

Effective Measures To Addressing Illegal Migration, Long Term Success: The Case Of The EU Migrant Crisis.



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Cover Page Pictures

Fotaki M (2016) Outsourcing a humanitarian crisis to Turkey – is that the European thing to do?

<https://theconversation.com/outsourcing-a-humanitarian-crisis-to-turkey-is-that-the-european-thing-to-do-55915>
[accessed on 02.05.2016](#)

Karcher K (2016) German election: is this really a verdict on Merkel's open door to refugees?

https://theconversation.com/german-election-is-this-really-a-verdict-on-merkels-open-door-to-refugees56174?utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Latest%20from%20The%20Conversation%20for%20March%202015%202016%20%204507&utm_content=Latest%20from%20The%20Conversation%20for%20March%2015%202016%20%204507+CID_48fbba230778139c5da726a05204d37c&utm_source=campaign_monitor_uk&utm_term=German%20election%20is%20this%20really%20a%20verdict%20on%20Merkels%20open%20door%20to%20refugees
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Preface

This literature is the master's dissertation of Niyonizigiye Oda Kabura, carried out in the spring of 2016 at Aalborg University, Denmark. The study is comprised of a core research study, references, figures, interviews and appendices. The aim of the study is to contribute to the pressing debate on migration, which has made headline news across the globe due to defining events. The study thus provides a comprehensive assessment of this topical issue to help relevant stakeholders such as government agencies; international organization and the general public make informed choices. The outcomes can help guide policy in addressing this topical issue as well. Furthermore the study relates with European Union efforts at addressing this issue as well as the recent Sustainable Development Goals of the United Nations.

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The EU Migrant Crisis.

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Abstract

Recently, the international community under the auspices berthed the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which was followed by the *EU Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy* to advance the European Union's interests worldwide. A key theme in both polities is the current refugee problem. Consequently the global refugee crisis has become a topical issue from the corridors of power to dinner table; events in Germany, Austria and the impending referendum in Britain emphasise this problem. This study thus sought to investigate how an effective and sustainable solution could be achieved, looking at both source and destination countries and a framework of international cooperation. Qualitative research methods were employed mainly using literature, interviews with stakeholders and participant observations. The study reveals the need for a three-prong approach involving the international community, source nations and destination countries to make managing the refugee crisis successful in the long term. Within the EU nevertheless there is the need to resolve internal divisions on a collective approach as well as the tensions between Balkan nations and the Aegean Sea region, which has made joint patrols impossible. The balanced and unprejudiced reportage of the crisis is necessary to provide the EU populace with a balanced picture and avoid hostility in the face of dealing with claims of underestimated and underreported migration from Eastern Europe. Moreover the legal concerns about the new agreement with Turkey need to be addressed in the face of the annulment of a similar arrangement between Australia and Papua New Guinea by a court. This will help to bring other countries and international organisations with reservations on board. Similarly the notion of Europe as a *land flowing with milk and honey* needs to be disabused in source countries. Furthermore there is the need interventions in source countries aimed at economic development and institutional reform, will eventually result in the desired stability and wealth to enhance human development indices which will help limit migration influx. Furthermore, multilateral institutions and donor nations must focus on measures that boost systemic reform in key countries, enhancing human resource development and job opportunities, strengthening stability and associated institutions that are crucial for wealth creation, improved opportunities for the teeming youth, boosting entrepreneurship and enhancing education and civil society. This has a twin benefit of catalysing the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) and the *EU Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy*.

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Ultimately I am grateful to God for bringing me this far.

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“The eurozone crisis presented the European Union with an opportunity to rediscover its social mission, to create prosperity for the many rather than the select few. The refugee crisis poses an even greater challenge: of having to live up to its own humanitarian values. A union that is unable to uphold international laws and falls so desperately short of its fundamental principles may not be not worth saving” (Fotaki, 2016).

“Managing this emergency is complex but Europe has the experience and the capacity to cope. Effective integration policies are the key to unlocking the hidden social and economic dividends from the refugee crisis” (OECD, 2016)

“Just as Ronald Reagan said that one man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter, for the UK press, one newspaper’s “asylum seeker” is another paper’s “migrant” (Mike Berry, Iñaki Garcia-Blanco, Kerry Moore).

“In reality there is very significant outward migration from the region: 40% of all asylum seekers arriving in Germany in 2015 came from Albania, Kosovo and Serbia. Unemployment stands at around 40% across the region but opportunities for co-operation between states are limited by the violent experience of its not-so-distant past.

The sad fact is that the wounds of the Balkan wars have not yet healed – but the problems and the political divisions which mark relations between the Balkan states are being downplayed in the interests of securing EU membership” (Crawley H, 2016).

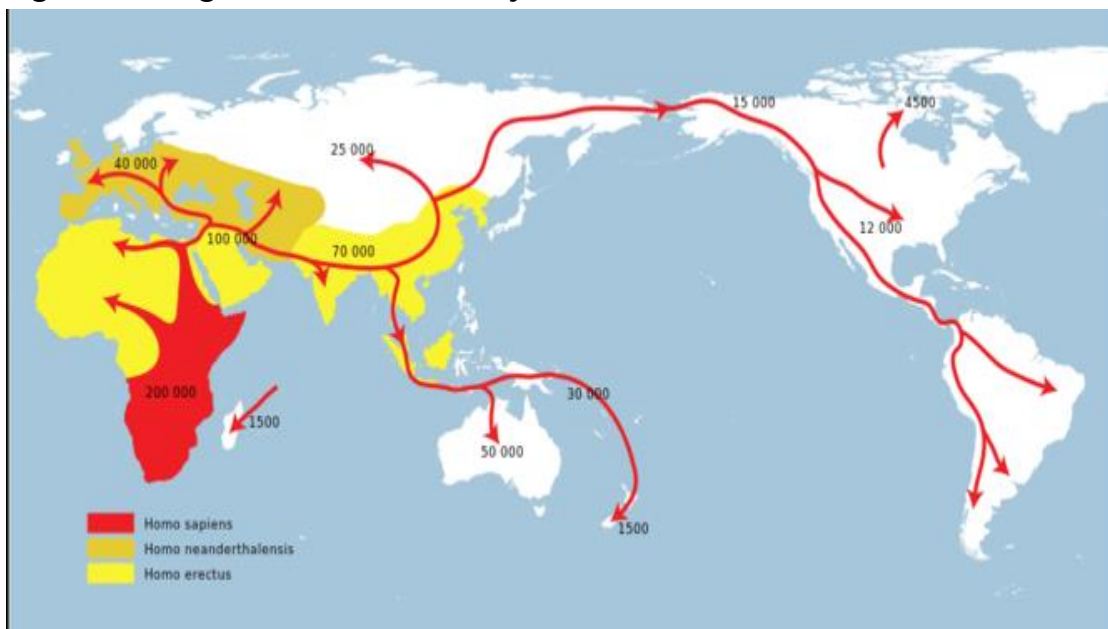
The above quotes highlight the underlining confluence of events upon which the tapestry of the modern refugee crisis is woven.

Chapter 1.0 Introduction

Migration and Humanity

Migration is woven into the very fabric of human history. Hence for example archaeology and genetics support the theory that modern man migrated from Africa within the past 100,000 years, gradually dispersing to ultimately settle across the whole world (Busby, 2016). Human migration is largely characterized by the movement of people from one place to another with the intention of settling temporarily or permanently in the new location. According to Busby (2016) although this phenomenon of human migration dates to prehistoric times the scale and scope has largely changed in recent times.

Figure 1.1 Migration and Humanity



Outline of early human migrations. Legend: Homo sapiens (red), Neanderthals (yellow-green), early hominids (yellow). Source (Busby, 2016).

As simplistic as the historical diagram may seem superficially, a closer look through the spectacles of contemporary times reveals the complicated socio-economic and cultural factors which have largely catapulted the phenomenon of migration into the realm of global controversy and heated debates in the corridors of power and ordinary people's homes. Consequently at the recent sustainable development

summit of the United Nations, which berthed the new Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the issue of migration was given great attention at several fore.

The debate on migration has further gained traction with the recent massive escalation of migrants through hazardous circumstances to Europe resulting in the *European Migrant/refugee Crisis of 2015*. Similarly, millions of people across the world are often left with no option but to “*flee their native soil to escape war, genocide, torture and persecution*” (Amnesty International, 2016).

1.1 Clash of Civilisations and the Complexity of Modern Migration

Fears of cultural adulteration of the unique social fabric of Europe by migrants, abuse of social benefits and especially spread of terrorism have characterised such debates on recent migration (Harris, 2014; Lee, 2016). Hence Lee (2016) buttresses this assertion with his account that “*A series of marches took place across Europe on February 6 (2016) under the banner of Pegida – an ‘anti-Islamisation’ street movement. Events took place in Dresden, Dublin, Calais, Amsterdam and Prague*”. Groups such as Pegida (Patriotic Europeans against Islamisation of the West) have evolved in a bid to stem what is argued to be a gradual islamisation of Europe drawing significant inspiration from the international counter jihad movement (Lee, 2016). Furthermore, there is an increasing security concern for Western European countries concerning terrorism on the streets of European capitals, lately its train system especially groups like ISIS recruits disguised as refugees sent to create commotion. The November 2015, *Paris massacre* where gunmen and suicide bombers struck a concert hall, a main stadium, restaurants and bars killing 130 with hundreds wounded was a major discussion point (BBC, 2016). Nonetheless, this fatal event directly impacted the chances of large numbers of innocent victim migrants fleeing violence in the Middle East (Critchlow, 2015).

Figure 1.2 *Protests across Europe against the Migrant Crisis*



Source Critchlow, 2015

Polish citizens demonstrate against receiving migrants from Syria and Africa from the European Commission.

This idea to counter the influx of migrants especially from countries whose religions are contested as totalitarian political ideology that is entirely incompatible with Western values has galvanised groups such as the David Horowitz Freedom Centre, Stop Islamisation of Europe, The American Freedom Defence Initiative and the International Civil Liberties Alliance (Lee, 2016). Individuals have also joined the fray as emphasised in the work of key activists Pamela Geller and Robert Spencer (US-based bloggers), Fjordman (Norwegian blogger) and Anders Gravers (Danish activist) who all argue that Islam and the West are at war hence Muslim immigration, principally to Europe, is part of a conspiracy to introduce Sharia law (Lee, 2016).

The aggregate numbers of refugees has been at a shocking daily rate as more than 107,00 migrants arrived at the EU's borders in July 2015 alone (Critchlow, 2015). Mednicoff (2016) argues that the staggering sudden volume of refugees strained financial resources of the international refugee system. Hence a lot of European countries were unprepared for such an influx of refugees. Moreover the fragmented and uncoordinated response by EU countries drew a lot a criticism as well as compromised efforts at

addressing the refugee crisis. In addition, the rationale behind the existing refugee law – of permitting only a limited number of people to “*resettle in other countries, instead of being persecuted in their homelands – is not working*” (Mednicoff, 2016). The debate on measures to effectively address the unprecedented volume of migrants reached a crescendo with the tragic photos of a dead toddler (Alan Kurd) capturing global attention and provoking global outrage (Mednicoff, 2016). This toddler was one of an estimated 3,770 people who perished in similar attempts (Culik, 2015).

Figure 1.3 Death of Migrant Toddler Galvanises Global Attention



Source Passas & Giannakopoulos (2016)

A protester wields a placard showing the body of a three-year-old Syrian refugee boy Aylan Kurdi who perished in an attempt to reach Greece from Turkey.

1.2 A Quest for an Effective Long-term Response Strategy

Several unilateral and interim measures were rolled out to address the unprecedented crisis. Despite the proposal for a quota system for European nations to host refugees Eastern European leaders en bloc rejected the EU call to impose such immigrant resettlement quotas in their countries. This betrayed the growing European divide on addressing the immigration challenge, which led to diplomatic tensions especially between the East and Western Europe threatening European unity and the future of the Union

(Critchlow, 2015). The Hungarian leadership went a step further to build a 175-kilometer (109-mile) fence to protect the countries frontiers and safeguard its Christian identity (Culik, 2015).

Others such as Denmark adopted a new law, which confiscates the valuables of such refugees to serve as a deterrent to others intending to emigrate. Denmark also made advertisements in Lebanese media how harsh things are for refugees in Denmark in bid to discourage future refugees from coming (Reich, 2016).

Figure 1.4 Different Measures Introduced by Individual Nations



Source (Jones, 2016)

The opposing views on how to successfully address the migrant crisis even divided religious leaders, as the church has traditionally been a sanctuary for the afflicted. Hence even though the Pope encouraged Christian parishes to each provide refuge for such people, the Hungarian catholic bishop countered: “They’re not refugees, this is an invasion. They come here with cries of ‘Allahu Akbar’. They want to take over.” (Critchlow, 2015).

But this is not unique to Europe alone, farther afield the Australian government re-introduced offshore processing of refugees and asylum seekers on Nauru and Manus Island (Amnesty International, 2016).

However these measures have all been criticised as simply superficial or short-term, hence the need for more effective measures that addresses the reasons for irregular migration as well as limit the number of refugees forced to make hazardous journeys (Amnesty International, 2016). In recognition of the need for an international collaboration addressing such pressing challenges of contemporary society, the recent sustainable development summit of the United Nations, which berthed the Sustainable Development Goals sought to enhance international collaboration in addressing such challenges for the long term as espoused in goal 17 (UN, 2016).

Throughout history, people who felt threatened in their home nations have migrated to more safe and secure places. Hence ultimately, people would not flee their land, valuables and relations en masse for a perilous and uncertain journey to an unfamiliar country for no credible reason. Hence the triggers are more profound as they embrace socio-political and economic factors including “*lack of security and stability, inequalities and threats to livelihoods, underlie the massive flight from misery, starvation, massacres and insecurity*” (Passas & Giannakopoulos, 2016). Consequently these are motivated by the universal human necessity for dignity, education, work and a secure future for their families (Passas & Giannakopoulos, 2016).

In line with the problem based learning approach (PBL) of the university, which encourages being proactive in helping solve pressing societal issues, the aim of this study would be to analyse this urgent migration crisis and recommend effective long-term solutions to dealing with this challenge.

1.4 Research questions:

Main research question:

How can an effective coordinated EU response to address the issue of refugee/illegal migration be realised for long-term success?

Sub-questions:

i) Why do majority of refugees choose Europe as destination despite the deterrent measures and presence of alternative destinations such as North America (USA, Canada), Asia (eg China, Japan) and Australia?

- ii) What is causing the lack of an international response and how can this be overcome?
- iii) What can host/destination countries also do to help provide sustainable solution to this problem?

1.5 Methodology

This thesis is based on effective measures to addressing illegal migration for long-term success in the EU. It will start out with an introduction that shortly address migration and humanity after that, the thesis turns attention towards clash of civilizations and the complexity of modern migration. To shed further light, the thesis will further address fears of cultural adulteration of the unique social fabric of European Society by unregulated migration and associated factors.

To analyse this and further answer the research questions, the thesis will have three theoretical components: liberalism, social construct and intergovernmentalism and how they relate with the themes of the study. These Three theories will be used in order to understand the problem of migration that has now gone beyond being a national one to requiring international collaboration to address it in an effective way, which relates with ideals of intergovernmentalism. Similarly the manner in which refugees are portrayed in the public effectively shapes public opinions and perceptions and consequently how the situation is handled. By using these theories, the thesis will help build understanding of the migration crisis in Europe and appropriate measures to solving the problem effectively.

The thesis is premised principally on qualitative research methods using interview with asylum seekers in the Nord Jylland, where the researcher works as a volunteer engaging with such groups. The asylum seekers are from Syria, Somalia, Eritrea and Iraq. Interviews were hence conducted with such migrants to enrich my empirical data and complemented with literature reviews and some NGO's in Denmark working with refugees.

Moreover the reason behind this topic is to expand my understanding on the issue of migration that has been typically exemplified by the European migration crisis.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical underpinning of the study stems from the *liberalism*, *social construct* and *intergovernmentalism* concepts. This is due to the observation that most of the refugees are fleeing countries with a breakdown in ideal so liberalism such as civil liberties, central government and associated institutions (Syria, Iraq, Eritrea etc.) to places where there exist strong civil liberties, governance and institutions (Germany, Denmark, UK etc.). Moreover the problem of migration has now gone beyond being a national issue to one requiring international collaboration to address it in an effective way, which relates with the ideals of intergovernmentalism. The kind of coverage and portrayal of the issue equally affects the nature of the measures taken to address it.

1.6.1 Liberalism

Liberalism refers to the political philosophy premised on ideals of liberty and equality (Kanazawa, 2010). Consequently liberalism prioritises the defence and enrichment the freedom of the individual as the core problem of politics (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2016). Ideals such as press freedom, civil rights, democracy, religious freedom, freedom of expression, free markets, secular governments, and international cooperation are embraced by the philosophy of liberalism (Donohue, 2003: Wolin, 2004:Hashemi, 2009). Similarly, liberalism dismisses or opposes social and political traditions such as hereditary privilege, states funded on religions, absolute monarchy or accordance of divine right to regents.

Nonetheless, there exist typologies in liberalism: European liberalism (and classical liberalism) espouses liberty whilst American liberalism emphasises equality (Young, 2002). John Locke one of the principal proponents of Liberalism contends that every individual has an inherent right to life, liberty and property, which must not be compromised by governments as per the *social contract* (Locke, 2005). Liberals have hence characteristically argued against traditional conservatism and absolutism in government whilst promoting representative democracy and the rule of law.

Furthermore, liberals argue that government is needed to defend individuals from harm; but they concede that government as an agent can also serve as a threat to liberty encapsulated in the description

of government as “a necessary evil”. Hence the state apparatus such as laws, police/army, judges which help to preserve an individual’s life and liberty can equally be abused and used against them.

1.6.2 Intergovernmentalism

The formation of the European Union is regarded as a prime example of regional integration and hence intergovernmentalism (European Union, 2015a). This political and economic amalgamation of 28 individual countries functions through a framework of supranational independent institutions and intergovernmental negotiated decisions (Albi, 2005).

The establishment of a single market based on common standard laws: a Schengen area where passport controls are relaxed: enhanced free movement of people, goods, services, and capital within its frontiers: common standards on the rule of law as well as policies on commerce and regional development have all become hallmarks of the EU (European Union, 2015b). Furthermore the introduction of the Eurozone as well as Common Foreign and Security Policy has translated into a joint position on international relations and defence with diplomatic representations across the globe including the UN.

1.6.3 Social constructivism is considered because the way the migration issue is played in media or communicated affects people’s opinions. In largely democratic Europe the leaders are voted by the populace so the understanding of the public is important. The refugee crisis has already affected the political fortunes of leaders in Germany and Austria where the president was forced to resign and with the coming referendum in Britain there is a media/ communication war to sway public opinion.

1.7 Study Delimitation and Limitations

The thesis though considering the issue of migration focuses more on the recent European migrant crises as the premise of the case study. Most of the policy that guide the study stem from the European Union and the United Nations hence most of the discussions are in the light of these principal policies.

Given the complex nature of the issue of migration across the globe a visit to the home nations where most of the refugees come from would have been helpful to get first hand information and enhance participant observation however most of these places (such as Syria, Eritrea, Iraq) present serious security challenges which make it plausible to visit refugee centres in Europe such as Denmark to interact with

such migrants. Secondly the sample empirical data is not large but to enhance triangulation interviewees were sampled from a wide range of stakeholder groups to afford a comprehensive overview of the subject under investigation.

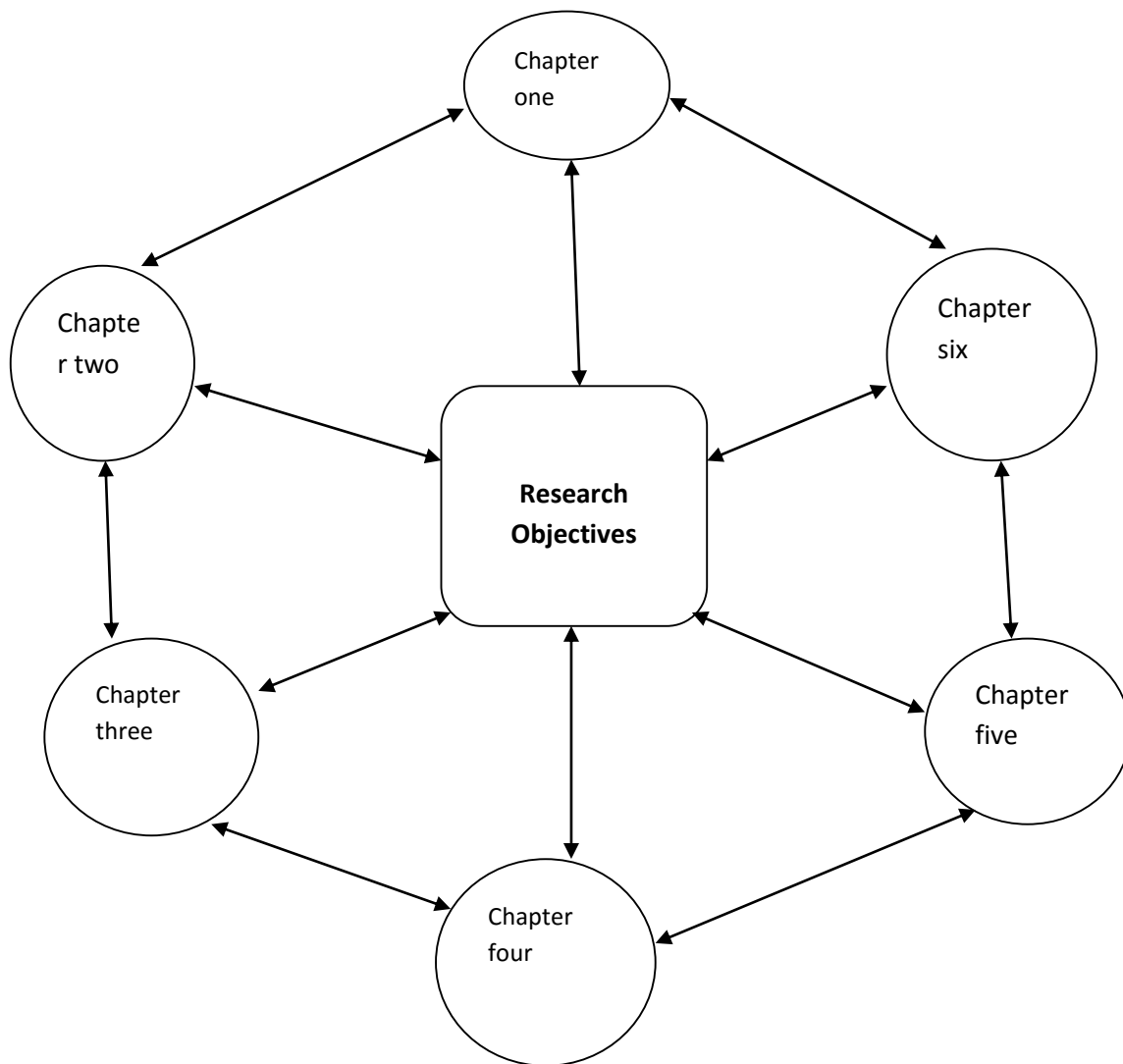
1.8 Sub-Conclusion

This section of the study has ushered the thematic areas to be explored the theoretical underpinning of the study and its delimitation. The next chapter highlights the processes involved.

Chapter 2.0 METHODOLOGY

This part of the study affords an overview of the research design and methodology, as well as showcase the various processes involved addressing the research questions.

Fig.2.1 Hexagonal Pyramid Structure of Report



Source: author

Figure 2.1 gives a diagrammatic representation of the structure of the report. Each section builds on the preceding one and they cumulatively address the research question.

The beginning chapter ushers the reader into the underlining themes of the study, and the overarching research questions in the European context. The research design, steps in addressing the research questions including the underlining concepts are explained in chapters 2 and 4 respectively. Chapter 3 applies current literature to give an insightful overview on the present interventions and debates on the refugee phenomenon. The report outcomes are outlined in chapter 5, while an in-depth analysis of results

is presented continuing chapter. Hence Chapter 6 presents the key findings which feeds into the conclusions and recommendations.

2.1 Research design

This research is principally premised on the case study method. Nonetheless, literature and conceptual studies cannot singularly provide a deep insight of the thematic area under study. Given the highly polarized and complex nature of the subject of this study visiting the areas would have been beneficial but it comes huge security risks at the moment. As argued by Kvale and Brinkman (2009) participant observation provides insight into the socio-cultural life of study subjects and helps understand their concerns more profoundly. In lieu of this, refugee communities resident in Denmark and some credible organization, which deal with such groups, were consulted on themes relating to the study to appreciate the unique challenges faced by such communities and address the research questions (Kvale and Brinkman 2009).

2.2 Methodological Framework

Qualitative and quantitative methods are the core techniques for conducting research. Qualitative research methods aim to explain the type of data the research produces Hence Bryman (2004:), qualitative research revolves around the production of the knowledge and empirical data through the medium of interviews, focus group discussions, participant observation, amongst others. The objective of qualitative research is to appreciate a peculiar social phenomenon. On the reverse, the quantitative research method is appropriate *“for investigating serialized phenomena rather than contextual phenomenon as per the case of qualitative methods”* (Kvale and Brinkman, 2008).

Given the nature of the study’s thematic area, the qualitative method is employed to help better address the research questions.

2.2.1 Case Study:

The case study research method is a qualitative research technique employed in this research. The case study was found suitable for the purpose of the study. The case study approach helps explore a social phenomenon in an indepth manner where an individual or groups are involved. Similarly the case study is argued to be a *“research strategy which focuses on understanding the dynamics present within single setting”*(Bryman and Bruggess, 1999). Furthermore the case study in general considers the mutual interaction of all variables to paint a complete picture of a situation as much as possible (Yin, 1984).

Consequently, Yin (2003) argues that, a case study surmises studying “...*a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomena and context are clearly evident*”(Yin 2003:13). Moreover, the case study technique better addresses complexity and particularity of a phenomenon under investigation (Stake 1995 in Bryman 2012). Hence the case study is more appropriate when “why” and “how” questions are posed over themes about which the researcher has control over which is the situation as per this study where why and how related type of questions are involved.

2.2.2 Information gathering

This denotes the several approaches employed in information generation for the purposes of this study.

2.4.1 Primary and secondary data

Various means of gathering data were employed in conducting the study with their unique pros and cons. Hence research data can comprise of either secondary or primary data or a merger of these two methods.

Whilst primary data (eg interviews, Participant observation, focus group discussion) is gathered for particular objectives especially when there is inadequate data for a sound analysis: secondary data conversely refers to already published data made accessible through materials such as books, articles, newspapers, internet etc. (Bryman 2004). The study used a merger of both primary and secondary data. Thus primary data was garnered from interviewing representatives of refugee communities and organisations dealing with refugees.

Secondary data however was mainly gained from literature reviews and articles on the refugee phenomenon. A key merit of primary data is that it is credible as it is designed by the researcher uniquely for addressing a specific issue. Similarly secondary data provides beneficial information from previous works, which may be helpful for the objectives of a current study (Kumar, 2000).

2.2.2.1 Literature reviews

A literature review denotes the critical appraisal of the most recent scholarship of thematic area under study. Furthermore a sound review of literature highlights skills in gleaning and assessing data. Some

of the core documents included publications on the issue of migration such as Global Migration Governance GEG Working Paper 2008/43, European Union migration polity documents, Refugee Economies- RSC Research in Brief 2, October 2015 amongst others. These perused documents provided a comprehensive overview of the several themes covered in the study. Moreover the books consulted served to provide a rigorous and well-informed launch pad, which feeds into an enhanced conceptual work on the thematic areas of the study.

2.2.3.3 Desk Study/News Articles

News articles were vital to gaining current information on developments as the issue of migration and the measures being rolled out by various stakeholders to address this challenge.

2.3.4.2 Sampling

Sample space: Kvale and Brinkman (2009) argue that the numbers of respondents in a qualitative interview have bearings on the analysis and as a result the validity of the results. Hence it is prudent to interview as many relevant subjects as possible. However given resource limitations as per time and funds the most accessible and relevant people were consulted for the interview process with a profile of active involvement in addressing the issue of migration.

2.3.4.5 Interviews

Interviews

denote “a specific form of human interaction in which knowledge evolves through a dialogue” (Kvale, 1996). Interviews are carried out in several ways such as face to face interactions, telephonic dialogues, group interviews, individual interviews, internet interviews etc. Interviews are in many instances coupled with case studies as an auxiliary method (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009). The pre-informed consent of the interview respondents were obtained on case-by-case basis after which a semi-structured interview was conducted as per the goals of the project. Semi-structured interviews are “interviews whose purpose is to obtain descriptions of the life world of the interviewee with respect to interpreting the meaning of the described phenomenon” (Kvale 1996:6-7). Furthermore a semi-structured interview helps understand the day-to-day life of the interviewee from their own perspective as articulated by the respondent (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009).

2.3.4.5.1 Key informant interview

This refers to a standard in-depth dialogue approach with individuals who have unique insights about an issue and can be described as experts. These experts due to their profound knowledge can provide useful explanation on a phenomenon as well as make invaluable recommendations (USAID, 1996). Some key resource persons from a number of institutions were hence consulted.

For the purpose of data validity, different means of gathering data were used such as literature reviews, key informant interviews and participant observation. Furthermore, to ensure triangulation the key informants were chosen from diverse stakeholder groups to provide a myriad of perspectives on the refugee situation. Moreover the questionnaires were designed in a way that makes them simple to understand and follow the questions.

2.4.0 Data-Interpretation

The qualitative content analysis approach is used in the study to produce data for analysis. Content analysis encompasses the *“approach to the analysis of documents and texts which seeks to quantify content in terms of pre-determined categories in a systematic replicable manner”* (Bryman 2004).

Content analysis enables categories to emerge out of a data. Similarly the study analysis shall be premised on the data obtained from the transcriptions of the interviews. This method is appropriate in categorizing emergent themes, theories and associated issues that assist in realizing the study objectives. The interpretative content analysis technique considers human and social actions in the structure of text. Hence, interview transcripts as well as those of observed data can be changed into textual format to be analysed. Consequently, the study interviews were transcribed to reflect the concerns of the interviewees.

Furthermore, during the interview process, notes pertaining to the study goals were made whilst the interviews were also recorded for further reflection and cross-examination.

2.5.0 Qualitative research and ethics

Three key principles, traced to The Belmont Report (1979) have served as cardinal reference points which safeguard research ethics across disciplines (OHRP, 2012). These cardinal ethical ideals are reflected in this study and include:

Respect for persons this demands respect of the dignity of all research participants. Thus it requires acknowledgement of research participants' autonomy and their being protected from the exploitation of their vulnerabilities where autonomy may be diminished.

Beneficence surmises respecting the wellbeing of study subjects by shielding them from any related hazards and ensuring they also gain from any ensuing benefits as result of the research outcomes.

Justice posits a fair and equitable allocation of the challenges and opportunities of a research such that those saddled with the rigours of partaking in a research as subjects also gain from the benefit from the knowledge accrued. Contemporary bioethicists have postulated *Respect for communities* as a fourth principle which should be equally incorporated in research ethics (FHI, 2012). This suggests the customs and traditions of the subject populace be respected or valued in the course of the research and safeguard them from harm the manner of social responsibility (BPS, 2010).

Some hurdles were encountered in the course of the study, which have a bearing on the overall quality of the study.

2.6.1 Research Limitations

Given the prevailing time and resource constraints, the sample size was small nonetheless; the outcomes paint a comprehensive picture of the concerns and perspectives of the relevant key stakeholders.

The results may have been subject to interviewees' individual biases.

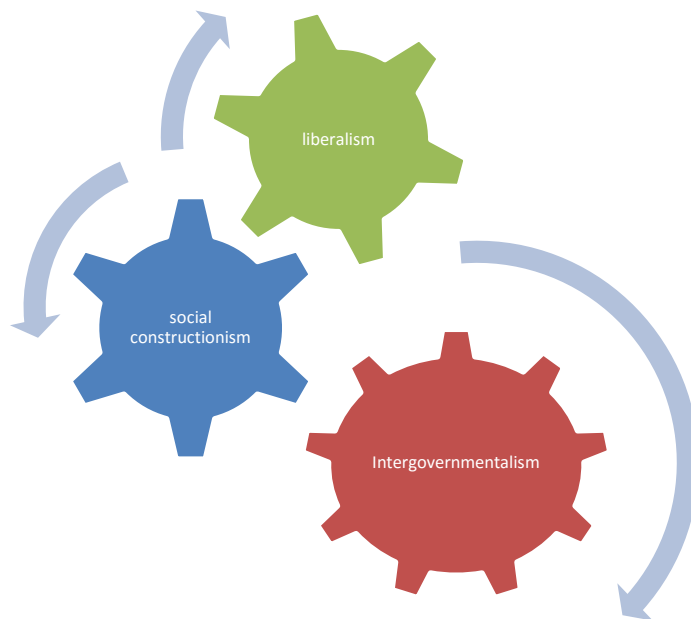
2.7 Sub-conclusion

This chapter has outlined the processes employed in conducting the research, explaining the philosophy of science, research approach, case study, means of gathering data and its eventual analysis. It also touched on the steps involved in carrying out the qualitative interviews and selection of interviewees. The proceeding section delves into the theoretical underpinnings of the study.

Chapter 3.0 Theoretical Framework

The theory section of the study is comprised of three interacting concepts which together help in better addressing the multi-faceted problem of migration. The proceeding figure demonstrates the interactive manner the concepts are combined. The main theory is thus supported by related concepts to help comprehensively address the research questions. Intergovernmentalism together with social constructionism and liberalism serve as building blocks, which together form the core theory in analyzing the research.

Fig. 3.1 Theoretical Underpinnings



Source: author

Figure 3.1 illustrates how the different concepts operate in the manner of a gear wheel to advance the theoretical underpinnings of the study. This helps to accentuate the unique strengths of each concept whilst their weaknesses are balanced or countered by the strength of another.

3.1 Social Constructionism

Social constructionism is also referred to as the social construction of reality (social concept) considers the formation of commonly developed understandings of the world that serve as the fundamental basis for perceptions about reality (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2009). It has origins in sociology and is related to the post-

modern era in qualitative research, which argues that observations are essentially a precise reflection of observed world (Murphy et al., 1998). The theory is premised on the idea that human beings draw meanings of their experience by forming models of the social world and which are communicated and shared through the medium of language (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2009). Hammersley (1992) therefore describes social constructionism as basically “*an anti-realist, relativist stance*”. Report on the refugee crisis equally affects people’s opinions and hence meaning of the whole situation. In many source nations the idea of Europe as a land flowing with milk and honey causes people to fall prey to people smugglers and take unreasonable risks due to the false picture that has been created. Similarly the unbalanced and prejudiced reportage on refugees tends to complicate the management of the refugee challenge.

Nevertheless, a social construct or construction denotes the sense or meaning attributed to a phenomenon by a society, and accepted by the populace as reflected in how they regard the phenomenon (Steedman, 2000). In due course, a social construct as an assumption becomes commonly embraced as normal by the society, however may not necessarily be the truth or reality as per other societies, and thus would be considered as an *invention* of that society (Steedman, 2000; Encyclopedia.com, 2016). A lot of refugees equally tend to hold false notions of their anticipated destination countries; even as destination countries may do same. It is therefore a core theme in social constructionism to trace the history of how individuals and societies jointly contribute in the formation of their conceived social reality. It includes considering how social phenomena are formed, institutionalized, popularized, and evolve into social traditions by people (Steedman, 2000).

The development of *social constructionism* can be traced to symbolic *interactionism* as well as *phenomenology* (Fairhurst & Grant, 2010). With time it has become a cardinal theme amongst social construct faithful that people create their social and cultural worlds and at the same time these worlds equally make them. This argument surmises that reality is exposed and hidden, created and destroyed by our activities (Fairhurst & Grant, 2010). The New Year Eve event in Germany involving many refugees comes to mind here. This is also viewed as a break from the conventional Western intellectual tradition whereby the researcher essentially looks for conviction in a representation of reality by making propositions (Schwandt, 2003; Fairhurst & Grant, 2010).

According to social constructionist, common realities are developed from mutual exchanges between and among social agents; moreover, reality fails to be an objective truth which is waiting to be discovered via positivist scientific inquiry (Fairhurst & Grant, 2010). On the contrary there exist several realities that vie for truth and legitimacy (Fairhurst & Grant, 2010). Thus social constructionism recognizes the essential role played by language and communication as vehicles for influencing social perceptions and the acceptance of reality. This is why most social constructionists embrace the notion that "language does not mirror reality; rather, it constitutes [creates] it (Fairhurst & Grant, 2010). The rhetoric on the refugee crisis is one language, which needs attention as well. That is why the UK government ahead of the pending referendum on the UK's future in the EU is using the media to provide information on its measures at addressing the refugee crisis for example. One of the chief criticisms of social constructionism is related to its perceived conceptualisation of realism and relativism. It is claimed to be anti-realist, in failing to accept that knowledge is a direct perception of reality (Schwandt, 2003). Others point to the fact that it fails to acknowledge the biological influences on behavior or culture, or surmises that they are insignificant for understanding of human behavior (Sokal & Bricmont, 1999). This is due to the widespread arguments amongst social scientists that behavior is a result of a complicated interaction between both biological and cultural influences (Ridley, 20014).

3.2 Liberalism

Liberalism refers to the political philosophy premised on ideals of liberty and equality (Kanazawa, 2010). Consequently liberalism prioritises the defence and enrichment of the freedom of the individual as the core problem of politics (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2016). Ideals such as press freedom, civil rights, democracy, religious freedom, freedom of expression, free markets, secular governments, and international cooperation are embraced by the philosophy of liberalism (Donohue, 2003: Wolin, 2004: Hashemi, 2009). Similarly, liberalism dismisses or opposes social and political traditions such as hereditary privilege, states funded on religions, absolute monarchy or accordance of divine right to regents. These ideals are some of the attractive traits of Europe, which causes people to look up to Europe and want to migrate there according to some of the respondents in the interview. Many people who flee their home nations do so as there is no recourse for them to defend themselves in the face of persecution or other equally life threatening situations. The ideals inherent in liberalism such as press freedom, civil

rights, democracy, religious freedom, freedom of expression, free markets, secular governments, and international cooperation help harness individuals' and societies' innate potentials with the attendant progressive social development and wealth creation as evidenced in much of Europe. Conversely its absence causes social stagnation and some cases failed states where the exodus of migrants is most evident.

Nonetheless, there exist typologies in liberalism: European liberalism (and classical liberalism) espouses liberty whilst American liberalism emphasises equality (Young, 2002). John Locke one of the principal proponents of Liberalism contends that every individual has an inherent right to life, liberty and property, which must not be compromised by governments as per the *social contract* (Locke, 2005). Liberals have hence characteristically argued against traditional conservatism and absolutism in government whilst promoting representative democracy and the rule of law.

Furthermore, liberals argue that government is needed to defend individuals from harm; but they concede that government as an agent can also serve as a threat to liberty encapsulated in the description of government as “a necessary evil”. Hence the state apparatus such as laws, police/army, judges which help to preserve an individual's life and liberty can equally be abused and used against them. This is evident in the some of the home countries of our respondents in the interview such as Eritrea, Somali and Palestine and the reason they choose Europe as a place of sanctuary.

3.3 Intergovernmentalism

The formation of the European Union is regarded as a prime example of regional integration and hence intergovernmentalism (European Union, 2015a). This political and economic amalgamation of 28 individual countries functions through a framework of supranational independent institutions and intergovernmental negotiated decisions (Albi, 2005).

Sovereignty is the main feature of an inter-state system. Hence in the absence of the notion of sovereignty there would be no states or an interstate system. This surmises that sovereignty is a significant concept in the context of European politics and is at the core of most debates about European integration. Sovereignty revolves around three basic distinguishing factors: first of all it means the legitimate right to absolute authority within a specified territorial space (*de jure* sovereignty); secondly

it also opines the capacity to regulate events in the particular territory (*de facto* sovereignty) and finally it acknowledges the right of the government to exercise ultimate authority as per a defined area by foreign states. When these factors are compromised it limits the degree to which a government can be recognised as sovereign. The idea of intergovernmentalism is only possible or achievable when there exist governments that satisfy the first and second prerequisites and furthermore these states recognise the legitimacy of each other (Albi, 2005). This makes intergovernmentalism in managing the refugee crisis a credible case in the EU as these prerequisites are satisfied.

Shared sovereignty

The formation of the European Union nonetheless evokes several fascinating questions regarding the sovereignty of its member states. It is often argued that becoming an EU member translates into ceding sovereignty to the EU. Although there are mechanisms which enable the EU to introduce laws that override those of member states; states first have to permit the EU for it to be able to do this (example through treaties) and, in principle they are at liberty to withdraw from the EU at any given time. Thence it can be said that EU states *pooled sovereignty*, in that they have jointly agreed to cooperate in decision-making such that the EU is permitted to make particular decisions in specific policy areas (Nugent, 2003).

Furthermore it is heavily debated by some scholars that the notion of *de facto* and *de jure* sovereignty can sometimes be conflicting (Nugent, 2003). Significant trends in globalisation have compromised states capacities to regulate events within their territories. Thus although states may have the *de jure* sovereignty, the capacity to exercise this in a *de facto* sense is becoming more and more difficult. Nonetheless by surrendering some *de jure* sovereignty and sharing sovereignty at the EU level, European states together can capitalise on the collective weight of the EU to enhance their *de facto* control over events in their respective countries. This has been happening in the case of refugees as countries like Greece, Malta and Italy, which feel overwhelmed by migrant exodus are aided by the EU.

Nugent (2003, p.475), rightly observes that intergovernmentalism denotes the “...*arrangements whereby nation states, in situations and conditions they can control, cooperate with one another on matters of common interest. The existence of control, which allows all participating states to decide the extent and*

nature of this cooperation means that national sovereignty is not directly undermined." In such situations states are at liberty to cooperate or otherwise and are also capable of determining the degree of cooperation. This is often guaranteed via a veto mechanism, such that a state, can oppose any scheme tabled by any other party or parties which it deems to be a threat to its strategic interests. This comes with no loss (or pooling) of sovereignty. Consequently states simply cooperate when they like to and refuse to cooperate when they do not like to. However Betts (2008) points to migration as one topical issue, which needs governments to cooperate in addressing it for long-term success.

One of the chief challenges in international relation is attributed to the distinction between international and local politics. Thus although there is a sovereign in domestic politics to guarantee the prevalence of law and order; this is not the same in international politics where there is nothing like a sovereign. This in theory leads to a situation of chaos and anarchy due to the lack of a *world government* (Morgenthau, 1948; Betts 2008). In 1994 the Global Commission presented its findings in a report *Our Global Neighbourhood* outlining the various ways by which states can collaborate to effectively address a range of urgent issues in our contemporary world like the environment, trans-national crime and conflict. This surmises there is a myriad of roles international institutions and international organisations play in controlling events that transcend the jurisdiction of nation-states (Betts, 2008). Consequently intergovernmentalism is a useful tool in that it marks a departure of individual states exercising absolute authority over policy making towards the condition where the behaviour of states and other relevant agents is steered by other institutions which occupy a unique space beyond the nation state (Betts, 2008). Furthermore, globalisation has brought in its wake a number of transboundary issues which countries cannot deal with in isolation such as migration. Presently what exists in terms of migration governance are largely fragmented and incoherent policies and woefully inadequate in tackling a complex as well as dynamic phenomenon like global migration (Newland, 2005). The need for joint collaboration between governments in dealing with global migration can therefore not be overemphasised (Betts, 2008).

3.4 Analytical Framework

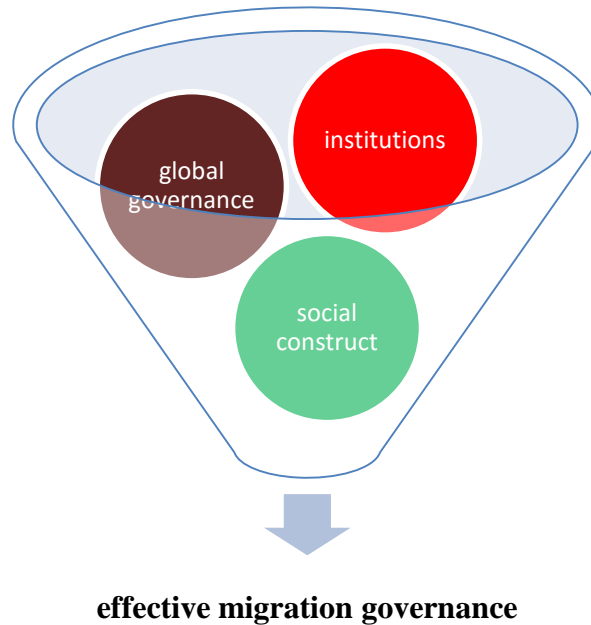
The outlined theoretical frameworks will serve as basis for the case study results analysis. Some of the notions related to the core theories, which will help in the analysis, include:

Institutions as per liberalism theory are critical in maintaining law and order as well creating the conducive atmosphere for people to thrive. The breakdown of institutions often leads to chaos and anarchy and which causes people to flee in search of a better life elsewhere. The narrative of migration points to this factor in several instances. Institutions are instruments used by governments to manage national issues such as the refugee question. The breakdown of institutions in source countries and the attendant hardships it brings is what causes people to flee such places to places where institutions are functioning with the associated social advancement.

Global governance: the phenomenon of global migration has evolved to become one that is beyond the capacity of any single state to deal with alone thus requiring international cooperation to effectively deal with it. This aspect considers how good leadership can help address the pressing issue of refugees for long term success. This cooperation between different national governments and international organizations such as the UN has become imperative given the nature and scope of present migration.

Social construct: the migration phenomenon has taken centre stage in global media with varying coverage and interpretations which tend to influence public opinion and the nature of response whether hostile or otherwise towards refugees. Similarly the wrong notion of the West as a place flowing with milk and honey makes refugees prone to exploitation by people smugglers. It is therefore relevant to equally consider how social constructionism is influencing the success or otherwise of strategies in dealing with migration. This aspect of the study ponders the question of how the media affects and sways public affection or disaffection in dealing with the refugee situation.

Fig 3.2 Analytical Framework



3.5 Sub-Conclusion

In this chapter of the study, the theoretical premise of the study namely liberalism, social constructivism and intergovernmentalism are explored in relation to addressing the refugee crisis and the unique opportunities and challenges presented. The proceeding chapter highlights the context in which the study is carried out.

Chapter 4.0 Study Context

4.1 Revising the EU Broad Strategy

The European Union at the Crossroads- Rallying Behind a Common Global Strategy

"More than a decade after the 2003 European Security Strategy, the world has changed dramatically. And we have changed as well. For this reason I have launched a period of strategic reflection on the EU's way ahead in the world. It will lead to an EU Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy.

This process gives us the opportunity to forge a stronger and more effective EU foreign policy and engage

the public on debates about foreign policy. In today's world foreign policy is not just a question for experts – it affects all of us: from the food we eat and the clothes we wear to our daily security and the future prosperity of our children. This is why I believe it is important to involve all of you in our strategic reflection – to hear many voices and get different perspectives." Federica Mogherini, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (Europa. Eu, 2016).

These words reverberated across the EU and set the tone for the EU foreign policy debate early in 2016 as the EU sought to engage all and sundry on their perspectives of the EU's foreign policy interests, goals and ways to realise them (Europa.Eu, 2016). The need for a global strategy for the EU had become evident given the drastic changes in the global environment. Hence the European Union's Heads of State and Government agreed to evaluate the challenges and opportunities associated with these shifts, which will culminate in a *EU Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy* to steer the European Union's global engagement in the future. The Global Strategy, which is to be outdoored by June 2016 by EU leaders, will engage with Member States, EU Institutions and the wider foreign policy community (Europa. Eu, 2016). Furthermore our contemporary world is highly interlinked, contested and complex hence making the global stage increasingly unpredictable, creating instability and ambiguity. Consequently it has become imperative for the European Union to reconsider this uncertain environment, where both opportunities and challenges coexist. This is to be achieved under the framework of an *EU Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy* to advance the European Union's interests worldwide, and guarantee its security at internally and beyond its frontiers (Europa. Eu, 2016).

In furtherance of this objective the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy hosted a forum on 17th March in Brussels where she stressed that the strategy will focus on "human security" in a period of immense uncertainty and change: dealing with traditional security matters but as well as development, human mobility (including the refugee crises), climate change and human rights (EES.europa, 2016). Given the pressing issue of migration she went further to explain that we in times of unparalleled human mobility across the globe: *"This is the new normal, and people like you understand it very well. If you try to stop water by building a wall, water will find another way. We need to find new solutions, European solutions."* (EES.europa, 2016).

Fig. 4.1 EU Commissioner Outlines EU Future Strategy to the Union



Federica Mogherini hosts a forum to address the EU's Youth

Source: (http://eeas.europa.eu/top_stories/2016/170316_eu-global-strategy_erasmus-alumni-event_en.htm)

As a proactive international relations student who has benefitted from the quality education afforded by the Aalborg University and Danish system in general I followed this event with keen interest and made participated by submitting my recommendations on various themes addressed by this forum. Moreover being resident in one of the most advanced nations in the EU, I had learnt from the ``janlav`` to be a responsible Danish and global citizen who takes active involvement in social issues.

Nonetheless, a few days after the EU commissioner's address, the de-facto capital of the EU brussels was attacked by so-called Islamic State (IS) killing 34 people. The timing and location (yards from the European Union headquarters) of these attacks could not have come at a worse time when the debate on migration was top on the agenda given that the perpetrators were of migrant origin and were equally linked to a previous bombing in Paris. Although this led to the claim that Europe as a whole was under attack, it also exposed differences amongst member states on the migration issue. Furthermore in UK where there is a pending referendum on whether to join the EU or exit it is gathering storm, parties

opposed to joining the EU argued that if the de-facto EU capital was so vulnerable then the UK was better off not joining such a group (BBC, 2015).

4.2 Brussels Attack Opens Debate on EU Strategy



EU foreign policy chief Federica Mogherini on Brussels Bombings

Source: (www.express.co.uk, 2016)

These developments nevertheless accentuated calls for the EU to tackle the underlining causes of migration.

4.2 *Understanding the Root Causes of Migration*

The volume of migration from the Middle East and Africa to Europe is unparalleled and projected to escalate due to unrest in Syria, Libya and Yemen, and the abject socio-economic challenges faced by communities in North and Sub-Saharan Africa. The UN consequently labelled this grim scenario ‘a tragedy of epic proportions’. Moreover the appalling living conditions, hazards and brutality which face refugees have captured the international media headlines as efforts to alleviate human suffering and curb migration flows pick gear (Swanson and Stevens, 2015).

Similarly both origin and neighboring countries feel the consequences although they gain less attention. Hence it is estimated that together Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq and Turkey play host to more than alone four million Syrian refugees. This has increased the population of Lebanon by 25% from 2011 such that it has the largest per capita concentration of refugees worldwide. Such situations come with huge implications on host economies and infrastructure, exacerbating the situation of decent shelter, healthcare, work and quality education. Eventually, deteriorating refugee conditions in these host nations motivates them to migrate farther as they see no hope in situations improving (Swanson and Stevens, 2015).

Moreover, the Central Mediterranean route principally employed by Syrian refugees has become attractive to Sub-Saharan Africa migrants, involving countries embroiled in civil unrest like Eritrea (20% of total numbers) and Somalia (10%). Nonetheless from these nations are termed ‘economic migrants’, as their motivations for migration do not satisfy the legal definition of persecution and thus technically cannot be considered refugees. However these people are trying to defy all odds to migrate to Europe, as they attempt to escape abject poverty and deprivation owing to poor socio-economic conditions in countries that fail to satisfy their fundamental human needs. Others argue such migrants best fit the definition ‘survival migrants’ (Betts, 2008; Swanson and Stevens, 2015).

Although the issues that cause such large population shifts are generally complicated and diverse, they essentially point to the fact that the security and development needs in source countries are largely unmet.

4.3 Other Root Factors

Aside Syria, internal and regional warfare in Libya and Yemen have all contributed to the crisis in the Arab world as thousands of Arabs are compelled to flee their homes. Aside the continuing influence of the West and Russia in the war in fighting ISIS or helping the Assad regime, the increased military interventions by Turkey and Saudi Arabia has further escalated the humanitarian crisis (Mednicof, 2016). Furthermore, thousands of Africans also seek greener pastures in Europe through hazardous routes, with most setting off from Libya. The majority of such African migrants are from Eritrea including several other sub-Saharan regions.

Finding a *Marshall Plan* for the Refugee Crisis

It has become widely accepted that the answer to the refugee problem is not in simply resettling and providing the basic needs of current refugees (Betts, 2008). However it embraces interventions in source that enhance resilience, improve stability and accelerate development, resulting in less impetus for mass migration. Other argue that there is a need for ‘Marshall Plan’ for the Middle East and North Africa, borrowing from the US strategy that accelerated the re-building of much of Western Europe after the Second World War, in stimulating the private sector and encouraging institutional reforms (Swanson and Stevens, 2015).

Thus targeted investment in source countries aimed at economic development and institutional reform will eventually result in the desired stability and wealth to enhance human development indices, which will help limit migration influx (Betts, 2008). Multilateral institutions and donor nations must focus on measures that boost systemic reform in key countries, enhancing human resource development and job opportunities, strengthening stability and associated institutions that are crucial for wealth creation, improved opportunities for the teeming youth, boosting entrepreneurship and enhancing education and civil society (Swanson and Stevens, 2015).

Consequently, the measures improve *“education, skills, human capital, the rule of law, the capacity of judicial systems, and the strength and role of civil society, and to give young people increased opportunities and hope for a better future”*. This claim is in line with the debate from some academic quarters (Nugent, 2003), that *“that economic growth, developing state capacity, and strengthening rule*

of law and mechanisms of accountability can be important means of helping countries become more prosperous and secure places for the next generation to live their lives`` (Swanson and Stevens, 2015).

4.4 Further Arguments on Dealing with Root Causes of Migration

According to Lindstrom (2003) there are three core arguments on how best to approach the issue of refugees: voluntary repatriation to source countries, local integration, or resettling another country. Since the adoption of the Geneva Convention on the Status Relating to Refugees (UN 1951), the option of resettling refugees seemed to be the ideal approach. Conversely, with the end of the Cold War the population of people in search of asylum rose exponentially such that resettlement was no longer appealing to host countries (Chimni 1999). Moreover the resettling of refugees is claimed to unjustifiably institutionalise exile to the detriment of the right of such refugees to return to their home nations (Coles 1989).

In addition the hitherto approach of seeing asylum seekers as people desperate for humanitarian assistance and protection has been replaced by the perception of refugee influx – often not considered as bona fide asylum seekers - as an existential threat, ``not only to the national economy and its welfare distribution, but also to the existing social order`` (Lindstrom, 2003 pg3).

There has been increasing highlight at interventions that will induce the circumstances that will discourage people from fleeing. Thus ‘Source control’ approaches including the prevention of civil unrest, development aid, trade and political dialogue have been rolled out to avoid or lessen the migration stimulus. Similarly, root causes of migration hinges on both internal and external factors. Key external factors point to colonialism, a product of the cold war, weak and failed state, the result of unfair trade terms and of international businesses on the local economy, the unregulated trade of trade, and development assistance, especially the structural adjustment projects of the Bretton Woods institutions (Dekker 1991, Chimni 1998).

Bad governance, weak social structures, population explosion, alarming rates of unemployment, conflicts for the control and allocation of resources, poor management of the economy and abject poverty, coupled with religious and ethnic hatred all comprise internal root causes (Anderson 1992, Gilbert 1993).

Tackling the root effects of migration is a complex goal given the hydra-headed nature of the phenomenon as it interacts with themes of development and commerce, democracy and basic human rights, demography and labour market issues, as well as external and security policy inter alia.

Zetter (1988) argues that the myriad of root factors in forced migration and the ensuing convoluted interplay with basic economic related factors makes the root causes debate inaccurate and misleading as an analytic tool or as a reference for policy-making. Furthermore, it is incapable of stopping migration given the competing interests at the core of these issues considering the complicated and unpredictability of migratory pressures and the related conditions resulting in mass displacement (Collinson 1993). Nonetheless, a resultant normative problem has been created with the presumption that migration needs to stop by more interventions aimed at control and deterrence, an approach that is equally considered ineffective for handling security and stability concerns within the borders of the European Union (Busch 1998a, 1998b).

4.5 Inter-state Versus Regional Agreements

Although the decision to migrate is often an individual affair it comes with consequences for countries hence there are a number of bilateral agreements amongst countries to help address the ensuing questions posed by migration. Furthermore these bilateral agreements are linked to trade and development terms. Such agreements include the collaboration between Spain and Morocco, Libya and Italy, France and Senegal, the United States and Mexico, Indonesia and Australia. It is evident that such agreements couple migration with other topical issues like trade and development aid (Betts, 2008).

Aside the interstate partnerships, regional bodies such as the EU, ASEAN, NAFTA have evolved regional measures to deal with migration. Nevertheless the EU is regarded as having the most advanced programme dealing with asylum and immigration – having a two pronged approach: an internal element which promotes unhindered flow of labour within the union and an external arm which is fashioned to strengthen the regulation migration influx via external partnerships and third countries (Betts, 2008).

Towards a Paradigm Shift in Managing Refugees

One of the key highlights of the Oxford University's Refugee Studies Centre briefings on the pressing refugee crisis was that ``Conventional approaches to refugee assistance in protracted refugee situations is unsustainable`` and no other situation best fits this description than the prevailing migrant crises (RSC, 2015).

Moreover it has become common knowledge that there is a global displacement crisis on a scale unprecedented since the Second World War as reflected in the case of over 20 million refugees worldwide. Although the refugee numbers are on the ascendancy governments are generally unwilling to offer assistance even as the current refugee regime is equally inadequate to address this complex problem.

One key demerit of the present refugee regime is that it addresses refugees and displacement as simply a humanitarian issue. When people seek refuge across borders, the common approach is to satisfy their basic human needs for shelter and nutrition for example. Although this is useful in terms of emergency relief, in the long run it tends to result in decency.

Given that more than half of the world's refugees find themselves in protracted refugee conditions spending an average of 17 years in exile: this paints a bad picture for the wellbeing of a significant number of the global populace. Moreover such refugees are generally challenged with limited work opportunities and restricted movement with grave consequences for human rights and global security.

This conventional approach to addressing the refugee problem is full of loopholes and further complicated in the face of hostile responses from host nations, international donors reluctance to fund such high numbers of refugees ad infinitum in refugee camps and the perilous journeys undertaken by refugees in search of better lives.

There is therefore the need to re-examine present refugee assistance as they lose sight of the skilfulness, talents and hopes of refugees. Thus the inherent capabilities of refugees need to be harnessed so they can make input into the economic and socio-cultural life of their host nations rather than become liabilities.

Development-based measures have come to the fore as an alternative to surmounting the grave consequences of protracted refugee conditions. This has fuelled the debate on relief-to-development as per refugee work. However this comes with their inherent weakness. Especially they tend to be state-centric, based on the assumption that donor governments may offer further development aid to encourage host states to accept full responsibility for refugees or their eventual local integration. There is a missing link vis a vis the market-based activities of the refugees.

4.6 Refugee Economies

The economic lives of refugees need to be taken into cognisance if the goal of overcoming dependence is to be successful. By accounting for the variances in economic lifestyles of refugees the policy and practice of refugee assistance can be refashioned. Hence the notion of refugee economies surmises the ``the resource allocation systems relating to the lives of refugees. It represents an attempt to look holistically at what shapes the production, consumption, finance and exchange activities of refugees and to begin to explain variation in economic outcomes for refugees themselves`` (RSC, 2015 pg. 2).

The Unique Context of a Refugee

On the surface refugees are not extraordinary from any other person however they are confronted by unique institutional and contextual challenges which highlights their distinction encompassing three main thematic areas (RSC, 2015):

- i) They are found between state and international governance, since refugees are partly under the authority of host state government and partly under the authority of international organisations
- ii) Between formal and informal sectors, having some legitimate sectors to the formal economy but also frequently facing regulatory restrictions compared to citizens.
- iii) Between national and transnational economies as the primary sources of exchange and capital for refugees may be trans-boundary.

Despite the grave consequences of global governance and international politics of migration on both states and individuals collectively, there is a dearth of knowledge on these issues as they have been given little research (Betts, 2008).

4.7 Global Governance and Migration

Globalisation is one of the defining characteristics of our modern times. It is argued that `` international migration represents one of the most obvious contemporary manifestations of globalisation`` (Betts, 2008). The increase in international travel is associated with significant human mobility across frontiers. It is estimated that between the period 1970 to 2005, the volume of international migrants rose from 82 to 200 million which represents 3% of the global populace (GCIM, 2005). It is interesting to note that in most global polity where trans-frontier movements are associated such as climate change, communicable diseases, international trade inter alia, there exists an institutionalised cooperation regime like in the United Nations. In addition countries opt to be signatories to several international agreements under the oversight of some international organisations. Such measures are a tacit acknowledgement that collective action and cooperation are often more successful in achieving nations`` interests than unilateralism and inter-state competition (Betts, 2008).

Nevertheless in spite of the international nature of migration and the interrelatedness of most countries`` migration polity there currently exists no global institutional regime to coordinate the response of countries to international migration. Hence there exists nothing like a *UN Migration Organisation* or an *international migration regime* as individual countries have uncontested power to fashion out their individual migration policy according to their wishes.

International migration embraces a myriad of policy categories: low-skilled labour migration, high-skilled labour migration, irregular migration, international travel, lifestyle migration, environmental migration, human trafficking and smuggling, asylum and refugee protection, internally displaced people, diaspora, remittances and root causes (Betts, 2008; Swanson & Davidson, 2015). All of these are treated in different ways and separately.

It is worth noting that in spite of the marked absence of a ``top-down`` multilateral regime in migration governance, there is a burgeoning ``bottom-up`` strategy. Hence in place of a non-existent multilateral institution, states are forming *ad hoc* structures for migration governance. This is exhibited in the ever-increasing spectrum of bilateral, regional and inter-regional frameworks, which permit the selective engagement of individual countries in various forms of informal cooperation with each other (Betts, 2008; Swanson & Davidson, 2015). Furthermore, there are other policy areas whose regulation have a direct bearing on the nature of migration. Hence the regulation of trade, health inter alia directly has implications for the migration governance. These all result in complicated, fragmented and parallel institutional regimes.

Consequently in the absence of solid migration governance, individual countries are left to fashion out their unique migration polity as per their national interests (Betts, 2008). Powerful migrant host states, receive migrants they deem to be a net benefit and equally refuse those adjudged to be a net liability. Conversely, less powerful states are forced to embrace the regulatory regime that emanates from those produced by other states (Swanson & Davidson, 2015).

Global governance consists of a number of formal and informal institutions at different levels of governance and involving a number of state and non-state actors. There are different perspectives to the governance of global migration. According to Koslowski (2008) global migration governance revolves around three core mobility regimes comprising the refugee, travel and labour migration regimes. However Betts (2008) counters that international migration can be rather be decomposed into a number of policy categories: ``*low skilled labour migration, high skilled labour migration, irregular migration, international travel, life style migration, environmental migration, human trafficking and smuggling, asylum and refugee protection, internally displaced people, diaspora, remittances and root causes*`` (Betts, 2008 pg. 9).

4.8 Sub-conclusion

This part of the study has profiled the underlining circumstance under which the issues of migration are played out and the current leanings of debates on the best approach to addressing this issue amongst others. Evaluation of these debates in relation to interview results and other literature is presented in the following chapter.

Chapter 5.0 Results & Discussion

The study sought to investigate how an effective coordinated EU response to address the issue of refugee/illegal migration be realised for long-term success. In helping to answer this, the study considers why most refugees choose Europe as their choice destination; the cause of lack of coordinated international response; what measures host countries can adopt to effectively address this challenge.

5.1 The Choice of Europe as Choice Destination; socio-economic triggers and social constructivism undertones

Europe has emerged over the years as the most prosperous continent in the world. For many people in poor nations there is the wrong notion of Europe as a land flowing with milk and honey where all their dreams will materialise automatically. Although there are genuine refugees and asylum seekers, this wrong perception has contributed to the mass exodus of economic migrants (Betts, 2008). For example interviewee A (an asylum seeker from Palestine) confesses `` *I did not know much about Denmark, I did not choose to come to Denmark but I heard Denmark was a great country*``. But he is not the only one. Interviewee B (an asylum seeker from Eritrea) continues `` I just knew that it is a peaceful country, that is all I knew about Denmark and it is safe``. Similarly interviewee C (a Somali asylum seeker) adds `` *Back in Somalia I did not know much about Denmark, I was just hear about it when I was coming out of my country.*`` Such views of Europe as a place where people become rich overnight is pervasive and due to wrong perceptions owing to social construct. Managing the migrant crisis is a convoluted matter however the EU is probably better placed than any other to tackle this challenge and reaping the potential economic benefits associated (OECD, 2016). According to the OECD (2016) in evaluating the impact of migrant inflows, opponents more often than not dwell on the upfront costs for host countries, while overlooking the economic the significant dividends. This is huge flaw as the OECD (2016)'' *estimates that in 2016 and 2017, additional public spending on processing asylum applications and welcoming refugees could boost aggregate demand in the European economy by about 0.1-0.2% of GDP*``. The complication associated with dealing with the migrant situation is equally due to the framing or construct as it plays out in the European media and public narrative.

The term constructivism has several meanings to different interest groups such that some criticise it as being empty of meaning hence being used purely as an ideological tool whilst others go further to

describe it as a religion with different sects (Phillips, 1995). Nonetheless such criticism is countered by proponents of constructivism who argue that it is premised on a strong theoretical foundation even as there are differences about the epistemological and theoretical status of constructivism (Sjøberg, 2010). Consequently whilst some academics identify with individual and cognitive constructivism (as per Jean Piaget) others relate more with social constructivism (as per Lev Vygotsky).

The construction of meaning and knowledge can basically revolve around (Sjøberg, 2010):

1. Our individual knowledge about the world? (e.g., children construct their own knowledge)
2. The shared and accepted scientific knowledge about the world as it exists in established science? (e.g., scientific knowledge is socially constructed) or
3. The world itself? (e.g., the world is socially constructed)

The initial question falls more in the domain of psychology and educational or learning theory, with the remaining two falling under the domains of philosophy and epistemology. Furthermore the second question is steeped in the sociology of knowledge and also science (Sjøberg, 2010).

Sjøberg (2010) argues that two of the core ideals of constructivism and learning is that

- i) Learners have their own individual ideas about the world, but there are also many similarities and common patterns in their ideas. Some of these ideas are socially and culturally accepted and shared and are often part of the language, supported by metaphors, etc. They also often function well as tools to understand many phenomena.
- ii) These ideas are often at odds with accepted scientific ideas and some of them may be persistent and hard to change.

Dunning (2016), whilst acknowledging the rich tapestry of individual and communal knowledge admits that in the current globalised and hyper-connected world such knowledge whether accurate or biased is disseminated faster than ever in history. This has made it possible for politicians, rumour mongers, interest groups to spread false information over the Internet. This is further complicated by the fact that it is extremely difficult to differentiate false information from factual information (Dunning, 2016).

Srikanth surmises that this challenge with bias and prejudiced false information gaining ground has been observed in the narrative on the refugee crisis. Hence even as plans were far advanced for the first cohort of Syrian families to relocate in the United States from refugee camps in Jordan, the campaign to influence attitudes gained huge traction about this group (Srikanth, 2016). This is as 31 state governors proclaimed their reluctance to host any Syrian refugees even as they did not have the legitimate authority to turn them away. To complicate matters, the two leading Republican presidential candidates have been outspoken about their misgivings and resentment toward these refugees (Srikanth, 2016). The dilemma facing fleeing Syrians from the current chaos in their country has been visited on other groups as well. Srikanth (2016) argues that several groups have been regarded as unwelcome and hence labelled as *“the enemy” in the past – including Native Americans, rebellious slaves, people of Japanese descent, communists and, most recently, Arab-Americans and Muslims*”.

5.1.1 Social Constructivism and the Refugee Crisis: the case of Syrian refugees

Fig. 5.1 Reportage on the migrant crisis in some major EU newspapers



Source: (Berry et al., 2016)

Currently the Syrian civil war is in its fifth year showing little signs of ending (Cohen, 2016). It is estimated that the unrest has cause over 13.5 million Syrians to flee from their homes. However a majority of these people have not left Syria, but are internally displaced seeking to get out of the way of

the fighting. However another circa 4.8 million has left Syria in a search for security (Cohen, 2016). Most of the presumptions about Syrian refugees are based on wrong information (Cohen, 2016). For example the majority of refugees are not young men as over “75 percent of the refugees fleeing Syria are women and children and more than 40 percent of those children are under 14 years of age” (Cohen, 2016).

In addition Cohen (2016) claims that for most Syrian refugees immigrating to Europe is not their prime goal as only 13.5 percent of the refugees try to reach European Union countries. The majority are found in neighbouring countries such as Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey hoping that the violence at home ends so they can return (Cohen, 2016). Hence the situation is such that most Syrian refugees are spread over the Middle East and northern Africa; as over 650,000 Syrians have found refuge in Jordan. Lebanon gives shelter to more than 1 million and whilst 2.6 million are residing in Turkey not to mention the significant populations in Iraq, Egypt and Libya. Some of the Syrian refugees have also found refuge in Canada (more than 20 thousand). Aside the massive refugee intakes of Germany and Sweden, on the whole the world’s wealthiest countries – including the U.S. and Australia – have not done much to resettle Syrians fleeing violence in their homeland.

Turkey is argued to have borne the brunt of financial costs of the crisis as the nation is forced to spend more than \$500 million monthly, amounting in excess of US\$7.5 billion, on Syrian refugees. Moreover even as the UNHCR uses circa \$1,057 for each refugee yearly, it laments that there is a \$2.5 billion dollar shortfall, which needs to be dealt with if all refugees are to be catered for (Cohen, 2016).

Fig. 5.2 Insight into Refugee Dwellings



Zaatari refugee camp in Jordan.

Source the Telegraph (2016)

The UNHCR projects only circa 10 percent of Syrians have shelter in a camp. Similarly, Mercy Corps argues that Syrian families found in Lebanon and Turkey are in rooms devoid of basic heat and running water, some in discarded chicken coops and storage sheds (Cohen, 2016). Nevertheless those who finally settle in camps also are confronted with immense challenges. The Zaatari refugee camp in Jordan, home to more than 85,000 people, has gained the accolade a “do-it-yourself metropolis” highlighting the poor and dysfunctional state of the camp.

5.1.1.1 New Year’s Eve Celebrations in Germany

For example on New Year’s eve in Germany, there were hundreds of reported cases of sexual assaults, stealing and rapes across several cities such as Cologne, Hamburg, Frankfurt and other places (Beckmann, 2016). According to Deutschewelle (2016) there were over 1,900 victims (mostly women) and about 1,000 men may have been involved. The account of the police suggests the culprits were of Arab or North African origin and that such level of crime was unparalleled in the country (BBC, 2016)

The attacks drew global outrage and concerns on women's rights, the sustainability of Germany's asylum regime, and the cultural Germany's asylum policy, and socio-cultural disparities between European, North African and Middle Eastern communities. The incident sharply divided the German society, as they were claims and counter claims of the exact origins of the perpetrators. Whilst some argued that the vast majority were asylum seekers and illegal migrants recently settled in Germany (Associated Press, 2016), Huggler (2016) observed that “..149 of the 153 suspects of the Cologne crimes were non-Germans, many of them asylum seekers or illegal immigrants. 103 of the 153 suspects were from Morocco or Algeria. 68 persons were asylum seekers; 18 were residing in Germany illegally, and the legal status of 47 persons was unclear. Four persons were underage, unaccompanied refugees”.

Fig. 5.2 a, b **Public Outrage Against New Year's Eve Assaults**



Angry Germans take to the Streets to Voice Anger at New Year Eve Attacks

Source: (Jerusalem Post, 2016: Infostormer, 2016)

The German newspaper equally summed up the situation “as much of it contradictory, much of it real, much of it imagined. Some was happenstance, some was exaggerated and much of it was horrifying” (Spiegel, 2016). Nevertheless to Spiegel (2016) the New Year's Eve scenario was a déjà vu; the concerns of Pegida followers, refugee aids, the vulnerable women and that of the German chancellor all manifested

on that day causing the Republican front runner Donald Trump to remark that Germany "*is going through massive attacks to its people by the migrants allowed to enter the country.*" (Spiegel, 2016)

Similarly the Paris terrorist attacks orchestrated by European residents of North African origin caused several Americans and Europeans to distance themselves from helping Syria refugees. Claims of refugees being behind these crimes made Americans to be suspicious of Syrian refugees and become more inclined to supporting military intervention against ISIS, not Assad (Mednicoff, 2016).

Mednicoff (2016) hence argues that such events all correlate with how West has responded to the Syrian crises as the general public harden's its stance towards the refugees. This is more so as polls indicate 48% of Americans support borders being closed to refugees, something Mednicoff (2016) argues to be a "*compassion fatigue*".

5.2 Impact of Social Construct on Politics and Institutions

In a democracy such as much of Western Europe the leaders are accountable to the populace and hence need to live up to the expectation of the voting population. The expectations of the populace is shaped by the information they receive and as such the media is very important in keeping the general public well informed and shaping their opinions, hence they social construct on different social issues.

5.2.1 The German Example

Three German federal states voted in new parliamentarians that gave the Alternative for Germany (AfD), a right-wing party that seeks to significantly limit immigration to Germany great gains over that of Angela Merkels CDU. Consequently analysts called the elections verdicts on the "open-door" refugee policy, which had alienated many voters (Karcher, 2016).

5.2.2 Austrian example

Austrian Chancellor Werner Faymann resigned suddenly as pressure mounted on him on his poor handling of the refugee crisis and asylum seekers inter alia (Fiddler, 2016).

Fig. 5.3 Migrant Crisis Impacts Political Landscape in Austria



Werner Faymann bows to pressure

Source Fiddler (2016)

This became worse as he was greeted with boos and whistles at the 2016 May Day celebrations. This resignation brought in new leaders which changed the institutional approach to dealing with the refugee crisis towards the right (Fiddler, 2016)

5.2.3 The English Debate

The situation is no different in the UK. According to Phinnemore & İçener (2016), the anti-immigration rhetoric of Brexit argument has further highlighted the question of more enlargement of the European Union. Justice secretary Michael Gove has bemoaned the funds being spent on five current candidates – *Albania, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Turkey* – warning that “another 88m people will soon be eligible for NHS care and school places for their children”. While Albania bore the brunt of Gove’s

supposedly “piercing logic and passionate eloquence”, Turkey was very much in his sights as well. Gove railed against EU plans to grant visa-free travel to 77m Turks and “to absorb this Muslim state” adding: How can it possibly be sensible to allow Turkey, in its current straits, and with Islamic State on its border, to become a full member of the EU?’` (Phinnemore & İçener, 2016). This has raised fears that in the event of a Brexit, the institutional face of the UK will be that of people who will stifle any serious engagement with the rest of Europe. Hence social construct has a huge impact in Western Democracies where the voice of the people very much matters. This comes in the face of increasing that Eastern European migration has been underreported and is far worse than the official statistics according Migration Watch (Balch A & Carmel, 2016).

5.3 Addressing social constructivism in the migration debate

Dealing with poor information: avoid practicing confirmation bias whereby one simply shares ideas that are in consonance with their worldview and lends support to evidence that is line with their associated prejudiced theories without questioning their authenticity or exercising some cautious skepticism for better-reasoned decisions of greater quality.

Such scepticism is necessary to avoid naively believing any message spread across but questioning it. Such exercise of disconfirmation bias is what is needed to challenge prejudice and appreciate alternative debates on the refugee crisis (Dunning, 2016).

Similarly borrowing from American history Srikanth opines that in 17th-century Massachusetts attempts by novelist Catharine Maria Sedgwick to reverse pervasive hostility towards Native American in the literature “Hobomok” (1824) was admirable and won public sympathy however it failed to stem the aggressive policy of Native American Removals. However in contrast the Frederick Douglass’ 1853 novella “[The Heroic Slave](#)” and Harriet Beecher Stowe’s “Uncle Tom’s Cabin,” aided in portraying slaves in a humane and positive light to the American public and helped shape public opinion thus making tremendous impact.

People who assist groups and individuals regarded as risk often do so not because they are controlled by a particular individual but rather hold claim to a larger cause. For example volunteers who assist migrants in the inhospitable desert of Arizona profess being motivated by their Christian values whilst lawyers defending Guantánamo Bay detainees draw inspiration from values enshrined in the United States Constitution (Srikanth, 2016).

A just society, is one that creates its laws and policies through a “veil of ignorance,” meaning without taking cognizance of the individuals original background such as race, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status or other features influencing life prospects (Srikanth, 2016).

Taking this debate of the just society to the world stage, would according to some political scientists involve instituting society and its institutions in such a manner that despite ones place of birth, everyone would have equal freedoms, and the less privileged would be able to better their conditions.

Literature is one vehicle, which can help in getting a better understanding of groups and a phenomenon. Thus arguably, media coverage of pressing global issues such as terrorism, refugees inter alia need not be unduly sensationalized.

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5. 4 Achieving International Cooperation in Addressing the Refugee Problem

The quest to find a long lasting solution has drawn international institutions and governments to cooperate. Such arguments equally resonate with the stance of the Vatican as the Pope visited Lesbos to throw light on the human costs of the Syrian civil war and the refugee crisis. Whilst arguing that societies go beyond their differences and find solutions that are based on dignity, unity and compassion subsequently bringing 12 refugees with him to the Vatican. There have been mixed reactions to such efforts embracing refugees. However the OECD (2016) takes an optimistic stance arguing that such efforts are vital and come with eventual payoffs as “ *Migrants pay taxes, make social security contributions, and in many cases receive fewer benefits. They also contribute to innovation and economic growth*” (OECD, 2016).

Fig. 5.4 Migrant Crisis Draws in Different Stakeholders



Pope Francis at the Moria detention (Greek island of Lesbos) Source (VOA, 2016)

Consequently, in early 2016 the European Union and Turkey signed onto a new regime, which was to control refugee movement, absorb related costs with a surplus of 3 billion euros to Turkey. However others counter that the new regime confines refugees in detention facilities. Furthermore, it could motivate refugees to find alternative routes into Europe and take further risks to reach there. Human Rights Watch criticizes the new policy arguing that it locks up families and those fleeing terrors such as ISIS horror, Taliban terrors, or Syrian-government barrel bombs hence in the face of probable substitutes to detention (as on the Greek islands for example), there is no legal or moral excuse to detain asylum seekers and migrants behind bars.

However the EU argues that the new agreement stems irregular migration from Turkey to the EU and “targets the people smugglers' business model and removes the incentive to seek irregular routes to the EU, in full accordance with EU and international law” (Europa. Eu, 2016).

Others reject this claim and assert that the deal is fundamentally flawed from the outset as refusing refugees their right to apply for asylum as they approach the EU is against international humanitarian law (Fotaki, 2016). Moreover, “refusing protection to unarmed people fleeing war and persecution by sending them back to Turkey, a country under threat of a civil war, is unconscionable” (Fotaki, 2016). Moreover this measure becomes even more contentious when one considers that both the European Commission and the UN condemned such inhuman and illegal measures in the past” (Fotaki, 2016).

Although a collective answer, the EU’s reaction is far from being ideal, it is rather diffused, inconsistent, incoherent and inadequate. Nonetheless, while EU leaders fail, local communities have been observed assisting refugees as they arrive. However as fear replaces compassion, Europeans increasingly see refugees as “*a threat to national security, national identity and the stability of their welfare systems*” (Fotaki, 2016).

Furthermore, this new pact rather reflects the failed national policies at the EU level, trading human values in the process.

Moreover, blame shifting has supplanted the solidarity that is a cardinal value in the fabric of the European Union even as border nations are prone into becoming *de facto holding pens* vulnerable

refugees fleeing war, persecution and poverty. As the Turkish government of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is condemned by Amnesty International for its poor human rights records as it brutalises the Kurdish population and closes major newspapers for fear of criticism: Turkey cannot be regarded as a “safe third country” for refugees` (Fotaki, 2016). Amnesty International has warned that the refugee conditions in Turkey are dire even as some have been sent back to Syria in the face of a looming disaster. The recent successful annulment of a similar pact between Australia and Papua New Guinea has further increased concerns that the EU could soon see this agreement with Turkey challenged in an international court.

5.4.1 The Australia/ Papua New Guinea conundrum

A unanimous decision by Papua New Guinea’s Supreme Court ruled that the detention of asylum seekers at the “*Australian-built detention facility on Manus Island is unconstitutional and illegal under PNG law*” (Gleeson 2016).

This came as people in Papua New Guinea’s challenged the legality of the offshore processing. Furthermore it was argued that even as both governments claimed that the asylum seekers were at the island simply to be processed, facilities were insufficient and refugee processing was absent.

Furthermore, the Australian and Papua New Guinea governments were accused for holding children as little as seven unlawfully and indefinitely under inhumane condition (Gleesson, 2016). The ruling suggested business could no longer continue as usual as it also brought into sharp focus Australia’s similar agreement with the government of Nauru. Similarly the government of PNG Prime Minister admitted the Manus Island detention facility had ruined the country’s reputation. Locals also complained of the troubles visited on their province, and the absence of any palpable economic or social benefits.

These events have challenged Australia’s offshore processing regime, such that it has invoked legislative changes to be “rushed in the respective parliaments after the cases had commenced, in apparent attempts to give retroactive legal coverage to conduct that might otherwise be unlawful” (Gleeson, 2016).

Brown and Missbac (2016) equally affirm that the of-shore processing of refugees has come with regional implications as Indonesia asked Australia absorbs the increasing number of refugees stuck there in transit.

It has been observed that since the advent of the policy, vast numbers of refugees left in limbo in Indonesia. More over their lives are “put on hold for years – having no rights to work or study – as they wait for resettlement to a country where they can continue their lives” (Brown and Missbac, 2016). Before the advent of the Operation Sovereign Borders regime there were 10,316 asylum seekers and refugees in Indonesia sharply rising to 13,679 (by January 2016)– the highest in 16 years. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in suggested that it was equally lack of funds and thus unable to adequately cater for the teeming numbers.

The average waiting time for in 2014, and processing with the UNHCR ranged between seven and 11 months. However as at August 2015, as the time frame had climbed to an average of eight and 20 months even in the face of a backlog of over 6000 asylum seekers waiting to be interviewed (Brown and Missbac, 2016).

Even as the volume of asylum seekers and refugees to Indonesia surges, the alternative options available for resettlement to a third-party country have diminished. It is hence open secret that refugees to Indonesia wish countries such as New Zealand, Canada and the US raise their intake to compensate for Australia’s cuts. However this seems to be wishful thinking (Brown and Missbac, 2016).

Although Indonesia is a non-signatory to the Refugee Convention, it has served as a transit nation for asylum seekers for ages. From the Vietnam War to Middle East’s turmoil, Indonesia has provided refuge to tens of thousands of refugees before eventual resettlement in countries like Australia, Canada and the US. However the Australian government asked the Indonesia to intercept and arrest asylum seekers before they embarked on any clandestine journey to Australia. Moreover as the world is confronted with a global refugee crisis resettlement places for refugees has virtually non-existent (Brown and Missbac, 2016).

5.4.2 Dealing with the geopolitics of the Aegean Sea and Balkans.

The tense geopolitics that characterizes Greek/ Turkish relationship is one causal factor for the failure to find a concerted solution, which needs to be addressed (Crawley, 2016). This disagreement between Turkey and Greek over ownership of Islands and the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in July 1974 is what caused the successful flow of refugees from Turkey to Greece and the refusal of both countries to jointly

patrol in the Aegean, which is an obvious solution (Crawley, 2016). Furthermore the Balkans, which could help in stemming refugee flows, is equally fractured as Macedonia and Greece are at loggerheads as Athens blocked Macedonian membership of NATO and the EU (Crawley, 2016).

5.5 Working with Source Nations

All the interview respondents point to a lack of the ideals of liberalism in their nations as one of the reasons they chose to flee to where such ideals are upheld. The functioning institutions that emanate from liberalism create the conducive atmosphere for citizens to harness their full potentials and hence social advancement. That is why interviewee A says `` *I heard about Denmark from my family that in Denmark there is good future, good economic, good system, good education and good life style. For me, I chose Denmark even though I didn't know much about it before I come here.* `` Similarly interviewee B adds `` *they have the same compicrence or democracy, they don't have it and I was not feeling safe some how I had to leave to somewhere. So the best choice was to flee Africa and come to Europe at least to get safety* ``. Interviewee explains further `` *the important thing is that, I have problems in my own country that is why I chose Denmark. My dream was to come to Scandinavia and Denmark is part of Scandinavia* ``

It is the duty of each government to meet the basic human needs of its people. However given that some nations have failed in this obligation with the ensuing exodus of their people to the EU, it has become necessary to pay attention to the building of institutions in those nations and assisting them in this task. It is increasingly acknowledged that one basic remedy to the refugee problem is not in simply resettling and providing the basic needs of current refugees (Betts, 2008). However it embraces interventions in source that enhance resilience, improve stability and accelerate development, resulting in less impetus for mass migration.

Thus assistance in source countries aimed at economic development and institutional reform will eventually result in the desired stability and wealth to enhance human development indices, which will help limit migration influx (Betts, 2008). Multilateral institutions and donor nations must focus on measures that boost systemic reform in key countries, enhancing human resource development and job opportunities, strengthening stability and associated institutions that are crucial for wealth creation,

improved opportunities for the teeming youth, boosting entrepreneurship and enhancing education and civil society (Swanson and Stevens, 2015).

Consequently, such interventions that enhance education opportunities, development of human capital, and establishment of the rule of law, vibrant civil society, and providing young people improved opportunities and hope for a brighter future. Furthermore these bilateral agreements should be coupled with trade and development terms. In many other countries such institutional frameworks that guarantee people's basic human rights are not functioning (Betts, 2010). Consequently there are people fleeing their countries because their livelihoods are non-existent, environmental disasters and failing states (survival migrants). Some of the interviewees from such places point to the stability of Europe as one of the attractive points that make them risk it all to come to Europe But Europe cannot contain all the refugees of the world hence there is the need for the approach of engaging with the institutions of source nations to help them function and consequently help create the conducive local environment for people to thrive (Betts, 2008). Aside these international organisations such as the United Nations, ILO, Refugee Watch, Red Cross all have key roles to play. However there first needs to be the right legal framework to guide such cooperation, as the annulment of the Australia/ Papua New Guinea arrangement has caused the loss of immense amount of resources initially invested. At a time when the world is facing austerity measures this cannot be overemphasised.

This is directly in line with the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 17 ie *Revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development*; 16) *Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels*; and 11) *Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable*. Furthermore there are indirect benefits on the other sustainable development goals such as:

- 1) End poverty in all its forms everywhere
- 2) End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition, and promote sustainable agriculture
- 3) Ensure healthy lives and promote wellbeing for all at all ages
- 4) Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all

- 5) Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls
- 8) Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment, and decent work for all
- 10) Reduce inequality within and among countries
- 14) Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development

Ultimately the *EU Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy* to advance the European Union's interests worldwide, and guarantee its security at internally and beyond its frontiers will be facilitated by this approach (Europa. Eu, 2016).

Literature is one vehicle, which can help in getting a better understanding of groups and a phenomenon. Thus arguably, media coverage of pressing global issues such as terrorism, refugees inter alia need not be unduly sensationalized. In western societies, which uphold liberal values, the commitment at the individual and governmental level in upholding constitutional and ethical values given the complex nature of the refugee problem cannot be overemphasised. People have an obligation to hold their leaders accountable as the liberal ideals espoused in Western society. Similarly, leaders have an obligation to evoke in the public the best features of our common humanity (Srikanth, 2016). Fair and unbalanced reportage of the refugee situation is important to having an informed EU population that will rally behind the right measures to address the challenge.

In the first and second world wars, opposing sides of the conflict often employed Shakespearean literature to boost the morale of their armies (White, 2016). Even as Britain heads to the polls on whether to exit the EU or not, the power of the media is being capitalised by both sides (Meyer, 2016). It is in acknowledgement of the power of literature to shape public opinions that the UK government launched a national campaign (11 – 13 April) to “provide every household in the UK with a leaflet that sets out why the Government believes that voting to remain in the EU is the best decision for the UK” (HM Government, 2016). Not leaving anything to chance the government equally provided an audio version

and alternative formats for those with challenges reading the standard version of the leaflet ahead of the EU referendum on the 23rd June (HM Government, 2016).

Chapter 6.0 Conclusion and Recommendation

The current refugee regime, which was berthed after the Second World War, fails to address the new dimensions of refugee displacement. From Haiti, North Korea to Zimbabwe there has been significant exodus of people (not necessarily due to war but survival), which does not fall under the radar of this regime. This includes environmental disaster, livelihood erosion and failed states (Betts, 2010). More so

the global refugee crisis has presented equally complex questions, which need international cooperation to effectively address beyond the EU nations.

Nevertheless, international cooperation in dealing with the refugee crisis can only be as effective as the individual nations are effective. Presently the divisions in Europe need to address first. There are genuine concerns about refugees, which must not be overlooked in the attempt to find a rapid solution. The political losses in Germany, Austria and the impending referendum in Britain all indicate there are genuine concerns about migration which need to be addressed internally before the EU further outsources the management of the refugee crisis. The internal tensions between Greece and Turkey, the Balkans and others in the EU which makes collective EU action impossible need to be tackled head on if the EU is to do its homework well. That is why international human rights organizations have pointed out the flaws of the current arrangement with Turkey in the face of the Australia/ Papua New Guinea fiasco. Furthermore allegations that migration from Eastern Europe is being under reported and claims that migration in the last century was far greater than what is being witnessed currently needs to be addressed and put in context.

Outside of the EU, There is needed for enhanced cooperation that enhances resilience, improve stability and accelerate development, resulting in less impetus for mass migration. Hence aid in source countries aimed at economic development and institutional reform, will eventually results in the desired stability and wealth to enhance human development indices, which will help, limit migration influx. Furthermore, multilateral institutions and donor nations must focus on measures that boost systemic reform in key countries, enhancing human resource development and job opportunities, strengthening stability and associated institutions that are crucial for wealth creation, improved opportunities for the teeming youth, boosting entrepreneurship and enhancing education and civil society (Swanson and Stevens, 2015). Consequently, such interventions that enhance education opportunities, development of human capital, establishment of the rule of law, vibrant civil society, and providing young people improved opportunities and hope for a better future as surmised by all respondents. Furthermore these bilateral agreements should be coupled with trade and development terms.

This is directly in line with the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 17 i.e. *Revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development*; 16) *Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable*

development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels; and 11) Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable. Furthermore there are indirect benefits on the other sustainable development goals 1) End poverty in all its forms everywhere; 2) End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition, and promote sustainable agriculture; 3) Ensure healthy lives and promote wellbeing for all at all ages; 4) Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all; 5) Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls; 8) Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment, and decent work for all; 10) Reduce inequality within and among countries; 14) Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development. Ultimately the *EU Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy* to advance the European Union's interests worldwide, and guarantee its security at internally and beyond its frontiers will be facilitated by this approach.

The social construct on the refugee situation needs to be addressed as events in Britain and Germany all portray. The idea of Europe as a land flowing with milk and honey in source nations needs to be disabused through education and further cooperation. Furthermore the prejudiced notion of refugees as criminals etc. need to be addressed to avoid hostility towards the refugees and the complications it brings in dealing with underlining issues.

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Chapter 8.0 Appendixes

Appendix A

Interviewees and Codes

Name of Interviewee	Interview code	Contact
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Ghaleb Ghanem	A	71628615 Gha.nem33@gmail.com
Alexander Abraha	B	JL@thisted.dk 2383 3718
Mohamed Abdulkadir Farrah	C	

Appendix B

Interview Transcripts

1. Interview Ghaleb Ghanem

My name is Gheleb Ghanem, I am from Palestine, I am 27 years old, I came here for more reasons, I did not know much about Denmark, I did not choose to come to Denmark but I heard Denmark was a great country, it like you hear about five country in the west and then you choose one of the country without knowing much about the country, you just imagine in your mind about the country, however for me, I heard about Denmark from my family that in Denmark there is good future, good economic, good system, good education and good life style. For me, I chose Denmark even though I didn't know much about it before I come here.

What is your story of why you came to Denmark?

I came here to live to have a good life

It is a long story about Palestine, in 1948, the Israel government took Palestine's land and the Palestine started to travel from that time in 1948 and in that time we (Palestine) we trying to take back our land and the war started from this 1948 till now but now before five years we had second anti but its finished now, now Israel, for me I think they control everything, education, economic, the people, Palestine government everything, they don't want to use war or this picture, you know, they just control

everything so for me I can't, I can't live in Palestine any more because for example my university and the areas between Palestine and Israel you know, they make a lot of I don't know of fight about this land so it too difficult to continued my education for example and a lot of things about life.

Me: So are you forced to flee from your country?

Yes yes!

Me: In Denmark, culture, language and lifestyle is different from yours, how do you adopt yourself in the society that is different from yours?

I do my best you know, it is not easy, when you change everything, i don't have other reasons you know, so I should to learn this language, i should to know a lot about this culture, I live here what can i say.

Me: What are your ambitions, what do you want to achieve?

That is a good question, for me I have lose a lot, lose my university, I have told you, I lost a lot of jobs In my country because of a lot of reasons, here I am looking for continuing my education and then have a good work, a good house, I don't know life.

Me: how do you integrate in the Danish society?

I try to make a lot of friends here in Denmark you know, I try to maybe go to activities also to make friends in order to learn the language and make Danish friends you know. It too different because I don't know and you don't speak the same language always but I try everything to cope though it is not easy to learn Danish. It is one of the hardest language in the world but yes, this is what I do, make a lot of friends, trying to listen to some music, I am very big fan of "cars", I try to watch a lot on internet on YouTube you know, cause this is on my program of the university if I study here.

Me: What do you want to study?

Car technician or car engineering after this year..

Me: How is it going with your case?

it going very bad actually, they gave me negative answer, because they said, there is no war in Palestine and now I'm trying to make a lawyer and then go for another interview but I'm very sad about this you know because maybe we don't have war in my country but i can't go back you know. there is a lot of troubles there so here I'm waiting for my second interview to stay in Denmark.

Me; what if they ask you to leave Denmark what will you do? Do you have a plan B?

Ok! if they allow me to stay in Denmark I will invest my time, I will chose one year to learn Danish language, chose a good house, good area like Thisted, I like Thisted too much, its quiet the people know each other, everybody is perfect you know and then after one year i will start at the university to continue my education and then i don't know, have a good job and maybe have a good wife..

Me: what if they don't allow you to stay?

I don't know, maybe it's the end of the world for me you know; wallah there is a lot going on in my country. For me the plan B if the Danish government don't accept me to stay, i will try to find another place, as i told you it is too difficult to turn back to Palestine. For me if they would not accept i will try to think of another place, i don't do this you know, when you don't have choice, you imagine this is my choice, i needed it.

2. Interview Alexander Abraha

My name is Alexander Abraha, i am 30 years old, I am from Eritrea East Africa.

Me: how long have you been in Denmark?

I have been in Denmark in about 4-6 months

Me: how is it going?

Its Ok

Me; where do you stay?

Am staying in camp called Hanstholm

Me: why are you here in Denmark?

I am here in Denmark because i left my country and flee away, I was in a country near by but after that I thought that I even was not safe in the same country, like there are my country, they have the same comciprence or democracy, they don't have it and i was not feeling safe some how I had to leave to somewhere. So the best choice was to flee Africa and come to Europe at least to get safety.

Me; Why not US?

Maybe, but I was hard

Me: did you know anything about Denmark since you choose Denmark?

I just knew that it is a peaceful country, that is all i knew about Denmark and it is safe.

Me: how do you cope with the Danish culture and the weather?

The weather is extremely cold and it takes time to get used to the weather.

About the culture, I have not integrated till now but if I am here I have to, it is a must do thing.

Me: Do you find Danish language difficult, because many refugees are saying that the language is hard to learn, what do you think?

I think if you try harder you can speak it, you just have to work hard, study hard and to do as you told by the teacher so you can learn faster.

Me: how do you socialize yourself in order to be integrated?

Well, in the past I went to school back in my country so I think it would not be hard to socialize in the Danish culture, I will do my best I hope, it's going to be easy and take less time.

In asylum center I socialize with everybody and I really don't care whom I socialize with or where they are from, or their religion.

What are your goals and ambitions?

Ooh well, I'm going to leave that to the time.. Because my first choice here was I wanted to be safe. because I was not feeling safe back in my country and now I feel really safe.

The main reason I left my country is I was also a soldier in my country and you have to do it, it's a must do thing, you are obligated to be a soldier to work always and you are like a slave, it's a dictatorship, so I had to leave that, you have no future you nothing.

In Eritrea, we don't have a war and we don't have a peace either but we had conflict with Ethiopia, due to how the borders are lined up, and there are always troops at the border waiting for something to happen maybe and also many young people are always forced to go to military. It's forced military, forced slavery, never ends, never stops.

3. Interview Mohamed Abdulkadir Farrah

My name is Mohamed from Somalia, I am 21 years old, I have been in Denmark for almost one year, I am not married and single, I live in Hanstholm asylum center, fortunately i got positive answer from Danish government last month (april 11. 16) and about to move from Hanstholm asylum center to a new commune Skæring Ringkjøbing..

the important thing is that, i have problems in my own country that is why I chose Denmark. My dream was to come to Scandinavia and Denmark is part of Scandinavia. Thankful now I am in Denmark.

Back in Somalia I did not know much about Denmark, i was just hear about it when I was coming out of my country.

Actually I came to Denmark to start a new life and also to established myself and get a better life, to learn and to get a better job and off course it's safe here.

I really feel well and I love Danish culture. The one year I have been in Denmark, I have been going to many schools, such as VUC in Thisted for seven months and I know many things now about the Danish society and about integration, I really love it, or thought there is a big different where i am from and where am now. But now I am adopted

i actually do agree that the Danish language is difficult when you compare to others and the most the difficult is the pronouncing, but I will try my best to learn and even now I have started, I can speak just a little but i will try my best to learn it ..

of course the Danish language is a huge part of integration because if you can't speak Danish language,

you can lose up and you can't with the society. I socialize by being patience, friendly and open and also going to talk with the Danes in order to be a part of the community. If you can find like clubs, that is more easier to socialize with the community..

I got positive, so I want to follow my dream, i want to be an engineer but first i want to learn Danish and also work ordinal jobs.