Chapter IV

Conclusion

This thesis describes how the European Union member states exercised their influence that resulted in EU's policy shift on forced migration. Dealing with refugee influx in 2015-2016, European Union's policy shifted from its previous policy on forced migration. From a policy that focused on group case processing (temporary protection) and return, the policy turned to externalization policy, marked by the EU-Turkey Statement. By using Moravscsik and Schimmelfennig's Three Stage Framework of International Negotiation, the thesis described how both intergovernmentalism aspect and supranationalism aspect of the EU resulted in the shifted policy.

The thesis finds that the intergovernmentalism aspect of the EU was represented by EU member states' response over the influx. From Stage 1, "determining their preferences," the response of member states represented the preferences of the EU member states. Stage 2, "determining their bargaining power," was also part of the intergovernmentalism aspect of the EU. The last stage represented the supranational aspect of the EU by seeing how the EC played part in shifting the policy.

On Stage 1, the response could be analyzed by seeing their decisions over the quota relocation scheme proposed by the European Commission as the supranational body inside the EU. Hungary, Romania, Czech Republic and Slovakia went against the proposal of the quota relocation scheme, while Finland was the only one voting abstain. The second data was their support over the EU-

Turkey Statement by analyzing their financial contributions for the Statement and their participation on the Syrian refugees resettlement program from Turkey. The financial contribution was given by all member states expect Cyprus which decided to allocate its fund to Jordan and Lebanon. The resettlement only involved 15 out of the 28 member states recorded by May 2018. However, the agreement between Turkey and EU was done with European Council and Turkish Prime Minister. This represented that despite the unwillingness of the EU member states to host the refugees resettled from Turkey, they agreed on EU-Turkey Statement.

Determining the EU member states' bargaining power was seen by analyzing the stake of the member states in searching for a common solution. European Commission's quota relocation scheme was proven to be inefficient to be a quick solution to the refugee influx in 2015-2016. With oppositions from several member states and the long process of the relocation, EU-Turkey Statement became the viable solution that was approved by countries. Despite Germany, Sweden, Greece and Italy support, the quota relocation scheme would only be successful with cooperation of all member states that had higher bargaining power over the issue. Due to Hungary and Slovakia's persistent stance on not participating in quota relocation scheme, they had higher bargaining power over Germany, Sweden, Greece, and Italy on the common solution. The quota relocation scheme was most beneficial for countries with highest number of asylum applications such as Germany and Sweden. It made them to be those with lower bargaining power. Thus, Germany focused on another option to support the EC making a deal with Turkey that marked an externalization policy.

The last stage, intervention of supranational body, covered the supranationalism aspect of the EU in shifting its policy on forced migration. European Commission, the supranational body in the EU, proposed a Joint Action Plan with Turkey that was continued with the Statement made by the European Council. The body had a major role in shifting EU's policy on forced migration by first adopting European Agenda on Migration, followed by its proposal on Turkey and Partnership Framework. After the EU-Turkey Statement, the EU also made further agreements with third countries in regards of migration with Libya and Afghanistan.

Both intergovernmentalism aspect and supranationalism aspect represented how the European Union decided to shift its policy. This thesis had answered the research question using Moravcsik and Schimmelfennig's Three Stage Framework of International Negotiation. Various response from the EU member states had influence on the finding of a common solution that could work despite some member states' opposition over quota relocation scheme. The EC played a major role by proposing further cooperation with Turkey which led to an agreement made by the European Council and Turkey under EU-Turkey Statement on March 2016. However, the decisions to cooperate are still under the hands of the member states which are the dominant factor on the policy shift

Bibliography

Books

Anfara, V.A. Jr. and N.T. Mertz. *Theoretical Frameworks in Qualitative Research*. California: Sage, 2006.

Balaam, David N. and Bradford Dillman. *Introduction to International Political Economy.* New York: Longman, 2011.

Coy, Jason. Jared Poley. Alexander Schunka. *Migrations in the German Lands. 1500-2000.* New York: Berghahn Books, 2016.

Jackson, Robert and Georg Sorensen. *Introduction to International Relations.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Massa, Isabella. *Untangling the Data: Assessing the Accuracy of Official Refugee-Related Sosts in European Union member states*. London: Overseas Development Institute, 2016.

Piore, Michael J. *Birds of Passage Migrant Labor and Industrial Societies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Rostow, Walt Whitman. *Politics and The Stages of Growth.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971.

Rostow, Walt Whitman. *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non Communist Manifesto.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960.

Torjman, Sherri. *What is Policy?.* Ottawa: The Caledon Institute of Social Policy, 2005.

Data & Statistics

European Commission. *Unemployment Rate in European Union 2015*. Last update 2018, http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/submitViewTableAction.do.

European Union. *Member States' Notifications of the Temporary Reintroduction of Border Control at Internal Borders*. Last update on May. 2018. https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/borders-and-visas/schengen/reintroduction-border-control/docs/ms_notifications_-_reintroduction_of_border_control_en.pdf

Eurostat. *Asylum and First Time Asylum Applicants by Citizenship, Age and Sex Annual Aggregated Data.* Last update March 30th, 2018. http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=migr_asyappctza &lang=en.

Eurostat. *Asylum Applications (Non-EU) in the EU-28 Member States, 2006–2017*. Last update April 18th, 2018. http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum_statistics#cite_note-2.

Eurostat. *Asylum Statistics - Eurostat Statistics*. Last update April 18th, 2018. http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum_statistics.

Eurostat. *GDP per Capita. Consumption per Capita and Price Level Indices*. Last update December, 2017. http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/GDP_per_capita._consumption_per_capita_and_price_level_indices.

Eurostat. *Population Structure and Ageing.* Last update June, 2017. http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Population_structure_and_ageing.

Eurostat. *Statistic Explained: Asylum Statistics*. Last update April 18th, 2018. http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum_statistics.

Eurostat. *Statistics on Enforcement of Immigration Legislation*. Last update May, 2017. http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Statistics_on_enforcement_of_immigration_legislation.

Eurostat. *Unemployment by Sex, Age and Educational Attainment - Annual Averages*. Last update April 24th, 2018. http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=une_educ_a&lang=en.

International Monetary Fund. *World Economic Outlook Database.* Last update October, 2018. www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2016/02/weodata/weorept.aspx?sy=2015&ey=2020&scsm=1&ssd=1&sort=country&ds=.&br=1&c=998&s=NGDPD%2CPPPGDP%2CPPPPC&grp=1&a=1&pr.x=72&pr.y=29.

IOM. *Migration Flows- Europe.* Last update May 13th, 2018. http://migration.iom.int/europe/.

Statistisches Bundesamt. *8.5% Increase in The Population with a Migrant Background.* Last update August 1st, 2017. https://www.destatis.de/EN/FactsFigures/SocietyState/Population/MigrationIntegration/MigrationIntegration.html.

UNHCR. *Demographics.* Last update June 3rd, 2018. http://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/mediterranean/location/5179.

UNHCR. *Figures at a Glance*. Last update June 19th, 2018. http://www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html.

Journals & Thesis

Akin, S. and Akin, H. B. "The Syrian Refugee influx and Turkey-EU Relations: Responses in Politics." *Sosyal Ve Ekonomik Arastrmalar Dergisi,19*(32), 2015.

Balzacq, Thierry. "The Frontiers of Governance." *In The External Dimension of EU Justice and Home Affairs: Governance, Neighbours, Security.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Bauer, Thomas, Pedro T. Pereira, Michael Vogler. and Klaus F. Zimmermann. "Portuguese Migrants in the German Labor Market: Selection and Performance." *The International Migration Review* 36,. no. 2, Summer, 2002.

Beirens, Hanne, Sheila Maas, Salvatore Petronella, Maurice van der Velden. *Study on the Temporary Protection Directive,* 2016. https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/e-library/documents/policies/asylum/temporary-protection/docs/final_report_evaluation_tpd_en.pdf

Chandrahasan, N., "A Precarious Refuge: A Study of the Reception of Tamil Asylum Seekers into Europe. North America and India." *Harvard Human Rights Yearbook,* vol. 2, 1989.

Chrisna, Moussaoud Constalain. "Temporary Protection of The Refugee Under International Law." *Global Journal of Politics and Law Research* Vol.4, No.6 (2016), pp.19-32.

Dahlberg, Erik. *Economic Effects of the European Single Market. Stockholm:* The National Board of Trade, 2015.

Eriksen, Siri Svanemyr. *A Comparative Study of Decision-Making Before and after The 'Refugee influx.'* Bergen: Department of Comparative Politics University of Bergen, 2017.

Fatima, Z. "Syrian Refugees in Europe: Responses Of The EU And The member states." *Journal of European Studies, 33*(2), 2017.

Gorinas, Cédric "Ethnic Identity, Majority Norms, and the Native-Immigrant Employment Gap." *Journal of Population Economy* 27, no. 3, 2014.

International Association of Refugee Law Judges European Chapter. "An Introduction to the Common European Asylum System for Courts and Tribunals." *EASO Professional Development Series for Members of Courts and Tribunals,* 2016.

Islam, Asadul and Paul A. Raschky. "Genetic Distance, Immigrants' Identity, and Labor Market Outcomes." *Journal of Population Economy 28*. No. 10, 2015.

Lee, Everett. "Theory of Migration." *Demography*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1966.

M., Kjaerum. "Temporary Protection in European Union Member States in the 1990s". *Int J Refug Law 6*, 1994.

Maldini, Pero and Marta Takahashi. "Refugee influx and the European Union: Do the Failed Migration and Asylum Policies Indicate a Political and Structural influx of European Integration?" *Communication Management Review* 2, 2017. DOI 10.22522/cmr20170223.

McGinley, Alexandra. "The Aftermath of the NATO Bombing: Approaches for Addressing the Problem of Serbian Conscientious Objectors.*" Fordham International Law Journal*, Vol. 23, 1999.

Moraga, Fernández-huertas J. and H. Rapoport. "Tradable Refugee-Admission Quotas (TRAQs). The Syrian influx and the New European Agenda on Migration." *IZA Journal of European Labor Studies. 4,* 2015. http://dx.doi.org/10.1186/s40174-015-0045-y

Moravcsik, Andrew. "Preferences and Power in the European Community; A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach." *Journal of Common Market Studies,* Vol 31 (4), 1993.

Moravcsik, Andrew and Frank Schimmelfennig, "Liberal Intergovernmentalism." *European Integration Theory.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Nicolosi, S. F. "Disconnecting Humanitarian Law From EU Subsidiary Protection: A Hypothesis of Defragmentation of International Law." *Leiden Journal of International Law. 29,* 2016. 463-483. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0922156516000108.

Sopf, Davor. "Temporary Protection in European Union member statesAfter 1990: The "Right to Remain" of Genuine Convention Refugees." *Washington University Journal of Law & Policy*, Vol.6, 2001.

Legal Framework

Article 80 of the TFEU

Article 13(1) of Regulation (EU) No 604/2013

Article 29 of Regulation (EU) No 604/2013.

Article 26 Regulation (EC) No 562/2006.

News

"EU migrant quotas: Who's for and against?" *Aljazeera.*
http://stream.aljazeera.com/story/201506180120-0024833.

"European Debt influx Fast Facts." *CNN.*
https://edition.cnn.com/2013/07/27/world/europe/european-debt-influx-fast-facts/index.html.

"European Governments Return Nearly 10,000 Afghans to Risk of Death and Torture." *Amnesty International.*
https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2017/10/european-governments-return-nearly-10000-afghans-to-risk-of-death-and-torture/.

"Germany on Course to Accept One Million Refugees in 2015." *The Guardian.*
https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/dec/08/germany-on-course-to-accept-one-million-refugees-in-2015.

"Hungary Credits Razor Wire Border Fence for Almost 100 Percent Drop in Illegal Migration." *RT.* https://www.rt.com/news/403738-hungary-border-fence-migrants/.

"Ireland to Take in 2,900 more Refugees under EU Quotas." *Hurriyet Daily News.* http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/ireland-to-take-in-2900-more-refugees-under-eu-quotas--88289.

"Mapping Differences in two German Economies." *Deutsche Welle.*
http://www.dw.com/en/mapping-differences-in-two-german-economies/a-17734799.

"Mediterranean Migrant Arrivals Top 363,348 in 2016; Deaths at Sea: 5,079." *International Organization for Migration.*
https://www.iom.int/news/mediterranean-migrant-arrivals-top-363348-2016-deaths-sea-5079.

"Merkel Says German Multicultural Society Has Failed." *BBC.*
http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-1155945.

"Migrant influx: EU Ministers Approve Disputed Quota Plan." *BBC.*
http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34329825.

"Migration influx: Plans for Reinforced Border North of Greece." *Euronews.*
http://www.euronews.com/2016/02/15/migration-influxplan-for-reinforced-border-north-of-greece/.

"Refugees Cannot Solve Europe's Demographic Woes." The Economist.
http://www.economist.com/news/special-report/21699309-refugees-cannot-solve-europes-demographic-woes-not-so-fast.

"Sweden Faces Difficult Task Deporting '80,000' Migrants." *The Local.* http://www.thelocal.se/20160128/sweden-to-hire-planes-to-send-back-80000migrants.

"Turkish Guest Workers Transformed German Society." *Deutsche Welle.* http://www.dw.com/en/turkish-guest-workers-transformed-german-society/a-15489210.

Allen, Katie. "Refugees Hold Key To German Economic Growth, IMF Says." *The Guardian.* https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/may/09/germany-imf-economy-growth-refugees-migrants-labour-ageing-population.

Carrel, Paul and Michael Nienaber. "Merkel Says Turkey Key To Solving Europe's Refugee influx." *Reuters.* https://www.reuters.com/article/us-europe-migrants-germany-turkey/merkel-says-turkey-key-to-solving-europes-refugee-influx-idUSKCN0S90N520151015.

Chan, Sewell. "Cyprus: Why One of the World's Most Intractable Conflicts Continues." *New York Times.* https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/08/world/europe/cyprus-reunification-talks.html.

Clayton, Jonathan and Hereward Holland. "Over One Million Sea Arrivals Reach European Union Member States in 2015," *UNHCR.* http://www.unhcr.org/afr/news/latest/2015/12/5683d0b56/million-sea-arrivals-reach-europe-2015.html.

Elger, Katrin. "Survey Shows Alarming Lack of Integration in Germany." *Spiegel Online.* http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/immigration-survey-shows-alarming-lack-of-integration-in-germany-a-603588.html.

Flood, Rebecca. "Shock Figures: Seven out of 10 migrants crossing to European Union member statesare not refugees, UN reveals." Express. https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/824794/migrant-influx-refugee-Italy-Libya-UN-figures-Mediterranean-boat-crossing.

Harrison, Graham, Emma and Helena Smith. "Austria Plans to Close Border as Refugee influx Grows." *The Guardian.* http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/06/austria-close-border-refugee-influx-europe-munich-migrants.

Holehouse, Matthew. "EU Quota Plan Forced Through Against Eastern European States' Wishes." *Telegraph.co.uk.* https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/11883024/Europe-ministers-agree-relocation-of-120000-refugees-by-large-majority.html

Jm. "Hungary Sues EU at European Court of Justice over Migrant Quotas." *DW.* http://www.dw.com/en/hungary-sues-eu-at-european-court-of-justice-over-migrant-quotas/a-18892790.

Jm. "Merkel And Hollande Call For Refugee Distribution Quotas In Europe." *Reuters.* http://www.dw.com/en/merkel-and-hollande-call-for-refugee-distribution-quotas-in-europe/a-18692857.

Massa, Isabella. "Refugees Cannot Solve Europe's Demographic Woes." *The Economist.* http://www.economist.com/news/special-report/21699309-refugees-cannot-solve-europes-demogr aphic-woes-not-so-fast.

Morimer, Caroline. "Bulgaria Builds Final Part Of Razor Wire Fence To Keep Out Refugees." *Independent.* https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/bulgaria-builds-final-part-of-razor-wire-fence-to-keep-out-refugees-10437962.html.

Nudelman, Mike and Barbara Tasch. "This Map Shows The Routes Of Europe's Refugee Nightmare — And How It's Getting Worse." *Business Insider.* https://www.businessinsider.sg/map-of-europe-refugee-influx-2015-9/?r=UK&IR=T.

Polityczna, Krytyka. "Can you opt-out of mandatory EU refugee quotas?." *Political Critique.* http://politicalcritique.org/cee/hungary/2016/can-you-opt-out-of-mandatory-eu-refugee-quotas/.

Reuters Staff, "Slovakia Says It Prefers Christian Refugees under Resettlement Scheme." *Reuters.* https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-europe-migrants-slovakia/slovakia-says-it-prefers-christian-refugees-under-resettlement-scheme-idUKKCN0QP1H720150820.

Rankin, Jennifer and Rowena Mason. "EU Leaders To Meet Turkish Prime Minister As Refugee Deal Falls Short." *The Guardian.* https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/17/cyprus-sticking-point-eu-turkey-deal-refugees.

Raphelson, Samantha. "More Than 3,100 Migrants Died Crossing Mediterranean in 2017." *NPR.* https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2018/01/06/576223035/more-than-3-100-migrants-died-crossing-mediterranean-in-2017.

Rettman, Andrew. "EU states Favour Christian Migrants from Middle East." *Euobserver.* https://euobserver.com/justice/129938.

Rettman, Andrew. "Merkel Creates EU Core Group on Refugees." *Euobserver.* https://euobserver.com/foreign/131307.

R. M., Douglas. "The Expulsion Of The Germans: The Largest Forced Migration In History." *Huffpost.* https://www.huffingtonpost.com/rm-douglas/expulsion-germans-forced-migration_b_1625437.html.

Schuster, Kathleen. "Turkey-EU relations: Which countries are for or against Turkish accession?" *Deutsche Welle.* https://www.dw.com/en/turkey-eu-relations-which-countries-are-for-or-against-turkish-accession/a-40381533.

Taub, Amanda. " What the Far Right's Rise May Mean for Germany's Future."
        T*he New York Times.*
        https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/26/world/europe/germany-far-right-
        election.html.

Traynor, Ian. "Germany to push for compulsory EU quotas to tackle refugee
        influx." *The Guardian.*
        https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/23/refugee-influx-germany-
        push-compulsory-eu-quotas.

Waterfield, Bruni. "Greece's Defence Minister Threatens to Send Migrants
        Including Jihadists to Western Europe." *The Telegraph.*
        https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/islamic-
        state/11459675/Greeces-defence-minister-threatens-to-send-migrants-
        including-jihadists-to-Western-Europe.html.

Weber, Cassie. "These European Countries are Willing to Accept Some
        Migrants—but Only if They're Christian." *Quartz.*
        https://qz.com/490973/these-european-countries-are-willing-to-accept-
        some-syrian-migrants-but-only-if-theyre-christian/.

Wood, Barry. "The Real Reason Why Eastern European Union member
        statesWants No Refugees." *The Globalist.*
        https://www.theglobalist.com/eastern-europe-migration-refugees-gdp-eu/.

Zatat, Narjas. "A Map of the Six European Countries Who Have Built a Wall to
        Stop Migrants." *Indy100.* https://www.indy100.com/article/a-map-of-the-
        six-european-countries-who-have-built-a-wall-to-stop-migrants-7320271.

Reports

Carrera, Sergio and Elspeth Guild. "Can the New Refugee Relocation System
        Work? Perils in the Dublin Logic and Flawed Reception Conditions in
        the EU." *CEPS Policy Brief* No. 334, 2015.

Cedefop. *Skill Shortage And Surplus Occupations In Europe.* Thessaloniki:
        Cedefop, 2016.

EASO. *Annual Report on the Situation of Asylum in the European Union 2015.*
        2314-9701. Valetta: EASO, 2016

ECHO. *European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations: Greece.*
        Last update May 2nd, 2018.
        http://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/aid/countries/factsheets/greece_en.pdf.

European Commission. *EU-Turkey Statement Two years.* 2018.
        https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-
        do/policies/european-agenda-migration/20180314_eu-turkey-two-years-
        on_en.pdf.

European Commission. A European Agenda on Migration. COM(2015) 240 final, 2015. https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/docs/communication_on_the_european_agenda_on_migratio n_en.pdf.

European Commission. *Commission Staff Working Document Impact Assessment*. COM(2016) 378 final. Strasbourg: EC, 2016.

European Commission. *Third Report on the Progress Made in the Implementation of the EU-Turkey Statement*. COM/2016/0634.

European Commission. *Second Report on the Progress Made in the Implementation of the EU-Turkey Statement*. COM/2016/0349.

European Commission. *Seventh Report on the Progress Made in the Implementation of the EU-Turkey Statement*. COM/2017/0470.

European Parliamentary Research Service. *Addressing Migration in the European Union.* Brussels: European Union, 2017.

European Commission. *The EU in 2015*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2016. https://publications.europa.eu/documents/2072384/2117292/NAAD1600 1ENN.pdf/7583a46b-e8f0-4ae7-b03f-8ebea15d2e76.

European Council. *European Council Meeting - Conclusions, 15 October 2015.* CO EUR 10 CONCL 4. http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-26-2015-INIT/en/pdf.

Eurostat. *Record Number of Over 1.2 Million First Time Asylum Seekers Registered in 2015*. 2016. http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/2995521/7203832/3-04032016-AP-EN.pdf/790eba01-381c-4163-bcd2-a54959b99ed6

Fargues, Philippe and Christine Fandrich. "The European Response to the Refugee influx. What Next?" *European University Institute - Migration Policy Centre Report 2012/14.* http://www.migrationpolicycentre.eu/docs/MPC%202012%2014.pdf.

Federal Statistical Office of Germany. *Older People in Germany and the EU*. Wiesbaden: Federal Statistical Office of Germany, 2016.

Frattini, Tommaso and Ainhoa Aparicio Fenoll. *Migration Observatory's Report: Immigrants' integration in Europe.* 2017

IMF, *2016 Article IV Consultation—Press Release; Staff Report; And Statement By The Executive Director For Greece,* Washington:IMF, 2017.

International Migration Division. *Labor Market Integration for Refugees*. OECD, 2017.

European Commission. *Member States' Support to Emergency Relocation Mechanism.* Last update May 31st. 2018. https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/press-material/docs/state_of_play_-_relocation_en.pdf

OECD. *Migration Policy Debates N°13, January 2017.*

The Italian Government and the Libyan Government. "Italy-Libya agreement: the Memorandum text." *Asgi.* http://rivista.eurojus.it/from-turkey-to-libya-the-eu-migration-partnership-from-bad-to-worse/?print=pdf.

UNHCR. *The Sea Route to Europe: The Mediterranean Passage in the Age of Refugees.* Geneva: UNHCR, 2015.

UNHCR. *The State of the World's Refugees. 2000: Fifty Years of Humanitarian Action.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Websites

Amnesty International."A Year after Italy-Libya Migration Deal, Time to Release Thousands Trapped in Misery." https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2018/02/a-year-after-italy-libya-migration-deal-time-to-release-thousands-trapped-in-misery/.

Bundy, Colin. "Migrants. Refugees. History and Precedent." *Forced Migration Review.* http://www.fmreview.org/destination-europe/bundy.html.

Danish Refugee Council. "DRC Policy Brief: Implications of the EU's outsourcing of protection responsibilities and migration control." https://drc.ngo/media/3716287/drc-policy-brief_-implications-of-the-eus-outsourcing-of-protection-responsibilities-and-migration-control.pdf

European Commission. "Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee Of the Regions." 2015. http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:52015DC0192.

European Commission. "Digital Single Market: Commission calls for swift adoption of key proposals and maps out challenges ahead." http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-17-1232_en.htm.

Focus Economics. "An Economic History of the EU from El Blog Salmón." https://www.focus-economics.com/blog/history-of-european-union.

Ganeshalingam, Jasmine. " Liberal Intergovernmentalism." *EU Wiki.* http://testpolitics.pbworks.com/w/page/25854032/Liberal%20Intergovernmentalism.

Goethe Institute. "How Well Are Immigrants Integrating into German Society?." http://www.goethe.de/lhr/prj/daz/mag/igd/en3146846.htm.

Connor, Phillip. "At Least a Million Sub-Saharan Africans Moved to European Union Member States Since 2010." *Pew Research Center.* http://www.pewglobal.org/2018/03/22/at-least-a-million-sub-saharan-africans-moved-to-europe-since-2010/.

Connor, Phillip. "Number of Refugees to European Union Member States Surges to Record 1.3 Million in 2015." *Pew research Center.* http://www.pewglobal.org/2016/08/02/number-of-refugees-to-europe-surges-to-record-1-3-million-in-2015/.

Debating Europe. "Will refugees bring the skills European Union Member States Needs?" http://www.debatingeurope.eu/2016/07/07/will-refugees-bring-the-skills-europe-needs/#.Wrn5PehubIU.

European Commission. *EU-Turkey Joint Action Plan Factsheet.* 2015. http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-15-5860_en.htm.

European Commission. "EU-Turkey Statement: Questions and Answers." http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-16-963_en.htm.

European Commission. "EU Launches New Humanitarian Programme for the Integration and Accommodation of Refugees in Greece." http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-17-2121_en.htm.

European Commission. "European Council." *European Union.* https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/institutions-bodies/european-council_en.

European Commission. "Joint Foreign and Home Affairs Council: Ten Point Action Plan on Migration." http://europa.eu/rapid/ press-release_IP-15-4813_cs.htm.

European Commission. "Refugee influx – Q&A on Emergency Relocation." http://europa.eu/fast/press-release_MEMO-15-5698_en.htm.

European Commission. *Refugee influx: Joint Action Plan with Turkey.* https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-is-new/news/news/2015/20151016_1_en

European Commission. "Temporary Protection." https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/asylum/temporary-protection_en.

European Council. "EU-Turkey Statement." http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/migratory-pressures/countries-origin-transit/eu-turkey-statement/.

European Council. "Refugee Facility For Turkey: Member States Agree on Details of Financing." http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2016/02/03/refugee-facility-for-turkey/.

European Council, "Securing Europe's external borders: Launch of the European Border and Coast Guard Agency." http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2016/10/06/launch-ebcg-agency/.

European Union. "European Agenda on Migration: Securing Europe's External Borders." http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-15-6332_en.htm.

European Union. "Institutions and Bodies." https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/institutions-bodies_en.

European Union. "The EU in Brief." https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/eu-in-brief_en.

Humanitarian Issues Working Group. "Survey on the Implementation of Juchno, Piotr. "Statistics in Focus: Population and Social Conditions." *Eurostat.* 2007. http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/3433488/5287913/KS-SF-07-015-EN.PDF/8651a580-b55f-49da-9b1b-ba0d1d5bf3f6?version=1.0.

IOM. "Key Migration Terms." https://www.iom.int/key-migration-terms.

OECD. "Who Bears the Cost of Integrating Refugees?". *Migration Policy Debate*, No.13, 2017.

Oxford Dictionaries, "influx," https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/influx.

Oxford Dictionaries. "Shift." https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/shift.

Parliamentary Assembly. "Call for a Stronger European Response to the Syrian Refugee influx". 2016. http://www.assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/News/NewsView-EN.asp?newsid=6085&lang=2&cat=134.

Poushter, Jacob. "European Opinions of The Refugee influx in 5 Charts." *Pew Research Center*. http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/09/16/european-opinions-of-the-refugee-influx-in-5-charts/.

Refworld. "Temporary Protection". http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b3300.html#_ftn1.

Wike, Richard, Bruce Stokes, and Katie Simmons. "Europeans Fear Wave of Refugees Will Mean More Terrorism. Fewer Jobs." *Pew Research Center*. http://www.pewglobal.org/2016/07/11/europeans-fear-wave-of-refugees-will-mean-more-terrorism-fewer-jobs/.

Willis, Andrew. "Mario Monti to draw up single market report." Euobserver. https://euobserver.com/economic/28856.

Others

"Irish Online Economy Report 2016." Dublin: Wolfgang Digital, 2017

Benelux. *Joint Communiqué*. Schengen, 2016.

Burkhardt, Anja and Markus Seifert. "The History of The German Gastarbeiter – An Argument for Australia to Keep the Door Open for Her Guest Workers." *Submission.* no.504. 2012.

ECRE. *EU Migration Policy and Returns: Case Study on Afghanistan*. Brussels.

European Union. *Joint Way Forward on migration issues between Afghanistan and the EU*. 2016.

European Values. *Greece and the Protection of the External Borders of the Schengen Area*. 2016.

Hübschmann, Zuzanna. "Migrant Integration Programs: The Case of Germany." *Global Migration Research Paper.* No. 11. 2015.

Kurekova, Lucia. "Theories of migration: Conceptual Review and Empirical Testing in the Context of the EU East West flows." *Paper prepared for Interdisciplinary conference on Migration. Economic Change. Social Challenge.*

Schönwälder, Karen. "Migration und Ausländerpolitik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Öffentliche Debatten und politische Entscheidungen." *Zuwanderungsland Deutschland*. ed. Beier-de Haan.