacks.¹³



■ Countries where our monitoring detected at least one form of criminalisation ■ No data



Judicial proceedings against individuals acting in solidarity with migrants:

Greece ¹⁴	49
Poland ¹⁵	20
Italy ¹⁶	19
France ¹⁷	14
Latvia ¹⁸	3
Malta ¹⁹	3
Slovenia ²⁰	1
Cyprus ²¹	1

Administrative sanctions against NGOs and other entities:

Italy ²²	10
France ²³	2
Greece ²⁴	1

Other instances of harassment:

France ²⁵	15
Greece ²⁶	8
Hungary ²⁷	7
Italy ²⁸	2
Spain ²⁹	1

Human rights defenders subject to judicial proceedings

Between January 2025 and December 2025, at least **110 people³⁰ faced judicial proceedings in the EU for standing in solidarity with migrants**, or simply for providing services to people in an irregular situation. This data confirms a concerning, ongoing trend observed in previous years.

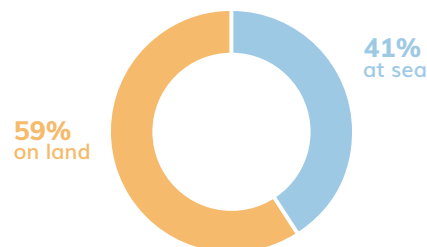
In 2025, most people were criminalised for actions with a clear humanitarian purpose. Such actions included: trying to rescue people in distress at sea or in border areas; participating in civil disobedience actions; providing legal aid or information; and

other forms of humanitarian assistance such as providing food, water and shelter to migrants.

We also documented cases of professionals criminalised for providing services to migrants in the course of their ordinary work. Two taxi drivers were prosecuted for transporting undocumented people,³¹ while nine professionals—including lawyers, psychiatrists, interpreters, and psychologists – were unfoundedly accused of issuing or obtaining false medical certificates attesting to vulnerability for people seeking international protection.³²

Action	Number of people criminalised
Search and rescue of migrants at sea (and related activities) ³³	41
Civil disobedience actions (protests and political activism) ³⁴	17
Implementing welcoming policies at local level ³⁵	13
Helping someone crossing borders or providing transport to migrants ³⁶	12
Providing legal aid, information or other forms of assistance ³⁷	10
Providing humanitarian assistance (food, water, clothing, engaging in search activities) to migrants ³⁸	8
Monitoring and reporting violations against migrants ³⁹	5
Preventing an escalation on a boat in distress ⁴⁰	3
Providing shelter to migrants ⁴¹	1
Total number of people criminalised for solidarity with migrants	110

Cases of judicial criminalisation targeting solidarity with migrants at sea and on land



Case studies

Italy: Humanitarian sea rescue prosecuted as a crime because donation constituted 'profit'

Six crew members of the humanitarian organisation Mediterranea are facing serious criminal charges following a rescue operation carried out in September 2020.⁴² The case marks an unprecedented legal threshold for search-and-rescue NGOs operating in the Mediterranean: while several organisations have previously been placed under investigation in Italy, none had ever seen their staff formally indicted.⁴³

The charges stem from their decision to assist 27 migrants who had spent 38 days stranded aboard the commercial tanker Maersk Etienne off the Maltese coast. The migrants were in severe physical and psychological distress. Despite repeated requests, Maltese authorities failed to respond. Following an assessment of their condition, the crew transferred the migrants aboard the Mare Jonio and subsequently received authorisation to dock in Pozzallo, Italy, where the individuals were disembarked.

Three months after the rescue, the commercial tanker Maersk donated €125,000 to Mediterranea to cover the operational costs of the operation. Despite Italian law requiring that facilitation of irregular entry be carried out for financial gain to be considered a criminal offence, the Public Prosecutor's Office of Ragusa argues that this donation alone is sufficient to establish a profit motive –treating standard operational cost recovery as evidence of criminal intent.

The trial began in October 2025. No verdict has been issued, and proceedings remain ongoing.

Greece: Man who prevented fellow passengers from drowning acquitted after eight months in pre-trial detention

A Sudanese asylum seeker was charged with smuggling upon arrival in Greece with his wife and three children, separated from his family, and held in pre-trial detention for eight months at Chania Prison. The charge stemmed from his taking over the boat's helm during the crossing - an act he consistently maintained was a response to an immediate risk of sinking, undertaken solely to steer toward a nearby vessel and save his family and those on board. All passengers were rescued and transferred to Crete. On 19 November 2025, the Chania Single Member Court of Appeal for Felonies acquitted him, accepting his account in full.⁴⁴

France: Aid worker faces police custody and harassment for helping unaccompanied children

On 9 October 2025, the president of Germà – an association supporting undocumented people and asylum seekers in the Pyrénées-Orientales department – was taken into police custody on suspicion of “forgery and use of forged documents” and “aiding the irregular entry, stay, and movement of persons.”⁴⁵ She arrived at the station with her lawyer, was fingerprinted, photographed, and required to sign a search warrant for her home and the association’s premises. She was then interrogated for five consecutive hours before being released with no charges formally notified.

The arrest followed several prior “voluntary interviews” with border police about her work with unaccompanied children whose protection applications had been rejected by child welfare services – often due to age disputes. During appeals, these children receive no state support, so the Germà association steps in to arrange housing and assist them in obtaining identity documents from their country of origin.

The custody also included a particularly disturbing incident: Germà’s president is blind, yet an officer held his hand in front of her face and asked her to count his fingers – apparently to verify she was not faking her condition.

Poland: Court rejects criminalisation of border humanitarian aid

Five individuals were charged with facilitating “illegal stay in Poland” after helping a family of nine from Iraq and an Egyptian man near the Polish-Belarusian border by providing transport. Despite Polish law requiring facilitation of irregular entry to be carried out for financial or personal gain to be considered a crime, the public prosecutor argued that the mere fact that migrants receive assistance is enough to criminalise those providing assistance.

Hearings ran from January to September 2025. Notably, two far-right organisations (Ordo Iuris and Stowarzyszenie Marsz Niepodległości) were granted “social party” status (which allows third parties to participate in the proceedings to represent a public or social interest) during the April 2025 hearing. The verdict, delivered on 8 September 2025, resulted in a full acquittal. The Prosecutor General subsequently concluded that the first-instance ruling was correct in its evaluation of evidence and legal assessment, and that an appeal would have no chance of success – closing the case definitively.⁴⁶

This case – also known as the “H5” case – is significant as one of the clearest judicial acknowledgements in Central Europe that humanitarian assistance to migrants does not constitute a criminal act, setting a precedent at a time when volunteer border workers across the region face increasing pressure.

Most human rights defenders are acquitted, but only after long and distressing proceedings

Most trials against human rights defenders of migrants which ended in 2025 led to acquittals.⁴⁷

In 2025, court proceedings concluded for 41 of the 110 individuals criminalised. Among them, 38 people were acquitted or had their charges dropped while only 3 individuals were convicted – and in all three cases, the sentence was suspended.

Two of the three convicted were taxi drivers who had transported undocumented passengers across the Spanish-French border without knowledge of their residence status, each receiving a suspended sentence (see text box below). The third case brought to a close a judicial ordeal that had begun in 2015: that of former Italian mayor Domenico Lucano, who faced criminalisation after introducing ambitious inclusion policies in his town of Riace.

Italy's highest court confirmed his final acquittal on the most serious charges – fraud against the state and abuse of office. Lucano was ultimately found guilty of forgery of official acts in connection with just one of the 57 acts initially contested, and received a suspended sentence of 18 months.⁴⁸

At the end of the monitoring period (December 2025), 69 individuals still had ongoing criminalisation cases. Most human rights defenders trials actually last for several years. Of the 110 human rights defenders criminalised in 2025, more than 90% were in proceedings which had continued from previous years.⁴⁹ **Proceedings in documented cases lasted on average 2–3 years, with several exceeding 6–7 years.**

Average length of proceedings

2–3 YEARS

With some exceeding

6–7 YEARS



Case studies

Greece: 24 search and rescue workers volunteers fully acquitted after almost eight years

Twenty-four volunteers from the NGO Emergency Response Centre International (ERCI) faced criminal prosecution for search and rescue activities conducted on Lesbos between 2016 and 2018. Arrested in August 2018, they were charged with espionage, forgery, "facilitation of "illegal" entry, membership of a criminal organisation, and money laundering – offences carrying sentences of up to 20 years.

The proceedings unfolded in two phases. The first, concerning misdemeanour charges, resulted in acquittal by 2024. The second, covering the felony charges, was heard at the Mytilene Court of Appeals. On 15 January 2026, the court acquitted all defendants, ruling that their aim was not to commit criminal acts but to provide humanitarian aid.

Known as one of the largest cases of criminalising solidarity in Europe, the ERCI case became a stark illustration of how prosecution itself, regardless of outcome, can function as deterrent against humanitarian work and put the lives of those involved on hold.⁵⁰

Greece: Dutch journalist acquitted for hosting an Afghan asylum seeker after four-year trial

Dutch journalist Ingeborg Beugel was prosecuted in Greece for hosting an Afghan asylum seeker whose initial application had been rejected and who was staying with her while appealing that decision. He was subsequently granted asylum. Beugel was arrested and charged in June 2021, after which her trial was postponed several times.

In December 2024, a Greek court found her guilty of facilitating "illegal" residence and handed down an eight-month suspended prison sentence. The verdict was appealed, and on 10 November 2025 she was acquitted. After four years of proceedings, Beugel described her acquittal as "a catharsis."⁵¹

France: Two taxi drivers criminalised for transporting undocumented passengers

Two Spanish taxi drivers were prosecuted for transporting undocumented people across the French-Spanish border.⁵² One was approached by a middleman who explained that four French-speaking passengers needed transport because their mother was ill; the other picked up three Tunisian passengers at Barcelona bus station.

In both cases, the drivers had been hired through ordinary arrangements and charged standard fares, as they would with any passengers. Both pleaded good faith, and phone records confirmed that one of them had never previously crossed into France. Their defence lawyer argued that taxi drivers are neither legally empowered nor expected to check passengers' identity documents – that role belonging to police and border authorities, not private drivers.

The two drivers were nonetheless convicted of smuggling by the Perpignan criminal court in January 2026 and sentenced to one-year suspended prison terms and five-year bans from French territory.⁵³

Note on terminology: why we don't use the term "illegal"

PICUM has led [an initiative](#) for nearly two decades for an end to the use of dehumanising terminology such as "alien" or "illegal" to refer to any person or group of people or actions linked to human mobility. PICUM avoids terms such as "illegal migrant" because they are dehumanizing. Labelling a person as "illegal" reduces them to a legal violation, implying that their very existence is unlawful rather than recognising them as a human being with rights. This kind of language not only makes it easier to justify exclusion, discrimination, or punishment, but it also overshadows the systemic factors that push people into irregularity, from global inequalities to repressive migration policies.

Throughout this report, the term "illegal" therefore appears in quotation marks wherever it is used in national legal frameworks to designate offences related to facilitating irregular entry, transit, or stay.

Counter-smuggling laws are the most common tool of criminalisation but use of other serious charges persist

Charges of migrant smuggling or facilitation of entry, transit or stay (depending on how the crime is defined in national legislation) were used in over 60% of the cases of judicial criminalisation in 2025.⁵⁴

Beyond smuggling and facilitation, individuals continued to face a wide range of additional charges and aggravating circumstances. These include belonging to or forming a criminal organisation⁵⁵, forgery and use of false documents,⁵⁶ fraud,⁵⁷ acts of terrorism⁵⁸, causing or attempting to cause a shipwreck,⁵⁹ assault and violence against public

officers⁶⁰. The breadth and severity of these charges remain strikingly disproportionate to the actions criminalised, as illustrated in the paragraphs above. This pattern is consistent with PICUM's monitoring of cases in recent years, where courts and tribunals have frequently found such charges to be unfounded.

Minor or entirely unrelated offences – such as being too close to railway tracks⁶¹, making a false alarm call⁶², or parking a vehicle in a state forest⁶³ – have also featured among the charges brought against individuals acting in solidarity with migrants.



Being too close to railway tracks, making a false alarm call, parking a vehicle in a state forest – were all charges brought against individuals acting in solidarity with migrants in 2025.

NGOs and other entities faced with administrative sanctions

Judicial criminalisation is not the only form of criminalisation to hinder solidarity with migrants. **In 2025, at least 11 different NGOs or other entities⁶⁴ – including activists' groups⁶⁵ and even a private sailing vessel⁶⁶ – received administrative sanctions.** As some organisations were sanctioned multiple times, we recorded a total of **13 incidents** involving administrative measures.

The vast majority of the NGOs which received administrative sanctions are organisations active in search and rescue of migrants in the Mediterranean sea, as a consequence of Italy's deterrence policies, established since 2018.⁶⁷ Out of the 11 entities criminalised, eight NGOs were sanctioned for their humanitarian work in Italy.⁶⁸ Three of them, RESQSHIP, Sea-Watch and Mediterranean⁶⁹ were sanctioned multiple times in the same year – with Mediterranean also being the objective of a judicial proceeding under criminal law (see case study on page 9).

Most sanctions against NGOs operating in the Mediterranean continue to be imposed on the basis of Italy's Decree-Law No. 1/2023,⁷⁰ which entails severe operational restrictions on NGOs conducting search-and-rescue activities in the

Mediterranean, including limits on carrying out multiple rescues and the assignment of distant disembarkation ports. This is reflected in the forms of administrative sanctions observed in 2025, which were applied to NGOs for failing to comply with notification obligations about a search and rescue operation⁷¹ and refusing to comply with the obligation to disembark people in a far-away port.⁷² In two cases, search and rescue actors were also sanctioned for refusing to coordinate with the so-called Libyan or Tunisian coast guard.⁷³

Sanctions applied involve fines of € 7,500–10,000 and/or the temporary detention and blocking of search and rescue vessels in ports for periods that range from 20 to 60 days. To better understand the chilling effect that these sanctions have on solidarity, as well as on the loss of lives at sea, SOS MEDITERRANEE reported that the 26 sanctions issued by the Italian government between 2023 and 2024 led to a total of 535 days of stop for SAR vessels due to administrative detention, 737 additional days of navigation to reach far-aways disembarkation ports.⁷⁴ In terms of costs, this entailed over 1,3 million euros additional expenses for the Ocean Viking vessel alone.

Average fines
€ 7,500–10,000

Blocking of vessels
20 to 60 days



Taken together, these sanctions led to hundreds of days of detention of vessels and millions of euros of additional expenses for search and rescue actors

In nine cases, these sanctions were also legally challenged by the targeted NGO.⁷⁵ **In all of the cases where there was a final judicial decision, sanctions were annulled by the competent court.**⁷⁶

In addition to the cases in Italy, different forms of administrative sanctions against civil society actors were also found in **France**⁷⁷ and **Greece**.⁷⁸

In both France and Greece, civil society organisations were targeted by disproportionate and arbitrary refusals of accreditation.⁷⁹ In the French case, this seems to be directly connected to the organisations' mobilisation against the deportation of one of the members of the community and solidarity activities. Both organisations involved in the two countries are undergoing lengthy and burdensome legal

procedures to challenge these decisions.

In Greece, arbitrary registration requirements for NGOs working with refugees and migrants under the Ministry of Migration and Asylum registry remained in place throughout 2025, despite commitments by the government to reform such requirements made over three years earlier.⁸⁰ The consequences have been far-reaching beyond the cases registered in this report: between 2020 and 2025, only 99 of 270 NGO applications were accepted into the state registry, with 167 rejected – some organisations more than once – and 4 suspended. Among individual staff, roughly 2,500 of 9,319 applications to the natural persons registry were turned down, often without clear justification.⁸¹

In all of the cases of administrative sanctions where there was a final judicial decision, **sanctions were annulled** by the competent court.

Case studies

Italy: First time a civilian monitoring aircraft is detained

On 7 August 2025, Italian authorities detained Seabird 1 – a monitoring aircraft operated by Sea-Watch and the Humanitarian Pilots Initiative – for 20 days, in what marks the first ever detention of a civilian human rights monitoring aircraft.⁸² The detention related to an operation carried out on 30 June 2025, with authorities invoking a 2024 decree-law⁸³ on the grounds that the aircraft had failed to notify them immediately of its activities. No further details were provided, severely restricting the organisations' right to a proper defence.

The organisations contest the legal basis for the detention, arguing that the decree places them in direct conflict with international law: compliance with orders from the Libyan rescue coordination centre to leave the area would require violating their obligation under international law to remain on scene while persons are in distress at sea. Sea-Watch and Humanitarian Pilots Initiative called for both the detention and the decree to be revoked, warning that without civilian aerial monitoring, human rights violations in the central Mediterranean are not documented.

France: Refusal of accreditation of an organisation due to opposing a deportation

In 2025, the association "Montagne limousine Accueil Solidarité" was denied accreditation as a "OACAS" (a legal status that would enable it to offer reception and solidarity activities to people in a precarious situation).⁸⁴ In January 2025, the association, affiliated to the well-established network of Emmaüs France, was inspected and received positive feedback. A month later, however, the association learned that, following a negative opinion from the local prefecture, it had been refused accreditation.

In December 2024, the association mobilised against a police operation aimed at expelling one of the undocumented members of the community from France. For the prefecture, this action goes against "republican values" and is one of the reasons for the refusal. The Montagne limousine Accueil Solidarité community has been supported by Emmaüs France and several other organisations to challenge this decision. At the time of writing, it is still awaiting this accreditation, essential to enable its functioning.

Cases of non-judicial harassment

In addition to cases where there are clear judicial and administrative actions against individuals or organisations, there are many cases where civil society actors and individuals are subject to other forms of harassment.

In 2025, we found at least 33 instances of harassment.⁸⁵ 14 of these cases concern individuals (eight of them in direct connection with their affiliation or work with an NGO),⁸⁶ and 19 cases concern civil society organisations directly.⁸⁷

Harassment cases – Important note on methodology

Cases in this category might involve harassment perpetrated by different actors: enforcement authorities (police, border guards) or other state actors (elected representatives), but also non-state actors – including media outlets and political parties – when attacks and intimidation take place in a context where civil society organisations and people supporting migrants are neither protected by state authorities nor shielded from an environment of general suspicion and delegitimation.

Cases of harassment were recorded primarily in countries where PICUM was supported by WING project partners - **France**,⁸⁸ **Greece**,⁸⁹ **Italy**⁹⁰ and **Hungary**⁹¹ - as well as **Spain**⁹².

These cases represent only a fraction of incidents that likely occur in practice: given the significant barriers to documentation – including reluctance to report, limited access to reliable sources, and the absence of systematic monitoring mechanisms – the figures presented here should be understood as a considerable underestimate of the actual scale of harassment faced by civil society organisations and individuals supporting migrants.

Specific incidents monitored in 2025 include:



Harassment and public attacks by government ministers, political actors and media;⁹³



Threats of administrative audits, withdrawal of state funding or other sanctions due to criticism of official policies;⁹⁴



Unjustified police stops, harassment by border police, seizure of phones and deletion of video recordings, physical intimidation, hindering of human rights observation;⁹⁵



Other practices such as an increase in police controls targeting families hosting migrants seeking accommodation.⁹⁶

Case studies

Greece: Public targeting of legal aid organizations by government minister and administrative threats

On 20 August 2025, the Greek Minister of Migration and Asylum publicly targeted two legal aid organisations – the Greek Council for Refugees (GCR) and Refugee Support Aegean (RSA) – during an interview with national public broadcaster ERT, following their legal representation of eight Sudanese asylum seekers before the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR).⁹⁷

The two organisations had supported the applicants in challenging a government measure of 14 July 2025 suspending asylum registration for migrants arriving by boat from North Africa and providing for their immediate deportation without examination of their claims. On 14 August 2025, the ECtHR issued interim measures, preventing their removal pending domestic appeals.⁹⁸

The Minister described GCR and RSA's actions as contrary to government immigration policy and threatened administrative audits. The following day, Greek newspaper Kathimerini reported plans, citing ministry sources, to remove from the official NGO registry organisations opposing government policy through legal action or by advising migrants contrary to official mandates.⁹⁹ The Minister subsequently refused to withdraw these statements and, in a December 2025 parliamentary response, reiterated the intention to conduct stricter audits and introduce additional registration restrictions. In February 2026, the Greek government adopted Law 5275/2026 which includes provisions directly hampering civil society operations and paves the way for criminalisation of humanitarian action (see paragraph on Greece, pages 21-22).

Hungary: Defamatory report targeting migration-support organisations

On 21 July 2025, Hungary's Sovereignty Protection Office published a report accusing several civil society organisations of conducting what it described as "pro-migration influence operations" funded directly by the European Commission through the EU Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF).¹⁰⁰ The report alleged that AMIF resources are allocated without transparency or member state involvement, and that the selection process lacks public accountability. Among the Hungarian organisations named as recipients were the Hungarian Helsinki Committee, Menedék – Migrants' Association, and several others, which the report further alleged also receive funding from George Soros's Open Society Foundations – framing this as evidence of coordinated network activity.

The report characterised the organisations' activities – including legal aid, public awareness work, and strategic litigation before international courts – as attempts to impose EU migration policy and erode national sovereignty. It specifically singled out strategic litigation as a tool to establish the primacy of EU law over national legislation, describing this as a covert transfer of competences posing a "sovereignty risk." The same day, the government-aligned outlet Origo amplified the report's findings, further disseminating the characterisation of these organisations as political pressure groups serving the interests of a "progressive network" rather than Hungarian citizens.

Conclusions

The findings of this report highlight a persistent pattern of criminalisation across the European Union in 2025, whereby individuals and organisations continue to face disproportionate legal consequences, sanctions and harassment for acting in solidarity with migrants.

Beyond individual cases, the broader environment of administrative sanctions, harassment, and intimidation contributes to a chilling effect on civil society and risks undermining fundamental rights and shrinking civic space within the EU.

Although the cases documented in this report likely represent only a fraction of the true scale of this phenomenon, the data clearly demonstrates that humanitarian assistance, civil society engagement, and even basic acts of solidarity and service provision to migrants continue to be framed and treated as criminal conduct. The high rate of acquittals in judicial proceedings points to the weak legal foundation of these prosecutions, while also highlighting the significant toll of prolonged proceedings on those targeted.

In parallel, administrative sanctions and other non-judicial measures have proven equally harmful, restricting the operations of civil society actors and reinforcing deterrence. Moreover, individuals and organisations frequently face additional forms of harassment that remain difficult to quantify but nonetheless contribute to an increasingly hostile environment.

Looking ahead, there is a serious risk that these trends will persist or intensify. The proposed revision of EU legislation on migrant smuggling - including the new Facilitation Directive put forward by the European Commission in November 2023 and the Council's position adopted in November 2024 - fail to introduce clear and binding safeguards against the criminalisation of solidarity.¹⁰¹ As negotiations continue in the European Parliament, a critical window remains to address these shortcomings. Without the inclusion of a robust exemption for humanitarian assistance and the protection of migrants themselves, the reformed framework risks entrenching the current status quo - leaving open the possibility for continued prosecution, sanctions and harassment targeting those acting in good faith and solidarity, as well as the very people they seek to support.

Read more about the revision of the Facilitation Directive in PICUM's briefing:



IN FOCUS

National developments affecting civic space in WING partner countries

This section outlines key developments affecting civic space in the countries covered by the WING project: France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, and Poland. These broader developments shape the context in which this report is written, and directly affect the environment in which civil society organisations, activists, volunteers, and ordinary citizens acting in solidarity with migrants are operating.

France

Throughout 2025, France enacted a series of legislative measures and practices which reflect a broad hardening on migration management and increased scrutiny on the country's foreign nationals – in line with the 2024 Immigration Law.¹⁰²

Ministerial circulars¹⁰³ called for a firm policy targeting foreign nationals with criminal convictions, aiming to facilitate the enforcement of their deportation upon release from prison. A new law adopted in 2025 allowed for undocumented individuals convicted of serious crimes and deemed at high risk of reoffending to be subject to immigration detention for a duration which exceeds the maximum allowed in normal circumstances.¹⁰⁴

Integration requirements were tightened through several measures,¹⁰⁵ both for non-EU nationals seeking a multiannual residence permit, and for people applying for naturalisation, imposing higher standards on French language proficiency and knowledge to republican values and principle, as well as of French institutions and history. Another law in May 2025 separately restricted the scope of birthright citizenship for accessing French nationality in Mayotte.¹⁰⁶

France also implemented a pilot migration agreement with the United Kingdom,¹⁰⁷ drawing criticism from UN experts¹⁰⁸ for systematising detention in the UK under conditions denounced as human rights violations, followed by forced returns to France, and subjecting asylum seekers to mandatory geolocation during the procedure for being admitted to the UK under the agreement.

Greece

Throughout 2025 and into early 2026, Greece adopted a series of legislative and administrative measures that progressively restricted the operating space of civil society organisations working with migrants and asylum seekers.

Arbitrary registration requirements for NGOs working with refugees and migrants under the Ministry of Migration and Asylum registry remained in place throughout 2025, despite commitments to reform them made more than three years earlier.¹⁰⁹ On 16 September 2025, the UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights

Defenders and other UN experts renewed their request for the Greek government to clarify whether these rules comply with fundamental rights.¹¹⁰

In July 2025, Greek Parliament adopted Law 5218/2025, introducing a three-month ban on asylum applications from people arriving by sea from the North African region and ordering their immediate deportation without registration of their claims, leading to automatic detention and denial of asylum procedures or assessment of refoulement risks.¹¹¹ The Minister of Migration and Asylum subsequently announced an administrative audit of NGOs providing legal support to affected asylum seekers, while media reported plans to revise the rules for Ministry-registered NGOs – potentially removing from the State Registry organisations that oppose government migration policies or challenge state decisions. The targeting of NGOs was denounced by several UN Special Procedures, the Council of Europe Expert Council on NGO Law, UNHCR, the Greek National Commission for Human Rights, the Plenary of Greek Lawyers' Bar Associations, and numerous national and international civil society organisations.¹¹²

! On 2 September 2025, Parliament passed Law 5226/2025 introducing stricter measures for people whose asylum claims are rejected, including for the first time in Greek law, the criminalisation of irregular stay – a development illustrative of how the criminalisation of solidarity increasingly goes hand in hand with the criminalisation of migrants themselves.¹¹³

This trajectory culminated in Law 5275/2026, enacted on 6 February 2026. The law includes provisions that directly hamper civil society operations and pave the way for the criminalisation of humanitarian action: being employed at an NGO may now increase imprisonment terms and fines, or converting misdemeanours into felonies for offences including "facilitation of illegal entry or exit", "facilitation of illegal stay of third-country nationals", and "facilitation of transport or shelter for concealment". The law further provides for the removal of NGOs from the Ministry's Registry upon prosecution alone, before any conviction.¹¹⁴

Hungary

During 2025, Hungary pursued a series of measures that significantly narrowed civic space, with civil society organisations working on migration and LGBTQI+ rights among the primary targets.

A new law on the transparency of public life is pending in Parliament.¹¹⁵ The proposal would allow the government to blacklist both for-profit and non-profit entities – including NGOs and media – if they receive funding from abroad – including from other EU member states or institutions. Being blacklisted could strangle organisations by severely limiting their ability to operate, blocking access to foreign resources such as grants, or donations, imposing burdensome administrative obstacles to receiving domestic funding, and potentially leading to the organisation's eventual dissolution. The final vote, initially scheduled for June 2025, was postponed and the proposal remained pending as of the time of publication of this report (April 2026). Civil society organizations have warned that the legislation was designed to "starve and strangle" independent civil society through bureaucratic obstacles and financial restrictions.

In parallel, authorities enforced a Pride ban that introduced criminal liability for participants and organisers of Pride events banned by police¹¹⁶. Organisers may face up to one year of imprisonment, participants can be fined up to 500 EUR for petty offences, and legal entities participating in the organisation of banned events also face criminal liability. In two cases, authorities pressed criminal charges: in one against the Mayor of Budapest, the organizer of the Budapest Pride, and in another case against the Roma gay organizer of Pécs Pride,¹¹⁷ with the criminal cases still pending as of February 2026. Groups like Amnesty International Hungary, Háttér Society, the Hungarian Civil Liberties Union, and the Hungarian Helsinki Committee called on the European Commission to take action against these developments.

Italy

In 2025, several legislative and policy developments in Italy further constrained civic space, particularly affecting migration-related NGOs and the right to protest. Regulations building on earlier measures – such as the 2023 “Piantadosi decree”¹¹⁸ – continued to impose administrative and operational restrictions on NGOs conducting search-and-rescue activities in the Mediterranean, including limits on carrying out multiple rescues and the assignment of distant disembarkation ports. At the same time, the government advanced broader security legislation aimed at public order.

The new security decree issued in April 2025 also known as “anti-Gandhi decree” and converted into law in June introduced 14 new offences.¹¹⁹ Most of these offences are related to civil disobedience, including criminalising road or trainway blockades and forms of passive resistance, while expanding penalties for protest actions, for instance if committed near train or subway stations or that can be connected to acts of vandalism, for occupations of buildings and begging. On the other hand, the law grants wider powers to law-enforcement authorities, also allowing them to wear body cams or other systems of video-surveillance, and broadens the concept of resistance to public officials.

Civil society organisations and international observers have criticised these developments as part of a broader trend of shrinking civic space in Italy, warning that the combined effect of restrictions on migration NGOs and harsher protest laws risks undermining freedoms of association, assembly, and expression.

Poland

In 2025, Poland introduced several legislative and administrative measures that worsened access to asylum in the country, and limited access to civil society for fundamental rights monitoring at its borders.

In February 2025, an amendment to the ‘Act on Granting Protection to Foreigners in the Territory of the Republic of Poland’¹²⁰ was adopted, introducing the possibility to restrict the right to submit applications for international protection in situations of so-called “instrumentalization of migration.” The new regulations allow the government to introduce such restrictions for a period of up to 60 days, with the possibility of extension with parliamentary consent.

Based on this, on 27 March 2025, the Council of Ministers introduced a temporary restriction on the right to submit applications for international protection at the border with Belarus¹²¹. This restriction was extended several times. In parallel, authorities extended the ban on the “buffer” zone at the border with Belarus,¹²² limiting access for journalists and civil society organizations. These restrictions impact the ability to provide humanitarian assistance and independent monitoring of the situation of migrants in border areas.

In July 2025, Poland reinstated border controls with Germany and Lithuania within the Schengen Area, justified by the need to counteract irregular migration – portrayed as a “crime” by government authorities.¹²³

Finally, throughout 2025, far-right groups also began patrolling the Polish-German border. While incidents were already reported in 2024,¹²⁴ by mid-2025, actions had become more organised: nationalists claimed a “citizens’ arrest” (which allows any citizen to detain a person caught in the act of committing a crime until police arrive) of four foreign nationals at the border. Patrols under the so-called “Border Defence Movement” began stopping vehicles and checking documents.¹²⁵ Poland’s Commissioner for Human Rights condemned these activities as having no legal basis, noting that irregular presence on Polish territory is not a criminal offence.

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