

The Economic and Policy Implications of the 2014–15 Immigrant Surge: A Comparative Analysis of Germany and Greece

Erica Njoki Njenga

IE University, Madrid, Spain

Dual Bachelor's Degree in Business Administration and International Relations

E-mail: enjoki.ieu2020@student.ie.edu

Published on February 12th, 2024

Abstract

The movement of people across continents has played a crucial role in shaping human history and societies. In recent years, there has been a surge in African, Middle Eastern, and Asian immigrants into the European Union (EU), which has sparked debates on migration policies, cultural integration, and the future of the EU. This essay examines the immigration policies of Germany and Greece in response to the 2014 immigrant surge and compares their impacts on immigrant integration. This study focuses on the 2014–15 EU migration surge, where around 1.3 million people sought asylum. With its robust economy, Germany became a preferred destination for migrants, while Greece struggled with economic and logistical challenges, acting as a transit country. The EU's collective response varied, with Germany adopting a welcoming stance and Greece facing difficulties. The essay delves into Greece's challenges during the migration surge, leading to anti-immigration protests, overcrowded migrant centres, and strained resources. Tensions between refugees and locals in places like Lesbos fueled social unrest. The EU-Turkey deal aimed to address the crisis but faced criticism for human rights violations and inadequate living conditions. In contrast, Germany's "open-door" policy, led by Chancellor Angela Merkel, facilitated the integration of over a million asylum-seekers. While praised for humanitarian efforts, it triggered anti-immigration sentiments and contributed to the rise of far-right movements. Merkel's policies led to lasting consequences, including policy reforms, political backlash, and increased support for the far-right Alternative für Deutschland party. This study highlights the economic and policy implications of divergent responses to the 2014 immigrant surge, emphasising the complexities of addressing migration issues within the broader context of European politics and culture.

I. Introduction

The movement of people across continents has been a defining feature of human history, shaping societies and cultures in profound ways. In recent years, the influx of African, Middle Eastern, and Asian immigrants into the European Union has sparked debates about migration

policies, cultural integration, and the future of the EU.

Immigration is one of the topics that is highly regarded as controversial within European politics. The sentiments surrounding the topic often produce polarising views. The loudest voices scream a roar of support for anti-immigration policies, while the hushed tones belong

to immigrants simply wanting to make a better life for themselves. The European Union has implemented various policies to promote social cohesion and economic integration of refugees. These policies aim to facilitate the successful integration of refugees into host societies and harness the potential benefits of migration for the EU economy. This essay will investigate how the migrant surge affected both Germany and Greece and aim to answer the question: how did the immigration policies of Greece and Germany differ in response to the 2014 immigrant surge in the European Union, and what were the impacts of these policies on the integration of immigrants into these societies?

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has emphasised the importance of proper integration policies to ensure that migrants and refugees benefit and contribute to host territories in multiple ways:¹ The Council of Europe has emphasised the promotion of peace and social cohesion through integrating refugees and migrants². These policies and initiatives reflect the EU's commitment to fostering the successful integration of refugees into host societies, promoting social cohesion, and leveraging the potential benefits of migration for the EU economy³.

The 2014–15 European Union migration surge marked a significant historical period with an unprecedented influx

of refugees and migrants into Europe. During this time, approximately 1.3 million people sought asylum on the continent, the highest number since World War II⁴. The Middle East's escalating conflicts, particularly those in Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Eritrea, were the leading causes of the crisis because they forced many people to leave their homes in search of safety and better living conditions.⁵ The ongoing violence and instability in these countries, along with abuses in Eritrea, were primary drivers of the migration to Europe. The conflict and persecution in these regions led to many people seeking asylum in European countries. Germany received the highest number of new asylum applications in 2015, followed by other European nations. The magnitude of the crisis was such that it required a collective response from Europe as a union, as individual member states were unable to handle the large influx of migrants and refugees.⁶ The EU's response to the crisis varied across member states. Some countries, like Germany, took a more welcoming stance, temporarily suspending the enforcement of the Dublin Regulation to accommodate the influx of refugees⁷. On the other hand, countries like Greece, while a significant entry point for migrants, struggled with the economic and logistical challenges of the crisis.

Germany and Greece, two key players in the crisis, had contrasting experiences. Germany, with its robust

¹ 1. OCED, Territorial approach to migrant and Refugee Integration - OECD, 2023, <https://www.oecd.org/regional/migrant-integration.htm>.

² European Commission. "Integration."

³ European Commission. "Integration."

⁴ Human Rights Watch. "Q&A: Why the EU-Turkey Migration Deal is No Blueprint."

⁵ Sunderland, Justine. "The Mediterranean Migration Crisis."

⁶ "Migrant Crisis: Migration to Europe Explained in Seven Charts."

⁷ Baume, Maïa de La. "Angela Merkel Defends an Open-Border Migration Policy."

economy, became a preferred destination for many migrants, leading to an increase in refugee inflows⁸. The German government's decision to open its borders was seen as a humanitarian gesture. Still, it also sparked debates about the country's capacity and responsibility to accommodate such large numbers of refugees. On the other hand, Greece was primarily a transit country for refugees aiming to reach Northern Europe. Despite the sharp increase in arrivals, less than 1% of refugees requested asylum in Greece. Economic and migration crises significantly strained its resources and infrastructure⁹.

1.1 Greece and the EU-Turkey deal

The 2015 Greece anti-immigration protests responded to the influx of numerous immigrants, including refugees, which had significantly affected Greek society. Greek police detained 45,500 migrants and asylum seekers in 2014, according to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)¹⁰. Between 2014 and 2015, the UNHCR notes that approximately 124,000 refugees and migrants arrived in Greece by sea by the end of July 2015, marking a staggering 750% increase compared to the previous year. Living conditions in refugee camps deteriorated, leading to increased crime and social unrest. The crisis posed a significant challenge for the Greek

government, which faced pressure to resolve the backlog of asylum seekers and manage the influx of refugees¹¹.

The influx of refugees increased tensions amongst Greek citizens, which sparked outrage and protests. Concerns about how immigration would affect the economy, Greek identity, and social cohesion drove these protests. The Greek government's response to migrants without documentation had previously been characterised by deterrence and detention policies. However, the left-wing Syriza party's victory in the parliamentary elections signalled a significant shift in policy, with proposed reforms including the abolition of immigrant detention centres and a plan to grant citizenship to second-generation migrants born and raised in Greece¹². The tensions between refugees and locals in Greece, particularly Lesbos, also contributed to the protests. The local population of the island of Lesbos, which is about 85,000, experienced a substantial impact from the arrival of migrants and asylum seekers from Syria, Afghanistan, and Iraq in September 2015. The island hosted more than half a million migrants and asylum seekers, representing about 59% of all asylum seekers and migrants who transited through Greece that year en route to destinations in northern Europe.

The distinction between legal and illegal immigrants, as well as the perceived failure to identify those with legitimate asylum rights, also had an impact on the protests. The highly polarised context led to oversimplified

⁸ Baume, Maïa de La. "Angela Merkel Defends an Open-Border Migration Policy."

⁹ Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. "Migrant Integration."

¹⁰ Nallu, Preethi. "Greece Immigration."

¹¹ Higginbottom, John. "It's a Powder Keg Ready to Explode: In a Greek Village, Tensions Simmer Between Refugees and Locals."

¹² Nallu, Preethi. "Greece Immigration."

problems, xenophobic attitudes, and public intolerance towards foreigners. Additionally, the influx of immigrants and refugees was implicated in the cluster of critical causes that had led to the eruption of the economic crisis in the first place¹³.

The situation led to growing friction between local people and asylum seekers landing in boats from Turkey, with the region's most senior official, Kostas Moutzouris, likening the situation in Lesbos to a "powder keg ready to explode." The containment policy determined by the EU forced more than 42,000 men, women, and children to remain on the islands, including Lesbos, until their asylum requests were processed. This policy resulted in severe overcrowding and inadequate living conditions in the refugee camps, exacerbating tensions between the local population and asylum seekers. The lack of resources and support from the EU further strained the already fragile situation, making it even more urgent to find a solution to alleviate the humanitarian crisis in Lesbos. This policy and the understaffed and overstretched asylum processing system contributed to rising tensions and challenges on the island¹⁴.

1.2 The European Union and Turkey Immigration Deal

The EU-Turkey deal, established in March 2016, aimed to limit the number of asylum seeker arrivals in the European Union by addressing the flow of irregular migration from Turkey to the EU. The key components of the agreement

included measures to return irregular migrants attempting to enter Greece to Turkey, increased border security by Turkey, and the resettlement of one registered asylum seeker from Turkey to the EU for each irregular migrant returned from Greece¹⁵. Additionally, Turkey received financial assistance from the EU, committing €6 billion to improve the humanitarian situation refugees are experiencing¹⁶. Additionally, the Facility for Refugees in Turkey, which benefits from €3 billion of the EU budget, was established to support migration in Turkey with an additional €560 million¹⁷. This funding has been designated for projects to enhance the lives of refugees and host communities in Turkey, covering areas such as humanitarian assistance, education, health care, municipal infrastructure, and socioeconomic support for Syrian refugees in Turkey between 2016 and 2019¹⁸.

The deal also sought to prevent new migratory routes from opening and to break the business model of migrant smugglers. The agreement was part of the EU's response to the sharp rise in the number of people arriving in Europe in search of safety and protection in 2015, particularly from conflict-affected countries such as Syria, Afghanistan, and Iraq¹⁹. The deal has been both praised for reducing the

¹³ Makrides, Vassilis. "Contested Civic Spaces in Greece in the Context of Foreign Immigration and the Refugee Crisis of 2015."

¹⁴ Smith, Helena. "Crisis in Lesbos as More Refugees Arrive."

¹⁵ Kirişci, Kemal, Elizabeth G. Ferris, Burcu Yucel, Nathaniel Danforth, Shantha Rau Barriga, and Jessica S. Gabriela Nagle Alverio. "As the EU-Turkey Migration Agreement Reaches the Five-Year Mark, Add a Job Creation Element."

¹⁶ Terry, Kathleen. "The EU-Turkey Deal, Five Years On: A Frayed and Controversial but Enduring Blueprint."

¹⁷ European Commission. "Title of the Document or Press Release."

¹⁸ Terry, Kathleen. "The EU-Turkey Deal, Five Years On: A Frayed and Controversial but Enduring Blueprint."

¹⁹ Terry, Kathleen. "The EU-Turkey Deal, Five Years On: A Frayed and Controversial but Enduring Blueprint."

number of migrants arriving in Greece and criticised for its human and political costs, as well as its failure to provide a sustainable long-term migration policy.

The EU-Turkey immigration deal has had a significant economic impact on Greece. The agreement commits Turkey to accept the return of all asylum seekers who travelled through Turkey in exchange for billions of euros in aid, visa liberalisation for Turkish citizens and revived negotiations for Turkish accession to the EU.²⁰ The agreement has contributed to severe overcrowding in substandard and unsafe detention centres and camps on the Greek islands.

The deal has also resulted in thousands of people seeking asylum being trapped in appalling conditions in the five EU 'hotspot' refugee camps on the Greek islands, which is more than six times the official capacity of the camps²¹. The overcrowding led to a humanitarian crisis and significant challenges in providing adequate living conditions and services for asylum seekers. The reception centres in Greece have been described as malfunctioning and overcrowded, with some camps hosting significantly more people than their capacity²². This overcrowding has resulted in a lack of access to essential services, including medical care. It has deprived asylum seekers and refugees of their rights in violation of EU and national legislation. The

conditions in these centres have been reported as unacceptable, with instances of informal detention regimes, limited access to doctors, and inadequate medical staff to cater to the needs of the large population in the camps. The overcrowding has also led to prolonged detention of new arrivals in substandard conditions, with nearly 2,000 migrants and asylum seekers being arbitrarily detained in unacceptable conditions, including overcrowded camps, without the right to lodge asylum claims²³. These conditions have raised concerns about the violation of human rights and the dignity of individuals seeking asylum, highlighting the urgent need for improved reception and living conditions in migrant centres on the Greek islands.

This deal also led to the closure of the Western Balkan route to EU countries²⁴. Despite the closure of the route, migrants arriving in Greece and Bulgaria still attempt to reach northern and western Europe through the countries of southeastern Europe, leading to thousands of migrants finding themselves stranded in these countries without safe and legal pathways to protection in wealthier northern and western EU Member States²⁵. The closure of the route, combined with the EU-Turkey deal, has led many politicians and commentators to consider the situation resolved. Still, the need for sustainable policies that allow people access to effective protection in the countries of the

²⁰ Human Rights Watch. "Q&A: Why the EU-Turkey Migration Deal is No Blueprint."

²¹ Oxfam. "Four Years Into the EU-Turkey Deal, Suffering Has Reached Unimaginable Levels."

²² European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. "Migrants Continue to Suffer as Reception Centres Remain Overcrowded and Violence Against Migrants Surges."

²³ van Brunnersum, Sophie-Jane. "Greek Migrant Camps Are 'Malfunctioning' and 'Overcrowded,' Warn NGOs."

²⁴ Human Rights Watch. "Q&A: Why the EU-Turkey Migration Deal is No Blueprint."

²⁵ "The 'Balkan Route' Three Years After Its Closure."

European Union remains an urgent matter²⁶. Bodo Weber, a German political activist, mentioned in an interview with Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, a German political foundation, that the closure of the Balkan route has not been entirely successful, as refugees and migrants continue to arrive in the EU along the Balkan route every year, primarily via the Turkish-Bulgarian land border. The closure of the route has also led to a shift in migration patterns, with migrants being pushed into more dangerous irregular channels in remote areas and becoming subject to police violence. Despite the route's closure, the movement of hundreds of thousands of people has renewed dormant tensions between and within individual Balkan countries, exacerbating strains between the Balkans as a region and the European Union.

The deal has also led to the establishment of accelerated border procedures in Greece for handling asylum applications for people who enter Greece via Turkey, with the plan envisioning that asylum seekers would be sent quickly back to Turkey to have their asylum claims processed there²⁷. The EU-Turkey deal has been criticised for turning people in need of safety and dignity into political bargaining chips, leading to a humanitarian crisis for those fleeing violence, persecution, and war²⁸. The deal has also exposed the EU's willingness to enter into agreements to limit migration based purely on political

convenience, with little regard for the inevitable human cost²⁹.

The EU-Turkey deal has been subject to criticism for its human and political costs, and it has raised concerns about the treatment and rights of refugees and asylum-seekers. The agreement has led to a standoff over funds to tackle new migrant crises in health, education, food, and infrastructure assistance to manage the refugee situation in Turkey³⁰. However, the deal has been criticised for undermining the core values the EU claims to espouse and fueling a dangerous narrative of populism. The agreement has also set a dangerous precedent by putting at risk the principle of the right to seek refuge and has contributed to severe overcrowding in substandard and unsafe detention centres and camps on the Greek islands³¹. Amnesty International has warned against further dangerous migration deals, emphasising that the EU-Turkey deal has failed to respect the rights of refugees and migrants and has not provided alternative safe passage to Europe for people seeking refuge³². The deal has also led to tensions, riots, and violence between migrants, Greek security forces, and host communities, as well as attacks on humanitarian aid workers and locals seen to be helping asylum-seekers.

²⁶ "The 'Balkan Route' Three Years After Its Closure."

²⁷ Human Rights Watch. "Q&A: Why the EU-Turkey Migration Deal is No Blueprint."

²⁸ Oxfam. "Four Years Into the EU-Turkey Deal, Suffering Has Reached Unimaginable Levels."

²⁹ Amnesty International. "The EU-Turkey Anniversary Deal Offers a Warning Against Further Dangerous Migration Deals."

³⁰ Guarascio, Francesco, and Tuvan Gumrukcu. "The EU and Turkey Are in a Standoff Over Funds to Tackle the New Migrant Crisis."

³¹ Human Rights Watch. "Q&A: Why the EU-Turkey Migration Deal is No Blueprint."

³² Amnesty International. "The EU-Turkey Anniversary Deal Offers a Warning Against Further Dangerous Migration Deals."

II. Germany and their "open-door" policy

Between 2014 and 2015, Germany experienced a significant influx of immigrants and asylum seekers. In 2015, Germany recorded its highest-ever number of migrants in a single year, with 2.14 million people arriving in the country, a 46 per cent increase from 2014³³. New figures from the German Interior Ministry show that a record number of 1.1 million asylum-seekers arrived in 2015, around five times as many as in 2014³⁴. The migrants were primarily from Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, and other countries affected by conflict and instability. This influx of migrants and asylum seekers had a profound impact on Germany's immigration landscape, with over one million first-time asylum applications received in 2015 and 2016. The integration of this population has been impressive, with many individuals finding employment and contributing to the German economy.

In response to the significant influx of migrants and asylum seekers, Chancellor Angela Merkel's asylum policies during the 2015 refugee crisis in Germany became a defining aspect of her tenure. Merkel's decision to temporarily suspend an EU law requiring asylum seekers to be returned to the first country they entered marked a pivotal moment. Specifically, she allowed Syrian refugees, who had already registered elsewhere in the European Union, to enter Germany and register there. This move led to the relaxation of controls on the Austrian border,

facilitating the entry of tens of thousands of refugees stranded in Hungary³⁵.

While Merkel defended her decision, emphasising political and humanitarian considerations, the ensuing migration debate in Germany prompted the government to adopt stricter asylum laws and increase the deportation of failed asylum-seekers. This shift in policy continued under Merkel's successor, Chancellor Olaf Scholz. The period was characterised by a drastic tightening of asylum laws and a reevaluation of Germany's approach to migration and refugee policies. The government also emphasised efforts to integrate refugees into their new communities, addressing issues such as language education, long-term housing, and employment opportunities³⁶.

The immigration surge in Germany generated anti-immigration sentiments among some nationals who opposed the acceptance and integration of immigrants into their communities. The asylum laws that Chancellor Angela Merkel supported led to the approval of 1.1 million migrants and refugees in 2015, negatively impacting these tensions³⁷.

The divisions within German society over immigration policies and the refugee crisis manifested in 2018 during anti-immigrant demonstrations, notably in the city of Chemnitz. Right-wing demonstrators clashed with

³³ Kroet, Cynthia. "Germany Set an Immigration Record in 2015."

³⁴ Kroet, Cynthia. "Germany Set an Immigration Record in 2015."

³⁵ Vonberg, Judith. "Why Angela Merkel is No Longer the 'Refugee Chancellor'."

³⁶ Baume, Maïa de La. "Angela Merkel Defends an Open-Border Migration Policy."

³⁷ Nasr, Joseph, and Madeline Inverardi. "Anti-Migrant Protests Turn Violent as German Welcome Cools."

counter-protesters in response to the arrest of two immigrants in connection with a fatal stabbing incident. The right-wing protesters, some masked and making Hitler salutes, called for foreigners to leave the country, chanting slogans such as "Close the borders!" and carrying signs reading "Stop the asylum flood." In response, left-wing counter-protesters demanded, "Nazis out!" The confrontations led to violence, with both sides hurling pyrotechnics and objects at each other, resulting in several injuries, while police attempted to maintain separation³⁸.

The protests in Chemnitz and the subsequent clashes highlighted the rise of far-right sentiments and xenophobia, with reports of right-wing extremists and hooligans harassing those who looked foreign, shouting xenophobic slurs, and making illegal Nazi salutes³⁹. The protests also underscored the challenges associated with managing the influx of refugees and migrants, as well as the enduring impact of the European migrant crisis on German society.

2.1 Consequences of following Angela Merkel's asylum law

The consequences of Chancellor Angela Merkel's decision during the 2015 refugee crisis in Germany were felt at various levels, with local and state authorities, as well as volunteers, shouldering the challenges of accommodating hundreds of asylum applicants in often poor living conditions. Despite the difficulties, Merkel's era has been characterised as one that sought to create "migration

³⁸ Neuman, Scott. "An Anti-Immigrant Protest Turns Violent in the Eastern German City of Chemnitz."

³⁹ Hucal, Sarah. "Wing Protests Fueled by Anti-Immigrant Sentiment Continue in Germany."

policies with a human face," highlighting the humanitarian aspect of the response⁴⁰.

In addition to addressing the immediate needs of asylum applicants, the response to the refugee crisis included concerted efforts to integrate refugees into their new communities. This involved tackling issues such as language education, securing long-term housing, and providing employment opportunities. A significant policy change occurred as Germany reformed its Basic Law to treat claims from individuals originating from a "safe country of origin" or those who passed through a "safe third country" as "manifestly unfounded"⁴¹. This shift reflected a reevaluation of how asylum claims were treated and aimed to address concerns regarding the processing of asylum applications in the context of the migration crisis.

However, the protests and subsequent political backlash against the immigration policies, including Merkel's decision, had broader consequences. They contributed to increased support for the far-right party Alternative für Deutschland (AfD), which, for the first time, secured representation in the German Bundestag during the 2017 federal election, winning 94 of the 709 seats⁴². The rise of far-right sentiments and xenophobia, as well as the political repercussions of the protests, highlighted the lasting impact of the European migrant crisis on German society. It underscored the complex and multifaceted nature of the

⁴⁰ Hatton, Timothy. "European Asylum Policy Before and After the Migration Crisis."

⁴¹ Hatton, Timothy. "European Asylum Policy Before and After the Migration Crisis."

⁴² Serhan, Yasmeen. "Fighting the Far-Right and Neo-Nazi Resurgence in Germany."

immigration issue in Europe, revealing broader challenges within the EU's migration system and the enduring impact of the refugee crisis on European politics and society.

Germany's "open-door" policy, spearheaded by Chancellor Angela Merkel during the 2015 refugee crisis, triggered a significant influx of migrants and asylum seekers, resulting in both commendable successes and formidable challenges. Merkel's decision, driven by humanitarian considerations, marked a pivotal moment in her tenure, leading to a temporary suspension of EU asylum laws. The subsequent integration efforts showcased impressive achievements, with many newcomers contributing positively to the German economy. However, the policy shift also sparked divisions within German society, manifesting in anti-immigration sentiments and far-right protests, notably in Chemnitz in 2018. The consequences of Merkel's asylum law extended beyond immediate challenges, influencing policy reforms, such as the reevaluation of asylum claims from "safe countries of origin." Moreover, the political repercussions, including the rise of the far-right Alternative für Deutschland (AfD), underscored the enduring impact of the European migrant crisis on German society, revealing the complexities inherent in addressing migration issues within the broader context of European politics and culture.

3. Conclusion

The comparative analysis of Germany and Greece's responses to the 2014 immigrant surge within the European Union illuminates the complex dynamics

surrounding migration policies, economic implications, and societal integration. Germany's "open-door" policy, spearheaded by Chancellor Angela Merkel, showcased commendable humanitarian efforts, leading to successful immigrant integration. However, it also triggered anti-immigration sentiments and far-right protests, highlighting the delicate balance between compassion and public sentiment. As a transit country, Greece faced economic and logistical challenges, resulting in strained resources and social tensions. The EU-Turkey deal aimed to address the crisis but encountered criticisms related to human rights violations and inadequate living conditions. The lasting consequences of these responses underscore the intricate relationship between migration policies, political landscapes, and societal dynamics, emphasising the need for comprehensive and sustainable approaches to address the multifaceted implications of immigration within the European context. As Europe grapples with migration challenges, lessons from the 2014 surge provide valuable insights for shaping future policies that balance humanitarian concerns with the complex realities of public opinion and economic capacities.

Bibliography

- "Angela Merkel Defends Germany's Refugee Policy After Attacks." (2016). <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/28/merkel-rejects-calls-to-change-germanys-refugee-policy-after-attacks>
- "The 'Balkan Route' Three Years After Its Closure." 2019. Institut Europeu de la Mediterrània. Accessed <https://www.iemed.org/publication/the-balkan-route-three-years-after-its-closure/>
- Africa Horn Now. "The EU, Eritrea, and a 'Bribe' to Close the Migration Leaks." January 2, 2016. <http://africahornnow.com/2016/01/02/the-eu-and-eritrea/>
- Amnesty International. "The EU-Turkey Anniversary Deal Offers a Warning Against Further Dangerous Migration Deals." Amnesty International, 2021. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/press-release/2021/03/eu-anniversary-of-turkey-deal-offers-warning-against-further-dangerous-migration-deals/>
- Bale, T. (2003). "Cinderella and Her Ugly Sisters: The Mainstream and Extreme Right in Europe's Bipolarizing Party Systems." *West European Politics* 26 (3):67.
- Barigazzi, J. (2023). "Athens Wants to Revamp the EU-Turkey Migrant Deal." <https://www.politico.eu/article/athens-wants-to-expand-eu-turkey-migrant-deal/>
- Baume, Maïa de La. "Angela Merkel Defends an Open-Border Migration Policy." *Politico*, 2017. <https://www.politico.eu/article/angela-merkel-defends-open-border-migration-refugee-policy-germany/>
- Benton, Meghan, and Milica Petrovic. 2013. "How Accessible is Free Movement? Dynamics and Drivers of Mobility Within the European Union." Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.
- Bermeo, Sarah B., and David Leblang. "Migration and Foreign Aid." *International Organization* 69, no. 3 (2015): 627–657. Accessed <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24758315>
- Castillejo, Clare C. "The European Union Trust Fund for Africa: What Implications for Future EU Development Policy?" Briefing paper (No. 5/2017), 2017.
- Clemens, M. A., & Postel, H. M. (2018). "Deterring Emigration with Foreign Aid: An Overview of Evidence from Low-Income Countries." *Population and Development Review*, 44(4), 667–693. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/45174452>
- European Commission. "Integration." European Commission, 2023. https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/policies/migration-and-asylum/legal-migration-and-integration/integration_en
- European Commission. "Title of the Document or Press Release." European Commission, 2021. https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP_21_6931
- European Commission. (2016). "Migration Partnership Framework: A New Approach to Better Managing Migration." https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/factsheet_ec_format_migration_partnership_framework_update_2.pdf
- European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. "Migrants Continue to Suffer as Reception Centres Remain Overcrowded and Violence Against Migrants Surges." 2019. <https://fra.europa.eu/en/news/2019/migrants-continue-suffer-reception-centres-remain-overcrowded-and-violence-against>
- European Union. "European Union Emergency Trust Fund for Africa (EUTF for Africa)." European Migration Network (EMN) - Asylum and Migration Glossary. No date. https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/networks/european-migration-network-emn/emn-asylum-and-migration-glossary/glossary/european-union-emergency-trust-fund-africa-eutf-africa_en
- Fifth Board Meeting of the EU Emergency Trust Fund for Africa (EUTF for Africa), Brussels, September 21, 2018. https://ec.europa.eu/trustfundforafrica/sites/eutf/files/minutes_of_the_5th_board_meeting_of_the_eutf_africa_21_09_2018.pdf
- Fine, S., Dennison, S., & Gowan, R. (2019). "FALSE MOVES: MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID." European Council on Foreign Relations. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep21606>

- Glazer, Nathan, and Daniel P. Moynihan. 1975. "Introduction." In *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience*, edited by Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, 1–28. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Guarascio, Francesco, and Tuvan Gumrukcu. "The EU and Turkey Are in a Standoff Over Funds to Tackle the New Migrant Crisis." Reuters, 2020. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-syria-security-turkey-eu/eu-turkey-in-stand-off-over-funds-to-tackle-new-migrant-crisis-idUSKBN20T1RH/>
- Hatton, Timothy. "European Asylum Policy Before and After the Migration Crisis." IZA World of Labor, 2020. <https://wol.iza.org/articles/european-asylum-policy-before-and-after-the-migration-crisis/long>
- Higginbottom, John. "It's a Powder Keg Ready to Explode: In a Greek Village, Tensions Simmer Between Refugees and Locals." CNBC, 2020. <https://www.cnbc.com/2020/03/01/refugee-crisis-in-greece-tensions-soar-between-migrants-and-locals.html>
- Hucal, Sarah. "Wing Protests Fueled by Anti-Immigrant Sentiment Continue in Germany." ABC News. 2018. <https://abcnews.go.com/International/wing-protests-fueled-anti-immigrant-sentiment-continue-germany/story?id=57545743>
- Human Rights Watch. "Q&A: Why the EU-Turkey Migration Deal is No Blueprint." Human Rights Watch, 2016. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/11/14/qa-why-eu-turkey-migration-deal-no-blueprint>
- Human Rights Watch. (2020). "Greece: Violence Against Asylum Seekers at the Border." <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/03/17/greece-violence-against-asylum-seekers-border>
- Kervyn, E., & Shilhav, R. (2017). "An emergency for whom? The EU Emergency Trust Fund for Africa: Migratory Routes and Development Aid in Africa." Oxfam. <https://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/an-emergency-for-whom-the-eu-emergency-trust-fund-for-africa-migratory-routes-a-620380>. DOI: 10.21201/2017.1176
- Kirişçi, Kemal, Elizabeth G. Ferris, Burcu Yucel, Nathaniel Danforth, Shantha Rau Barriga, and Jessica S. Gabriela Nagle Alverio. "As the EU-Turkey Migration Agreement Reaches the Five-Year Mark, Add a Job Creation Element." Brookings, 2022. <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/as-eu-turkey-migration-agreement-reaches-the-five-year-mark-add-a-job-creation-element/>
- Kroet, Cynthia. "Germany Set an Immigration Record in 2015." Politico, 2016. <https://www.politico.eu/article/germany-set-immigration-record-in-2015/>
- Learning the Lessons from the EU–Turkey Deal: Europe's Renewed Test. (n.d.). <https://odi.org/en/insights/learning-the-lessons-from-the-euturkey-deal-europes-renewed-test/>
- Makrides, Vassilis. "Contested Civic Spaces in Greece in the Context of Foreign Immigration and the Refugee Crisis of 2015." *Nonprofit Policy Forum* 13, no. 3 (2022): 251-268. <https://doi.org/10.1515/npf-2021-0045>
- Moghadam, R. (2014). "The Middle East and North Africa's Resilient Diaspora." <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2014/03/moghadam.htm>
- Nallu, Preethi. "Greece Immigration." Al Jazeera, 2015. <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2015/3/5/greece-outlines-radical-immigration-reforms>
- Nasr, Joseph, and Madeline Inverardi. "Anti-Migrant Protests Turn Violent as German Welcome Cools." Reuters, January 10, 2016. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-germany-assaults/anti-migrant-protest-turns-violent-as-german-welcome-cools-idUSKCN0UN0JQ20160110/>
- Neuman, Scott. "An Anti-Immigrant Protest Turns Violent in the Eastern German City of Chemnitz." NPR, August 28, 2018. <https://www.npr.org/2018/08/28/642478937/anti-immigrant-protest-turns-violent-in-eastern-german-city-of-chemnitz>.
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. "Migrant Integration." Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2023. <https://www.oecd.org/regional/migrant-integration.htm>.

- Oxfam. "Four Years Into the EU-Turkey Deal, Suffering Has Reached Unimaginable Levels." Oxfam, 2020. <https://www.oxfam.org/en/press-releases/four-years-eu-turkey-deal-suffering-has-reached-unimaginable-levels>
- PCC4Refugees. (2020). "History of the Refugee Crisis in Lesbos." <https://www.pcc4refugees.org/cpages/overviewrefugee>
- Pew Research Centre. (2018). "At least a million sub-Saharan Africans have moved to Europe since 2010." <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2018/03/22/at-least-a-million-sub-Saharan-Africans-moved-to-Europe-since-2010/>
- Presse, A.-A. F. (2023). "Overcrowded Greek Migration Centres Cannot Cope: NGOs." <https://www.barrons.com/news/overcrowded-greek-migration-centres-cannot-cope-ngos-1230fd7c>
- Serhan, Yasmeen. "Fighting the Far-Right and Neo-Nazi Resurgence in Germany." *The Atlantic*, September 2018. <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/09/violent-protests-chemnitz-germany/569206/>
- Smith, Helena. "Crisis in Lesbos as More Refugees Arrive." *The Guardian*, 2020. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/feb/09/tensions-refugees-and-islanders-crisis-on-lesbos>
- Steinberg, F. (2023). "The Next Steps in EU Economic Integration." <https://www.csis.org/analysis/next-steps-EU-economic-integration>
- Sunderland, Justine. "The Mediterranean Migration Crisis." *Human Rights Watch*, 2023. <https://www.hrw.org/report/2015/06/19/mediterranean-migration-crisis/why-people-flee-what-eu-should-do>
- Terry, Kathleen. "The EU-Turkey Deal, Five Years On: A Frayed and Controversial but Enduring Blueprint." *Migration Policy Institute*, 2021. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/eu-turkey-deal-five-years-on>
- The Myth of the Closed Balkan Route. (2017). <https://www.fes.de/en/displacement-migration-integration/article-page-flight-migration-integration/the-myth-of-the-closed-balkan-route>
- UNHCR. "Number of Refugees and Migrants Arriving in Greece Soars by 750 Percent Over 2014." <https://www.unhcr.org/us/news/stories/number-refugees-and-migrants-arriving-greece-soars-750-percent-over-2014>
- UNHCR. (n.d.). "2015: The Year of Europe's Refugee Crisis." <https://www.unhcr.org/us/news/stories/2015-year-europes-refugee-crisis>
- van Brunnersum, Sophie-Jane. "Greek Migrant Camps Are 'Malfunctioning' and 'Overcrowded,' Warn NGOs." *InfoMigrants*, 2023. <https://www.infomigrants.net/en/post/53166/greek-migrant-camps-malfunctioning-and-overcrowded-warn-ngos>
- Vonberg, Judith. "Why Angela Merkel is No Longer the 'Refugee Chancellor'." *CNN*, July 6, 2018. <https://edition.cnn.com/2018/07/06/europe/angela-merkel-migration-germany-intl/index.html>