



OXFORD INTERNATIONAL MODEL UNITED NATIONS

XV ANNUAL CONFERENCE

3RD – 5TH NOVEMBER 2017

CONTENTS

Topic A:

- Introductionpg 4
- Topic Historypg 4
- Discussion of the Problem....pg 6
- The Futurepg 9
- (Bloc Positions)
- Points Resolutions Should Addresspg 11
- Further Readingpg 12
- Bibliographypg 11

Topic B:

- Introductionpg 13
- Topic Historypg 14
- Discussion of the Problem....pg 16
- The Futurepg 23
- (Bloc Positions).....pg 23
- Points Resolutions Should Addresspg 24
- Further Readingpg 24
- Bibliographypg 25

Committee Directors:

Name Andrei Cursaru

Email Address cursandrei@gmail.com

Name Vani Asawa

Email Address vani.asawa@seh.ox.ac.uk

UNHCR

Topic A: Designing a Fair and Economically feasible Refugee Resettlement System for Global Application

Topic B: Developing a Sustainable Framework to Reduce the Vulnerability of Incoming Refugees Introduction

A Message from your Directors:

Distinguished Delegates,

Soon, cries of “ORDER IN THE HOUSE!” will echo around Oxford, and it will be time to start an exciting and challenging new round of negotiations at the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees committee at OXIMUN 2017. This year, we will be discussing two topics, having interesting similarities and differences at the same time. The first topic focuses on designing a fair and economically feasible Refugee Resettlement System for the Global Application. The second one places emphasis on the development of a sustainable framework to reduce the vulnerability of incoming refugees. We, the directorate, look forward to helping you navigate through these debates and finding solutions to these issues. We will answer any questions you might have, and are eager to witness the creative and intelligent ideas you will be putting

forward in cooperation with your co-delegates. However, please keep in mind that the committee sessions can only work well if you, the delegates, arrive well-prepared, both in terms of the general Rules of Procedure and concerning both topics we will be discussing. We will do our best to live up to your expectations of steering productive and interesting committee sessions. The following pages should help you gain an insight into the topics we are discussing. However, please note that this study guide will not be sufficient for the comprehensive preparation we expect more from you, especially with regard to your country's position in the debates. Do not hesitate to ask us your further questions. We are greatly looking forward to seeing you in Oxford and to some exciting negotiations!

Sincerely,

Vani Asawa & Andrei Cursaru

Introduction to the Committee

The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was established on 1 January 1951 by UN General Assembly Resolution 319 (IV).

UNHCR's work is humanitarian, social and non-political. Its Statute and subsequent resolutions from the United Nations General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) mandate the Agency to provide international protection to

refugees and other persons of concern to the Office and – as a consequence – to seek permanent or durable solutions to their problem. These two functions, international protection of vulnerable refugees and the identification of durable solutions such as resettlement, can be considered UNHCR's core objectives.

The UNHCR provides emergency help to those forced to flee as the first step towards long-term protection and rehabilitation. Through a developed global network of suppliers, specialist agencies and partners. The UNHCR dispatches emergency teams to the scene of a crisis, providing emergency food, shelter, water and medical supplies, and arranging major airlifts for a large exodus of refugees or a flotilla of small boats for smaller numbers of fleeing civilians.

Furthermore, Resettlement, under UNHCR auspices, is an invaluable protection tool to meet the specific needs of refugees under the Office's mandate whose life, liberty, safety, health or fundamental human rights are at risk in the country where they sought refuge. Resettlement may be the only way to reunite refugee families who, as a result of flight from persecution and displacement, find themselves divided by borders or by entire continents. Emergency or urgent resettlement may be necessary to ensure the security of refugees who are threatened with *refoulement* to their country of origin or those whose physical safety is seriously

threatened in the country where they have sought refuge.

Topic A: Designing a Fair and Economically feasible Refugee Resettlement System for Global Application

Introduction

Many refugees are unable to go home because of continued conflict, wars and persecution. They are often forced to live in perilous situations and have specific needs that cannot be addressed in the country where they have sought protection due to a lack of a definitive set of national or international norms. Resettlement is the transfer of refugees from an asylum country to another state that has agreed to admit them and ultimately grant them permanent settlement. UNHCR is mandated by its Statute and the UN General Assembly Resolutions to undertake resettlement as one of the three durable solutions, along with voluntary repatriation and local integration. Unlike the latter two, Resettlement is unique in that it is the only solution that involves the relocation of refugees from an asylum country to a third country. There were 16.1 million refugees of concern to UNHCR around the world at the end of 2015, but less than 1% were resettled that year. Some of the world's top resettlement countries

include the United States, Canada, Australia and the Nordic countries, providing the refugees with legal and physical protection, including access to civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights similar to those enjoyed by nationals. Providing for their effective reception and transition is beneficial for both the resettled refugee and the receiving country. Currently, governments and non-governmental organization partners provide services to facilitate integration, such as cultural orientation and vocational training, as well as programs to promote access to education and employment. However, it is crucial to establish a conclusive list of international standards that can facilitate their resettlement in any state around the world, which is financially feasible and ensures an equal standard of integration to all refugees.

History of Topic

Unfortunately, people have been forced to leave their country since the very notion of a country was created. In 740 BC, when Assyrian rulers conquered the land of ancient Israel, 10 of the legendary 12 tribes were expelled from these lands. The original number of tribes and where they ended up remains a subject of highly contentious historical and religious debate even today.

One of the greatest watersheds of 20th century geopolitical history, World War I marked a rupture in Europe's recent

experience of refugees. During the German invasion of Belgium, massacres of thousands of civilians and the destruction of buildings led to an exodus of more than a million people. Almost a fourth of them came to England, where the British government had offered "victims of war the hospitality of the British nation". Most Belgian refugees returned to Belgium at the end of World War I despite having been able to assimilate smoothly in the UK.

However, Belgium was not the only refugee crisis to emerge from World War I. After Austria-Hungary declared war on, and subsequently invaded Serbia, tens of thousands of Serbians were forced to leave their homes.

Some of the largest atrocities committed during and after World War I were directed at the Armenians. The population of 2 million was decimated by what was later recognised as the first genocide of the 20th century. Systematic persecution under the Ottoman empire meant that half of that population were dead by 1918 and several thousands were homeless and stateless refugees. Today, the Armenian diaspora is around 5 million in number, while there are just 3.3 million in what is today the republic of Armenia.

The historic movements of people during the first world war would pale in comparison some 27 years later when World War II broke out. By the time it

ended, there would be more than 40 million refugees in Europe alone. The scale of the disaster was such that international law and international organisations tasked to deal with refugees were urgently created and quickly evolved to become the foundation that is still relied upon today. The International Refugee Organisation, after its creation in 1946, resettled over 1 million refugees between 1947 and 1951.

Even before the war's end, thousands of German began to flee Eastern Europe, most of whom were forcibly removed. In Czechoslovakia, more than 2 million people were moved over the country's border. In Poland, Germans were gathered before being removed by authorities. In Romania, around 400,000 Germans left their homes while Yugoslavia was virtually emptied of its 500,000-strong German community.

In the Middle East, refugees have been a humanitarian issue for Iraq since its war with Iran in the 1980s, but the 2003 invasion resulted in a huge increase in their number. The UN estimates that in 2013, 4.7 million Iraqis have left their homes (around 1 in 6 Iraqis), more than 2 million of whom left the country altogether. Most settled in neighbouring Jordan, Lebanon and Syria, living without the protection of refugee laws in those countries and, in the case of Syria, facing renewed violence. As a result, some have started to return to Iraq and have been joined by Syrians attempting to escape

the same conflict. Today, the Syrian refugee crisis has been further exacerbated by Syria's civil war, with close to 2 million people fleeing the country and perhaps twice that number uprooted and homeless within Syria itself

Discussion of the Problem

Some of the short term macroeconomic impact of the resettlement of refugees include as follows:

- The short-term fiscal costs of caring for the asylum seekers could be sizable in some countries. For example, the IMF staff estimated that, on a GDP-weighted basis, average budgetary expenses for asylum seekers in EU countries would increase by 0.05 and 0.1 percent of GDP in 2015 and 2016, respectively, compared to 2014
- Refugee-related fiscal costs are materializing while a number of countries have to consolidate their fiscal positions.
- For countries in the EU, Only a small part of the immediate fiscal costs is borne by the EU The long term net fiscal impact of refugees is mostly driven by their success in the labor market. Assessing the fiscal effects of immigration requires a comparison between taxes paid and other fiscal contributions made by migrants, and the costs of services and benefits used by them. The

resulting net fiscal impact largely depends on how refugees fare in the labor market, which, in turn, is linked to individual characteristics such as skills and age as well as the state of the business cycle, as discussed above. Since all of this is also true for natives, it is often useful to compare the fiscal impact of refugees with that of the rest of the population. Refugee Resettlement can also affect the use of fiscal resources by natives. Fiscal accounts may worsen because of displacement effects—for example, if the inflow of refugees increases natives' unemployment rate (and, thus, the unemployment benefits bill), or lowers their wages (and related taxes).

Case Study: Labor Market Performance of Immigrants in Germany

Germany has a higher share of foreign-born population than the United Kingdom or the United States. After earlier waves in the 1960s and 1990s, immigration to Germany has been on the rise again since the global financial crisis and skyrocketed in 2015, as upwards of 800,000 asylum applicants are expected to have arrived, nearly twice as many as during previous heights in the 1990s.

Recent new research by IMF staff has studied how immigrants fared in the German labor market over the last 40 years (Beyer, forthcoming). The study uses micro-data from a large household survey, the German Socio-Economic Panel, to estimate empirical models of the determinants of wages, unemployment, and labor force participation. The analysis shows that immigrants earn 20 percent less than natives with similar characteristics when they arrive in the country. Initially, immigrant wages catch up by 1 percentage point per year, but the process slows over time and wages never fully converge. Immigrants without German writing skills or a German degree have a wage gap as high as 30 percent initially. Good German writing skills close the gap by 12 percentage points (pps) and a German degree by another 6 pps. The gap for migrants born in advanced economies is a third of that of other immigrants.

The lower wages of immigrants largely reflect “skill downgrading”—66 percent of highly skilled natives have a job that actually requires higher education and over 60 percent have jobs with very high “autonomy,” both characteristics strongly associated with higher wages. However, for immigrants not born in advanced economies the respective fractions are only 42 percent and 33 percent.

In 2013, the immigrants’ unemployment rate was twice as high as natives’, and fewer immigrants participated in the labor market. The probability of unemployment is initially 7 pps higher for recently arrived immigrants than for natives with similar characteristics. While the gap narrows over time, in the long run the unemployment rate remains 3 pps higher among immigrants. Again, German language skills and a German degree help close the gap and immigrants from advanced economies perform better than other immigrants. Female immigrants have a high probability of unemployment than otherwise comparable male migrants. While the participation rate of immigrants is initially lower—with the expected effects of the immigrants’ 8 characteristics—the participation rate converges fully after 20 years. The analysis of the German experience shows that immigrants make substantial contributions to the economy but face considerable obstacles in the labor market that are overcome only gradually.

Some of the key comparisons between the life of refugees and those of natives of the host country are outlined as follows in Figure 1:

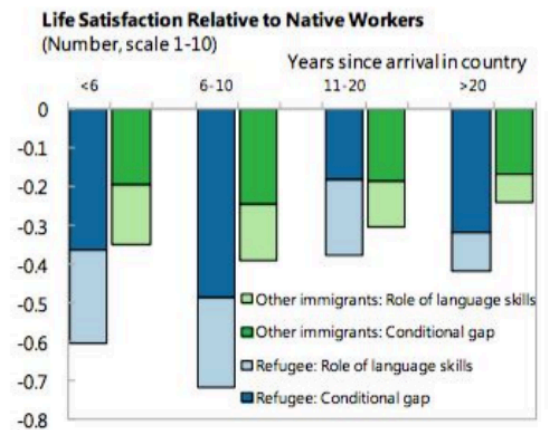
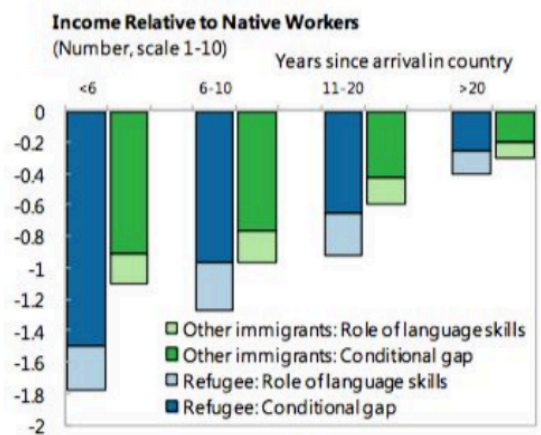
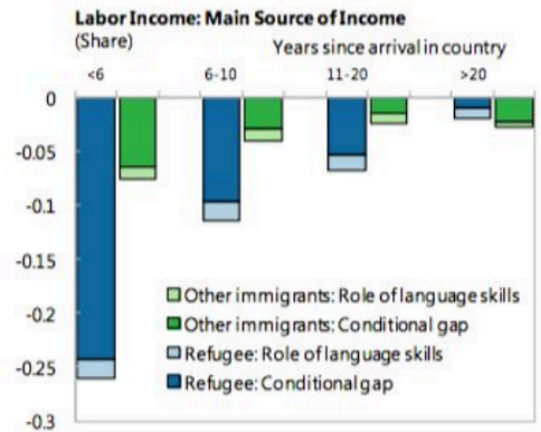
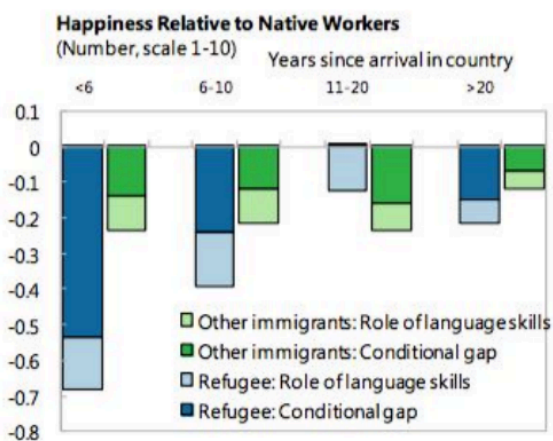
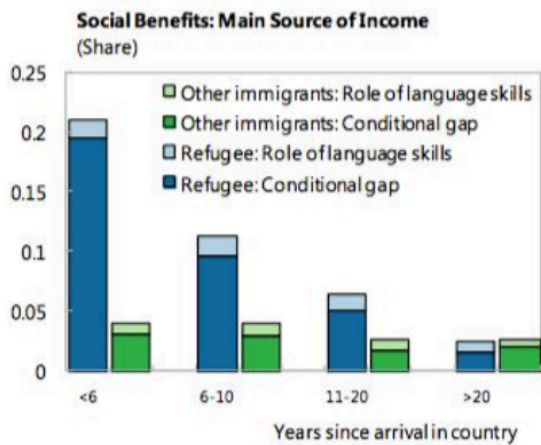
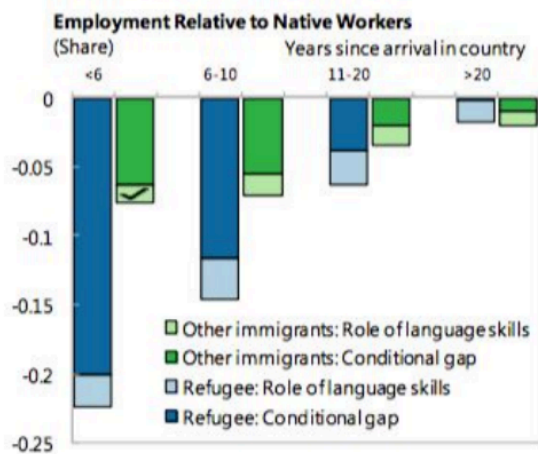


Figure 1- Source: IMF, 2016

The Future

Resettlement of refugees to a third country where they can enjoy long-term protection and integrate into the host society can be a solution for some refugees, particularly those with limited prospects for local integration or voluntary repatriation, or for those with specific needs who cannot find adequate protection in the country of origin or the country of asylum.

In the context of mixed movements, resettlement can be an effective mechanism for burden sharing and international cooperation, providing options to assist first countries of asylum consistent with the principle of international solidarity. It can also allow first asylum countries to enhance the efficacy of protection, thereby diminishing secondary movements (as discussed further in Chapter 8). Resettlement agreements can encourage coastal States to allow for the disembarkation of refugees rescued at sea, by differentiating responsibilities for initial reception and processing arrangements from the provision of long-term solutions. A strategic use of resettlement in the context of a comprehensive approach that includes access to all three durable solutions, depending on protection needs, also decreases the risk of resettlement becoming a pull factor.

While strategic use of resettlement as part of a burden-sharing arrangement can be promoted by a single State, cooperation and coordination among numerous resettlement countries, first asylum countries and UNHCR, as well as other

interested stakeholders, is likely to maximize the benefits. Negotiations between resettlement countries and countries of first asylum could establish the parameters for resettlement programmes, including multi-year resettlement agreements and assistance for local integration and other improvements in conditions for refugees in countries of first asylum.

Country Position

US

Fewer than 1 percent of formally recognized refugees worldwide are resettled annually, with about 125,600 individuals departing to resettlement countries in 2016. The United States has historically led the world in terms of refugee resettlement, and today remains the top resettlement country. Since 1975, the United States of America has taken over 3 million refugees from all over the world. About 3 million refugees have been resettled in the U.S. since Congress passed the Refugee Act of 1980, which created the Federal Refugee Resettlement Program and the current national standard for the screening and admission of refugees into the country. In fiscal year (FY) 2016, the United States resettled 84,994 refugees. In response to the worsening global humanitarian crisis, the Obama administration increased the number of refugees the United States accepts annually, from 85,000 in fiscal year (FY) 2016 to 110,000 in FY 2017. Since assuming office in January 2017, President Donald Trump has issued executive orders to cut the refugee admission ceiling for FY 2017 from 110,000 to 50,000, and to suspend the

refugee resettlement program for 120 days. These policy changes have been challenged in federal court and are presently blocked from implementation. So far this fiscal year, more than 42,000 refugees have been resettled.

UK

Since 2004, Britain has been resettling around 750 refugees every year through the Gateway Protection Programme, which helps resettle refugees from all over the world. The first group of refugees to arrive for resettlement under the Gateway Programme was a group of Liberian refugees, who arrived in Sheffield on 19 March 2004. Since then, the UK has offered places via this programme to people fleeing states well known for conflict or poor human rights records, including Somalia, Myanmar, Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo. However, during times of crisis, Britain has operated specific resettlement programmes to help offer protection to people on a larger scale; giving homes to thousands of Vietnamese refugees, Ugandan Asians and refugees fleeing the Balkans' wars. In September 2015, the Prime Minister announced the scheme would be significantly expanded to resettle 20,000 refugees by 2020. In January 2016, the government announced that the UK will offer safety to more refugee children and their families. It has committed itself to resettling up to 3,000 vulnerable children currently in the Middle East and North Africa, and 480 unaccompanied children already in Europe (including Syrian nationals) in addition to resettling 20,000 Syrian refugees by 2020, under its Syrian Vulnerable Person Resettlement

Programme. 11 According to the latest Immigration Statistics, 5,453 Syrians were resettled to the UK under the VPRP in the year ending March 2017.

CANADA

Canada's refugee system is regulated mainly by the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act and consists of the Refugee and Humanitarian Resettlement Program, for refugees seeking protection from outside of Canada, and the In-Canada Asylum Program for person who make their claims from inside the country. Most quotas or allocations of refugees are supported by the Government Assisted Refugee program where either the Government of Canada or Province of Quebec provide the initial support and assistance to refugees being resettled in Canada. Canada has often been praised by the UNHCR for its efforts towards refugee resettlement, particularly in 2016 for welcoming 46,700 refugees. It's the largest number of refugees admitted in one year since the implementation of the 1976 Immigration Act, the UNHCR said in a news release.

CHINA

China is on the sidelines with regards to the refugee resettlement crisis. According to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Beijing, by the end of August 2015, there were nine refugees and 26 asylum seekers from Syria in China. They were among the 795 UN-registered "persons of concern," or displaced people, mainly from Somalia, Nigeria, Iraq, and Liberia living in China temporarily while waiting to be transferred. The East Asian giant faces

complex political, demographic, religious, and economic challenges that have prevented it from considering allowing migrants inside its borders. Currently, China has not adopted a refugee resettlement plan as it lacks the institutions conducive to supporting immigration on a mass scale. Although it ratified the UN's Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees in 1982, the country still lacks related national institutions. It was only in 2012 that China adopted a revised Entry-Exit Administration Law that allows public security authorities to issue identity certificates to refugees and refugee status applicants. According to an August 2015 UNHCR fact sheet, the Chinese government does not provide assistance to refugees in China.

RUSSIA

Russia has been reprimanded by the International Community for not contributing to the needs of the refugees displaced by the Syrian Civil War. 12 Russian officials have denied responsibility to help refugees, claiming that Russia is doing its part simply by "assisting the Syrian government in combating terrorist groups." Russia contends that the burden of the Syrian Refugee crisis should fall on those countries whose policies contributed to the war in Syria.

Points Resolution Should Address

- How will the UNHCR implement the new system?
- How can the global refugee resettlement system be applied to

various conflicts in different countries?

- How will countries share the financial costs?
- How will the global refugee resettlement system respect the sovereign decisions of each country to take refugees or not?
- How will the new system address concerns relevant to security and fraud?
- How will the resettlement system provide humanitarian and integration resources to the refugees outside their country of origin?

Bibliography

(1) Refugees, U. (2017). Resettlement. [online] UNHCR. Available at: <http://www.unhcr.org/uk/resettlement.html> [Accessed 8 Oct. 2017].

(2) Chalabi, M. (2017). What happened to history's refugees?. [online] the Guardian. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/interactive/2013/jul/25/what-happened-history-refugees#Israelites> [Accessed 8 Oct. 2017].

(3) Zong, Jie, and Jeanne Batalova. "Refugees and Asylees in the United States." Migrationpolicy.org, 28 Sept. 2017, www.migrationpolicy.org/article/refugee-s-and-asylees-united-states.

(4) U.S. Department of State, U.S. Department of State, www.state.gov/j/prm/ra/.

(5) “Refugee Resettlement: The Facts.” Refugee Council, www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/what_we_do/refugee_services/resettlement_programme/refugee_resettlement_the_facts

(6) Sanders, Carol. “UN Praises Canada for Refugee Resettlement Program.” Winnipeg Free Press, 24 Apr. 2017, www.winnipegfreepress.com/local/un-praises-canada-for-refugee-resettlement-program-420295873.html.

(7) Pan, Liang. “Why China Isn't Hosting Syrian Refugees.” Foreign Policy, 7 Mar. 2016, foreignpolicy.com/2016/02/26/china-host-syrian-islam-refugee-crisis-migrant/.

(8) Rankin, Jennifer. “EU Met Only 5% of Target for Relocating Refugees from Greece and Italy.” The Guardian, Guardian News and Media, 8 Dec. 2016, www.theguardian.com/world/2016/dec/08/eu-met-only-5-of-target-for-relocating-refugees-from-greece-and-italy

Further Reading

(1) McGuinness, Terry. “The UK Response to the Syrian Refugee Crisis.” Commons Library Briefing - UK Parliament, 14 June 2017, researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/SN06805.

(2) Aiyar, Shekhar, et al. “The Refugee Surge in Europe: Economic Challenges.” The Refugee Surge in Europe: Economic Challenges, Jan. 2016, www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/sdn/2016/sdn1602.pdf.

(3) Solution for Refugees, www.unhcr.org/50a4c17f9.pdf.

(4) Morand, Marybeth, et al. “The Implementation of UNHCR’s Policy on Refugee Protection and Solutions in Urban Areas.” The Implementation of UNHCR’s Policy on Refugee Protection and Solutions in Urban Areas, 2012.

(5) “Document. UNHCR Report on 1997 Resettlement Activities, Resettlement and Special Cases Section, Division of International Protection, January 1998.” International Journal of Refugee Law, vol. 10, no. 1, Jan. 1998, pp. 272–283.

(6) Troeller, G. “UNHCR Resettlement: Evolution and Future Direction.” International Journal of Refugee Law, vol. 14, no. 1, Jan. 2002, pp. 85–95.

(7) “Resettlement: An Instrument of Protection and a Durable Solution.” International Journal of Refugee Law, vol. 9, no. 4, Jan. 1997, pp. 666–673

Topic B: Developing a Sustainable Framework to Reduce the Vulnerability of Incoming Refugees Introduction

In this section we will be primarily concentrating on the series of vulnerabilities refugees face from the moment they leave their country of origin until they arrive in their host country. The refugee crisis in Syria will be put under the spotlight, analyzing its impact on the European continent as well as current proposals for the development of a framework that will reduce their vulnerabilities. According to International Organization for Migration (IOM) there are more than 60 million people globally that are forcibly displaced due to conflict, violence, disasters and other human rights violations (L. Guadagno, M. Fuhrer and J. Twigg, 2016). From these 60 million forcibly displaced individuals 22.5 million are refugees and 10 million are stateless people (UNHCR, 2017). Nowadays, migrants, asylum seekers and refugees represent an ever growing proportion of the general European population. With 55% of refugees coming mainly from South Sudan, Afghanistan and most of all with 5.5 million individuals from Syria the refugee crisis is the highest level of forced displacement since World War II. Hence, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has encouraged for years the protection of the rights of human of refugees and displaced people supporting their integration by promoting access to better living conditions.

One must distinguish the use of terminology when debating on the situations of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees in order to be address their issues appropriately. The fallacy of the wrong use of terminology can be exemplified in the case of the media. While in general it plays a vital role on shedding light on contemporary issues in our society, in the

current refugee crisis in Europe there has been mixed coverage. On the one hand the public was giving insights into the difficulties of asylum seekers to find a safe haven in Europe depicting “the humanitarian element of the crisis” (Make Sense, 2015). On the other hand, the more nationalist right-wing media concentrated on topics such as national security, even referring ‘refugees’ as ‘migrants’. The use of this terminology has led to wide controversy. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, a refugee is a person “fleeing from conflict or persecution” (UNHCR, 2014) whereas a migrant is usually understood to move to a foreign country for better work. Misrepresenting refugees “takes attention away from the specific legal protections refugees require” and “can undermine public support for refugees”(Euroscope, 2016). This is so as they see the inflow of ‘migrants’ as a wish for people to have better living conditions than to be brought to safety, locals even fearing that they may lose their jobs. Moreover, this also has a negative impact on public perception. Instead of promoting tolerance in a society it places these individuals in categories of who is good or bad. The difference between an asylum seeker and a refugee is that the first is seeking international protection, but whose claim for refugee status has not yet been determined whereas the latter is someone who has been recognized under the 1951 Convention relating to the status of refugees to be a refugee. In addition, it is possible to find another different connotation of the term itself: internally displaced person (IDP). An internally displaced person is someone who has not crossed a border to find safety; unlike refugees, they are on the run at home. According to the United Nations Refugee Agency, “around 26 million of the world’s population were characterized as IDP during 2014” (UNHCR, 2016).

Considering that refugees are currently representing a significant and always more growing part of every country's population, it is essential that countries cooperate in order to find better living conditions for both national citizens and international hosts. The development of sustainable strategies for reducing the vulnerability of incoming refugees can only be achieved through international cooperation among States, which must guarantee to incoming migrants the first right of all: the right to a dignified life.

History of Topic

Since the beginning of times, migrations has always been a major path through globalization. This led to the creation of a multicultural, multilingual and always more diverse society. The biggest example of this phenomena were the Europeans who fled the continent during the two World Wars, because of the political and economic instability that characterized the European territory during and post both conflicts. Likewise, even though we are now living in an always more integrating society, some countries around the world, especially the Islamic countries in which the Arab Spring is still occurring, remain unstable and, as a consequence, have created a new refugees flow from North Africa and Middle East to Europe. The year 2015 represented the beginning of a new chapter for the history of migrations, but to understand what led to this event, it is important to outline the main events occurred before.



Before 2015: Libyan Civil War

To begin with, after the Arab Spring movements overturned the rulers of Tunisia and Egypt, Libya experienced a revolt beginning in early 2011 in which emerged the authoritarian regime of Muammar Gaddafi. After the establishment of the Transitional National Council and because of continuous uprisings throughout all Libya, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 1973 sanctioning the establishment of a no-fly zone and the use of “all means necessary” to protect civilians within Libya (UNSC, 2011). Subsequently, NATO intervened and thanks to the American and French air offensives Gaddafi was captured and killed in the city of Sirte. Since then Libya has lived in a condition of instability, changing from a government to another in which human rights have only been violated. For these reasons, Libyan civilians started to flee the country in order to find not only survival but also better living standards. This fact led the High Commissioner for Human Rights to establish an investigative body to report on human rights and rebuilding the Libyan justice system.

When Libyan citizens were forced to flee the country they firstly tried to seek shelter at the isle of Malta, taking into consideration the area in which the country is located. Unfortunately, many migrants boat went missing, and even

sank, some kilometres south of Malta because of the conditions of both the boats themselves and the weather. Nonetheless, many migrants coming not only from Libya, but also from Tunisia and Egypt, whose governments were overturned even before Libyan Civil War, found shelter at Italian isle of Lampedusa, nearest island located south west of Malta and closer to both Libya and Tunisia than Malta.



Before 2015: Syrian Civil War

The Arab Spring revolutions inspired many Civil Wars which started to appear in the Middle Eastern part of the globe. In particular, the Syrian Arab Republic has been representing a main role in the refugee crisis. As a matter of fact, in 2011 began a series of different peaceful protests which led to the formation of the Free Syrian Army and the consequent appearance of the opposition, dominated by Sunni Muslims. According to various sources, including the United Nations, in order to survive and escape from the horrible slaughter taking place in Syria, almost 5 million Syrian refugees have fled to neighbouring countries of Jordan, Iraq, Lebanon and Turkey and then sought shelter within European territory.



2015: Ezedeen example and first institutional interventions

During the very first days of 2015 occurred the so-called Ezadeen accident. In other words, a boat carrying 360 Syrian refugees zigzagged throughout the Mediterranean area, heading first to Turkey, then Cyprus and Greece, and eventually ended up drifting across towards Italy. The crew, believed to be people smugglers, abandoned the ship, but luckily the Italian Coast Guard was able to save the refugees. This accident symbolizes the encounter between Europe and the Middle East within the migration crisis. All these facts were brought at the attention of many bodies of international organizations. In particular, the European Commission agreed to triple funding to rescue operations aimed at migrant boats, and more ships and other resources were promised by member states. It also agreed to find proper ways to capture smuggler's boats, and to deploy immigration officers to non-EU countries.

Moreover, during May 2015, the European Commission proposed that EU member states should take in refugees under a quota scheme, but this proposal was not supported by all member states. Subsequently, after it was agreed to relocate 40,000 migrants from Italy and Greece to other EU member states, a voluntary relocations scheme without mandatory quotas for each country started. During 2015, thousands of migrants, fleeing primarily Syria, entered European territory, forcing EU countries to protect their own interests. As a

matter of fact, Austria, Hungary and Slovenia were some of the first countries which began building a barrier along part of their borders with other EU countries, in order to control the inflow of migrants. What is more, among the migrants and refugees who entered Europe were hidden some of the perpetrators of the Islamic State who carried out a series of terrorist attacks in Paris on November 13th.

Hence, other European countries to create new methods to control the inflow of refugees. For instance, Norway created a new cabinet office for migration in order to control asylum seekers. Equally, Sweden introduced temporary border checks, Finland blocked the access of new refugees after having welcome more than 30,000 refugees, and Macedonia began building a barrier along part of its side with Greece.



After 2015: main events and current situation

After 2015, the situation remained critical. In fact, the year 2016 started with sexual assaults, numerous thefts and several rapes conducted by asylum seekers and illegal immigrants in particular in the city of Cologne, Germany. Consequently, European countries increased the controls and started reducing the permission for asylum seekers, while making regulations even more strict, especially in Norway and Sweden. Moreover, Bulgaria announced that it will close all its external EU borders and deport anyone who does not meet the criteria for asylum. Meanwhile, the political situation in the

countries of origin of the migrants worsened. For this reason, even more flows of refugees began appearing every day and many of the boats carrying them unfortunately sank before arriving at the coast of Greece or Italy. Because of this, also the Catholic Church manifested its interest in helping out. Pope Francis took 12 Syrian refugees back with him to Vatican City after visiting a camp on Greek island of Lesbos as a sign of love and welcome. Furthermore, Turkey, being at the border between Europe and Asia, has been playing a main role within the migrant crisis, trying to take advantage of the situation in several occasions. As a matter of fact, more than once the Turkish government threatened to withdraw from the agreement with 19 the EU of taking back refugees, unless the EU grants visa-free travel for Turkish citizens. This fact also represents a trick from Turkey in trying to enter the European Union. Nowadays the situation remains still complicated. Italy, Germany and Greece persist to be the main countries hosting refugees, whereas many other countries are contributing both financially and creating camps in order to allow migrants to establish a place to live. Nonetheless, considering the high number of migrants arriving in Europe every single day, some countries were forced to create barriers and to stop welcoming non-EU citizens. All European countries are always more advocating for international help outside the continent in order to restore order and prosperity within European territory and, at the same time to give migrants the chance to live a dignified life in their countries of origin.

Discussion of the Topic

'More than a million migrants and refugees crossed into Europe in 2015, sparking a crisis as countries struggled to cope with the influx, and creating division in the EU over how best to deal with resettling people' (BBC News, 2016). It is unsettling how such a crisis can affect the

lives of so many people. The debate surrounding the vulnerabilities of refugees uses the Syrian crisis primarily as a study case since the majority of displaced individuals originate from this country due to its internal turmoil. Syria will be put in the context of other affected countries to display the sheer amount suffering that can exist within a region. The reasons behind the motives of refugees from Syria will be clarified. Most importantly light will be shed on the dangers of the routes they undertake and on the way countries as well as international organizations deal with such a crisis. Main countries of origin for refugees

The ongoing instability present in the Middle East and in the northern part of the African continent have been representing the main factors which led migrants to flee the countries of origin. In particular, the Syrian Arab Republic continues to be by far the biggest driver of migration with over 350,000 having applied in the EU for asylum in 2015.. Ever since 2011 there has been internal turmoil in Syria forcing citizens out of their homes. The violence has been especially very tumultuous since 2014. Crimes such as rape, executions and targeted disappearances have become commonplace in the region. As a consequence these individuals have sought for refuge going on journeys that are endless and unsafe. With an increasingly large percentage leaving the war-torn country it is estimated that since 2011 there have been around 11 million refugees (Raptim, 2017). According to the European Commission the Syrian population is very vulnerable with currently 13 million in need of humanitarian assistance. The height of the conflict in Syria was in 2015 when 250,000 people have died (Wired, 2015).

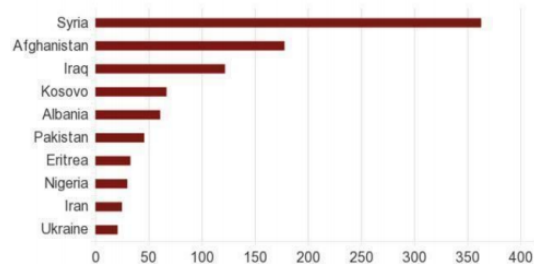


Figure 1: Top 10 origins of people applying for asylum in the EU. *Source:* BBC, 2016

Furthermore, there are also other factors leading people to look for better living standards elsewhere. Firstly, Eritrea remains subject of one of the world's most oppressive governments. In fact, the country is ruled by an unelected President Isaias Afwerki, who has established a real dictatorship. For instance, no national election has been held since self-rule in 1991, the judiciary power is subject to executive control and interference, the media are owned by the State only, the constitution has not been implemented and only from 2002 a legislature started to appear. These are clear signs of a complete repression of speech and expression. To make matters even worse some of the main human rights have been upheld through physical abuse, including torture, and forced domestic servitude occurred frequently. The United Nations Refugee Agency reported that 474,296 Eritrean globally to be refugees and asylum seekers at the end of 2015, about 12 percent of Eritrea's official 3.6 million population estimate (Human Rights Watch, 2016).

Second of all, Afghanistan and Iraq still represent two of the main countries attacked by violence. As regards to the former, fighting continues between Taliban and government forces. During 2016, the Afghan government carried on expanding its use of illegal militias, some of which were responsible for killing and assaults on civilians (Human Rights Watch, 2016). In addition, there is no progress in the implementation of a national action plan to curb torture and every day the number of the victims, including children who die from hazardous conditions in the workplace, unfortunately increases. Regarding the latter, many are the

clashes with the Islamic State, especially for the operations to retake Iraqi cities such as Ramadi, Fallujah and Mosul. Between 2015 and 2016, credible allegations emerged of summary executions, beating of men in custody, enforced disappearances, and mutilations of corpses by the government forces are only some of the violent facts that occurred within the country (Human Rights Watch, 2016). Plus, many suicide and car bombings were carried out by the Islamic State, as well as the number of children kidnapped for religious and military training. For these reasons, according to the International Federation of Journalists, Iraq is the deadliest country in the world, and, according to UNICEF, the deadliest for children as well.

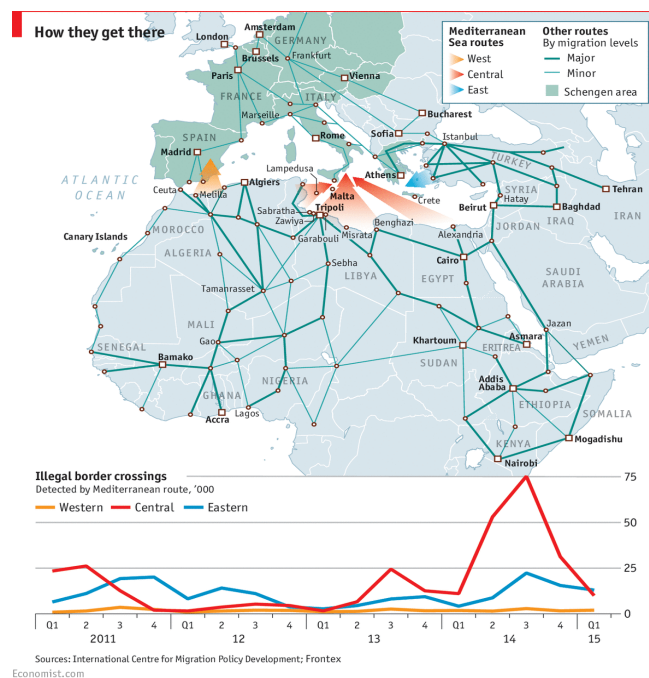
Moreover, the situation is critical for some European countries located in the Eastern part of the continent. These countries have been suffering poverty ever since the end of the Warsaw Pact in 1991 and the consequent dissolution of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (URSS). In particular, the disputed territory and partially recognizes state that declared independence from Serbia in 2008 known as Republic of Kosovo, is facing serious problems within its territory. Journalists face threats and intimidation, and prosecutions of crimes against them, remain slow. Also, tensions between Serbs and Kosovo Albanians continue, particularly on the north and Roma, Ashkali and Balkan Egyptian communities continue to face discrimination. For these reasons, the country's situation remains controversial and progress is barely achieved.

Vulnerabilities associated with Migratory Routes

The International Organization for Migration estimates that more than 1 million migrants arrived by sea in 2015, and almost 35,000 by land. According to Frontex there are currently eight primary migratory routes from which the most used ones are the route in the Eastern Mediterranean and the one in West Balkan (Wired, 2015). According to *Figure 1* most border crossing via the Mediterranean route have been through central Europe. These routes

are very dangerous. Out of the 280,000 that have ventured on this route more than 4,000 people have drowned.

Figure 1: Main migratory routes into the EU/land & sea



Source: The Economist, 2015

It has been claimed that “ the chances of dying on the Libya to Italy route are ten times higher than when crossing from Turkey to Greece” (SBS, 2016). It has been in 2015 that going on this route from Libya approximately, 2,892 people died, whereas crossing the “the Aegean route from Turkey to Greece” there were less fatalities, around 806. The explanation for this is that the distance between Turkey and Greece is with 10 kilometers shorter than the distance from Tripoli to Sicily of 600 kilometers. Other factors include the fluctuations in weather conditions or border patrols that harshen the already dangerous journey of these refugees. As seen in *Figure 2* there have been more arrivals in Greece than in Italy in recent years. However, despite the small percentage for arrivals via the Libya to Italy route in 2015, in that year more than 70% of fatalities occurred there. While the number of deaths has dropped significantly by

2016 via this route, there have been more deaths on the route towards Greece in that year.

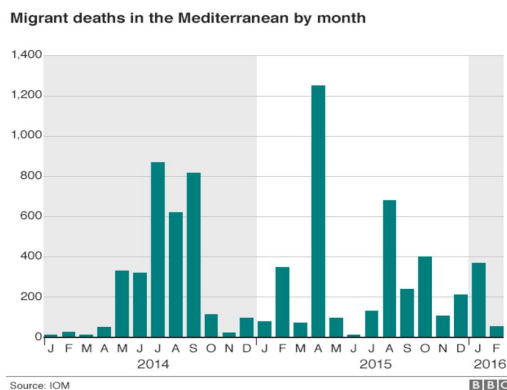
Figure 2: Arrivals & Deaths of refugees in the main host countries from the Mediterranean route in 2015 and 2016.

Source: The Conversation, 2016



The reason behind these deaths is that “most of the safer routes into and through Europe have been shut down” making the Mediterranean one of the single remaining and therefore most popular routes to travel. Refugees are forced to flee on this deadly route towards Turkey or Greece, however, “only a few dozen people are rescued each day” (Huffpost, 2016). It has been estimated in 2015 that more than a million individuals have crossed this route from which 3,770 died. The rise in the number of fatalities in 2015 can be see in **Figure 3**.

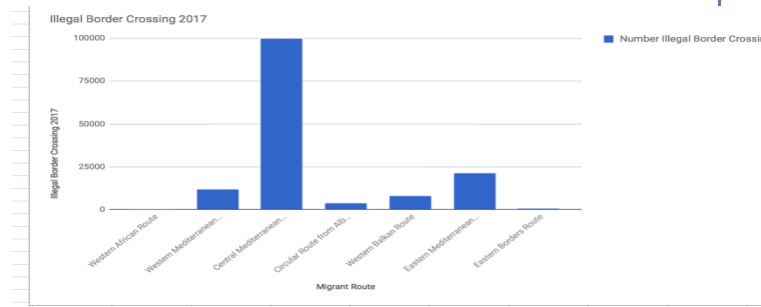
Figure 3: Migrant deaths in the Mediterranean by month



Source: BBC, 2016.

The route is still very popular today with over 100,000 thousand illegal border crossings in central Mediterranean, 1,700 Eastern Mediterranean and 1,500 in Western Mediterranean.

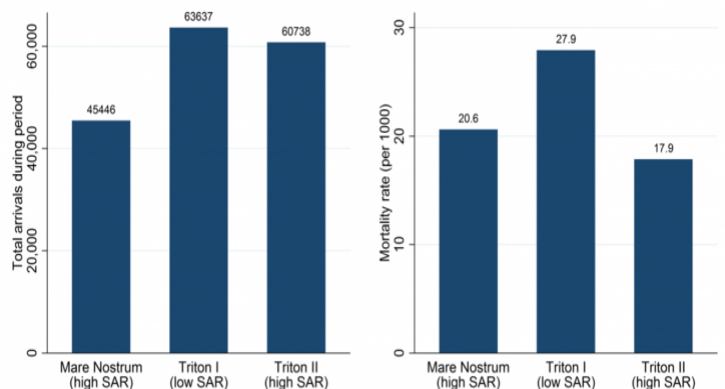
Figure 4: Illegal Border Crossing 2017



Source: Frontex, 2017.

The increased number of fatalities in 2015 when compared to 2014 can be attributed to the reduction in presence of Mare Nostrum which mandate was to rescue incoming refugees. Despite of its success it has been discontinued in order to discourage refugees to cross the sea, a decision that caused the deaths of hundreds of people. Rescue missions such as Triton 1 have proved to be a great failure as there was a high mortality rate during its use.

Figure 5: Arrivals & Deaths of Refugees compared during types of Mediterranean Search and Rescue Missions



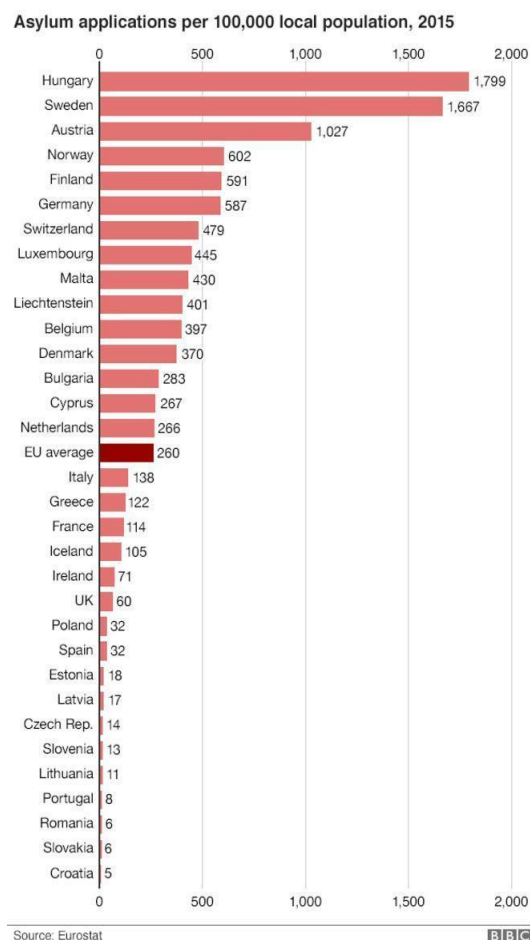
Source: Adam Smith, 2017.

The dangers of these routes are intensified by the “the opportunistic nature of the smugglers who control these flows” (Huffpost, 2016). Since European countries have closed the major “safe and legal routes” (Express, 2017) towards the continent smugglers have taken advantage of this having the trafficking “done on an almost industrial scale” (Huffpost, 2016). While refugees have tried to escape the chaos from their country they are faced with “unspeakable treatment along the way, including torture, rape and starvation” (Huffpost, 2016). The main victims of these smuggles are women and children are experiencing sexual abuse on their journey. To make matters worse even when the journey of these children is complete the “smugglers continue to control and coerce” (Express, 2017) them. The issue of human smuggling is especially concerning as “there are no reliable figures to show how many of the refugees and migrants die, disappear into forced labour or prostitution, or linger in detention” (Express, 2017).

Managing the Refugee Crisis with a coherent EU policy

With most of the refugees heading towards a safe haven in Europe, Member States of the European Union have been confronted with a crisis they were not prepared. The countries these people try to reach vary. For example, as seen in *Figure 6*, although Germany has had the most asylum applicants, Hungary had the highest in proportion to its population, despite the closer of its border with Croatia to monitor in the inflow in October 2015. Plus, according to Eurostat, almost 1,800 refugees per 100,000 of Hungary’s local population claimed asylum in 2015. Likewise, 1,667 per 100,000 in Sweden and 1,027 in Austria. On the contrary, only 5 per 100,000 were the applicants in Croatia, and 6 in Slovakia and Romania, leaving a EU average of 260. Consequently, many tensions have been rising within the European Union (BBC, 2016).

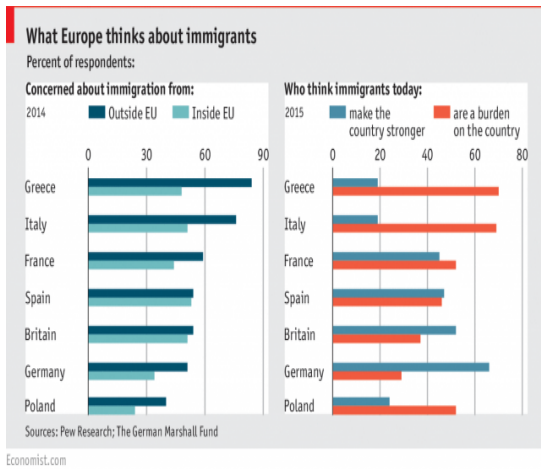
Figure 6: Asylum applications per 100,00 local population, 2015.



(BBC, 2016)

Regardless of the magnitude of the crisis many countries in Europe are not content with the arrival of refugees. Most notably Hungary is “rushing to finish a 109-mile fence along its border.” (Wired, 2015). The reason for this is the fear that they will become a target as the final destination of these individuals. As seen in *Figure 7* the main countries affected by the crisis believe that refugees are a burden on the country. Only Germany believes that they make their country stronger.

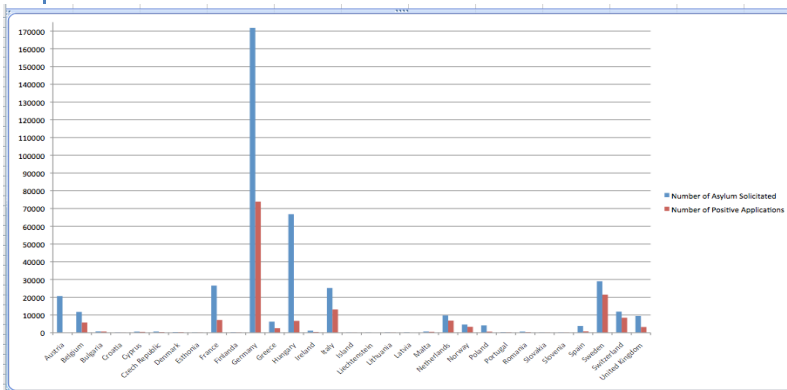
Figure 7: Opinion poll on what Europe thinks about Refugees



Source: Economist, 2015

Regardless of this belief Germany only verifies 42 percent of all applications given to it despite its hidden economic motives to increase the number of skilled workers due to its ageing population.

Figure 8: Comparison in numbers of total asylum solicited by refugees for Europe and the number of the positive outcome of applications in 2015



Source: The Telegraph, 2015.

Regardless of refugees being able to find legal acceptance for remaining within EU space with the Dublin Regulation, that determines which EU member State is responsible for processing asylum seekers' asylum application, the reality is

different. considering that the majority of migrants was still arriving to the coasts of Greece and Italy, the EU ministers voted by a majority to relocate 160,00 refugees, living in the two most affected countries, into EU territory under a quota relocation scheme. In addition, almost 55,000 other refugees were to be moved from Hungary, but the Hungarian government decided not to participate in the redistribution of migrants living inside the country and, on the contrary, accepted to receive even more refugees coming from Greece and Italy. Eventually, considering both the number of the national population of the different EU countries and the size of the territories, refugees have been redistributed, but many tensions are still present. As a matter of fact, more than 25,000 were the refugees than only Germany decided to welcome, whereas almost none were the ones that countries like Malta, Cyprus, Estonia and Latvia received within their territories (BBC, 2016). As regards to the European countries which are not part of the EU, the situation remains complicated as well. In fact, the Dublin Regulation was extended to Norway, Iceland and Switzerland and the countries have been actively participating in order to solve the migration crisis. For instance, many of the funds established by these countries aimed to help the relocation of the refugees within EU territory, as well as was the intention of welcoming a limited number of them under the relocation scheme.

INTERVENTION OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

EU countries have been the most affected ones so far, and as a consequence, EU bodies, especially the European Commission, have been the ones which took the most relevant decisions in order to solve the problem of the migrants. Collectively the European Union and its Member States have spent more than € 9.4 billion on humanitarian, stabilisation and resilience assistance within Syria and regionally to its neighbours. Despite these vital actions the EU has not been the only international organization which tried to guarantee the respect for human rights and to restore order in the continent. The most notable strategy to

alleviate the issues in the region was the one adopted by the “the European Commission and the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy” (European Commission, 2017). With a multilateral response to the crisis funding has been given to “support humanitarian, resilience and development activities” (European Commission, 2017). Another important incentive has been under the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR), the Council of Europe guarantees Member States the rights set forth in the EU Dublin Convention not only to their own citizens, but to everybody within their jurisdiction. As a matter of fact, the application of the Dublin regulation has been examined many times by the ECHR, such as in the case of Member States v. Belgium and Greece in 2011, which concerned the returning of an Afghan asylum seekers to Greece by the Belgian government in inhumane and humiliating conditions. Moreover, the Council of Europe has been working on the protection of children. The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE), under the Committee on Migration, Refugees and Protection, ‘expressed its concern about the lack of national legislation and guidance on the protection of undocumented children, and called on member States to implement appropriate legislative measures and to remove barriers such as administrative obstacles, discrimination or lack of information to ensure the full enjoyment of these rights in practice’ (2011 Report of the PACE Committee on Migration, Refugees and Population).



Furthermore, many actions have been undertaken by the United Nations. Due to the

Libyan Civil War, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 2240 (2015), in which Member States are authorized to intercept vessels off Libyan coast suspected of migrants smuggling (UNSC, Adopting Resolution 2240, 2015). “The Council further called for member States to consider ratifying or acceding to, and for States parties to effectively implement the Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air, supplementing the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, and the Protocol to prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children” (Security Council, SC/12072, 7532nd Meeting, 2015). Consequently, considering the continuous loss of life due to migrant smuggling and human trafficking off the coast of Libya, with Resolution 2312 (2016) the Security Council extended the authorization to intercept vessels on the high seas suspected of illegal smuggling, for a further period of one year.

What is more, the UN also has been acting through the United Nations Refugee Agency and its High Commissioner (UNHCR). To respond to this crisis, the UNHCR mobilized over 600 staff and resources in 20 different locations to provide life-saving assistance and protection, as stated in the “Europe situation” of the UNHCR during 2017. “This include provision of humanitarian assistance, efforts to improve accommodation and shelter during the winter months, establishing 24/7 presence at all countries’ entry points and in a number of exit points to ensure continuous protection monitoring and intervention, efforts to reunite separated families, and identification of persons with specific needs, including separated and unaccompanied children, and referral to appropriate services. UNHCR has also called upon European States and others to act collectively with responsibility and solidarity, in line with their international obligations. In addition to this, following the closure of borders in countries in the Western Balkans in early March, UNHCR began immediately shifting resources to increase reception capacity and services to the more than 55,000 asylum-seekers and refugees now in Greece in support of the

efforts of the Greek authorities' (UNHCR, 2017).

FUTURE

There are various future perspectives that need to be taken into consideration. A problem which is currently re-emerging is increase in the use of the use of the very deadly route "Mediterranean across the Mediterranean from Libya to Italy" (Newsweek, 2016). With 18,795 refugees attempting to undertake this journey in 2016 this signifies a 85 percent rise when compared to the year before. According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM) this route "claims the lives of one in every 92 asylum seekers who try to cross" (Newsweek, 2016). To solve this issue efficient rescue operations such as Mare Nostrum should be reintroduced. Countries should continue to work together to create "safe and legal pathways and safeguards" (Newsweek, 2016) for vulnerable refugees, especially children, not to become victims of predators.

Another issue for future consideration is the integration of these refugees. The current model of having refugees in their country of destination placed in low-skilled jobs is not sustainable. Bilateral and multilateral agreements that decide which countries supplies what job in respective sector should be put in place in order to have a better regional integration and an organized "the management of migration flows" (Newsweek, 2016). By not doing so this only makes matters worse. There are "around 10 million high-educated migrants who are not employed" (Newsweek, 2016) and "another 8 million highly-educated migrants are poorly matched in their job" (Newsweek, 2016). The integration of refugees should not be treated as a domestic issues when they are not. There are various factors such as "economic costs, political costs, instability, and the erosion of social cohesion" (Newsweek, 2016) as to why integration does not work in some countries. Host countries should be able therefore to provide vocational training and education to adults in order to involve refugees in the labour market. It is also essential to have language

classes to remove some of the cultural barriers that prevent refugees to integrate efficiently. Lastly, there is a great need for the creation of a Global Framework for tackling migration crises. The great need for this framework can be exemplified through the belated response of countries to deal with such a crisis. Only after it has sprung into a humanitarian tragedy have responses surfaced. For this reason international co-ordination needs to be more accelerated with responses that are "more timely, bold, and With all this in mind the entire logistical concept should be revised. Centers of asylum should be created in tormented regions like Syria and distribute refugees in accordance to their region of preference and opportunities available to them. Families should not be split from each others and the safety and wellbeing of the most vulnerable that are the children should be prioritized. However, it must be acknowledged by policymakers that everybody experiences migration differently. Creating a unified response is clearly not the way to go. The concerns of state parties need to be listened as well in order to have an evidence based debate on how to create a sustainable framework to reduce the vulnerabilities of incoming refugees. The goal is to apply the principle of non-refoulement which states that "a refugee should not be returned to a country where they face serious threats to their life or freedom" (Raptim, 2017). Developing countries, especially those affected by the crisis regionally, should be assisted "to manage and integrate refugees" (Newsweek, 2016).

Bloc Positions

Turkey

Currently there are more than 3 million refugees in Turkey from which the vast majority, 2.7 million are Syrians. Without any government support only the EU has provided help. It has given up to 6 billion euros to aid Syrian refugees in Turkey and has relocated them in EU countries. At the moment 1,152 refugees have resettled from which half of them were sent to Germany and Sweden.

Greece

Ever since the agreement with Turkey the number of refugees that have arrived in Greece has dropped dramatically, at the first half of this year around 160,000 still made the journey. Only 4,400 people out of currently 58,000 have been reallocated from this country.

Italy

At the beginning of the year about 70,000 refugees have crossed the Mediterranean into the country. With no access to northern routes, refugees end up relying on smugglers that are putting their well-being at risk. Most of the refugees in Italy are from Africa with Nigerians, Eritreans and Gambians making up the vast majority. According to IOM currently only 961 refugees have left Italy.

Germany

Germany has always been seen as the country in charge of managing the crisis. Recently it has received a more reduced number of refugees as before with around 16,000 per month as compared to the period of 2015. Despite its leading role opposition parties such as Alternative for Germany oppose Angela Merkel's decisions in solving the crisis. While she is against having the Balkan migration route shut down she has continuously advocated for the Turkey-EU agreement. The opposition has grown when asylum-seekers that have stated their allegiance to the Islamic State have conducted a series of terrorist attacks.

Serbia & Hungary

The estimation of UNHCR of asylum-seekers being stranded in Serbia. This is so as a result of the new regulations imposed by Hungary that forces them, in some cases violently, back to Serbia. These individuals are waiting in poor conditions for their asylum only to be later rejected. Hungary rejects incoming migrants by building fences. This has been advocated by the Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban that is completely against refugees entering the country. (The Globe And Mail, 2016)

POINTS A RESOLUTION MUST ADDRESS

- How could the UNHCR implement the relocation scheme?
- How can refugees receive effective legal protection outside their countries of origin?
- How can international bodies help refugees directly on their countries of origin?
- How can refugees become a resource for the European economy and welfare?
- Do other international agencies need to intervene in solving the problem?
- How can the current political situation of the countries of origin of the refugees get better?

Further Reading

- To have a better understanding of the difference between refugee and asylum seeker:

<http://www.aph.gov.au/binaries/library/pubs/bn/sp/asylumfacts.pdf>

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/aug/28/migrants-refugees-and-asylum-seekers-whats-the-difference>

- To highlight the main events occurred in 2015:

<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/refugee-crisis-timeline-how-the-crisis-has-grown-10502690.html>

- To focus more on the connection between migration and human rights:
<http://www.coe.int/t/democracy/migration/>
- To emphasize the topic of migrants in disaster risk reduction:
<https://rm.coe.int/migrants-in-drr-web-final/1680716585>
- To see how the EU-Turkey deal turned out:
<https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2017/03/the-eu-turkey-deal-europes-year-of-shame/>
- To compare statistical data on fatal migration incidents in the Mediterranean
<http://migrantfiles.silk.co/>
- To visualize the tragedies from 2000-2015 of migration on the European continent
<http://www.rilos.ru/en/blog/236-blog-big-data-the-migrant-files-2000-2015-tragedies>
- To filter data on needs, people and aid as well as visualize other facts better
<https://www.one.org/international/movement/?source=blog>

Bibliography

Primary Literature

Amnesty International. “*The EU-Turkey deal: Europe’s year of shame*”. K. Gogou, 20 March, 2017. 25 Aug. 2017
<https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2017/03/the-eu-turkey-deal-europes-year-of-shame/>

BBC. “*Migrant crisis: Migration to Europe explained in seven charts*”. BBC 4 March, 2016. Web. 25 Aug. 2017 <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34131911>

BBC. “*Syria: The story of the conflict*”. BBC 11 March, 2016. Web. 25 Aug. 2017
<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-26116868>

Council of Europe. “*Migrants in Disaster Risk Reduction*”. L. Guadagno, M. Fuhrer and J. Twigg, 2017. Web. 25 Aug. 2017
<https://rm.coe.int/migrants-in-drr-web-final/1680716585>

Council of Europe. “*Migration*”. CoE, 1949. Web. 25 Aug. 2017
<http://www.coe.int/en/web/compass/migration>

Council of Europe. “*Migration and Human Rights*”. CoE, 1949. Web. 25 Aug. 2017
<http://www.coe.int/t/democracy/migration/>

Euroobserver. “*Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway, and Switzerland face EU threat on asylum*”. N. Nielsen, 9 September, 2015. Web. 25 Aug. 2017
<https://euobserver.com/migration/130186>

European Commission. Syrian Crisis. Web. 12 Sept. 2017 http://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/aid/countries/factsheets/syria_en.pdf

Euroscope. Aleisha Owen. Europe’s refugee crisis: the media and the public perceptions. 17 January, 2016. Web. 12 Sept. 2017
<http://publications.europeintheworld.com/europe-refugee-crisis-the-media-and-public-perceptions/>.

Express. "The new Germany? Switzerland struggles to cope with surge of migrants trying new route". A. Culbertson, 10 August, 2016. Web. 25 Aug. 2017

<http://www.express.co.uk/news/world/698331/Switzerland-new-Germany-struggle-cope-migrants-new-route>

Express. "Revealed: The deadly migration route from North Africa to Europe". Rebecca Flood. 28 Feb. 2017. Web. 12 Sept. 2017

<http://www.express.co.uk/news/world/772910/migrant-deadly-route-crisis-sea-Unicef-refugee-danger-Europe-EU>

Independent. "Refugee crisis timeline: How the crisis has grown". INDEPENDENT 15 September, 2015. Web. 25 Aug. 2017

<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/refugee-crisis-timeline-how-the-crisis-has-grown-10502690.html>

Newsweek. Mirren Gidda. As routes to Europe close, refugees are starting to consider on of the older and deadliest crossings. 4 Dec. 2016. Web. 12 Sept. 2017

<http://www.newsweek.com/europe-refugee-crisis-libya-italy-central-mediterranean-446528>

Make Sense. The Role of the Media in Europe's Refugee Crisis. 20 November, 2015. Web. 12 Sept. 2017

<https://uk.makesense.org/2015/11/20/the-role-of-the-media-in-europes-refugee-crisis/>

Migration Policy Issue. "The Paradox of the EU-Turkey Refugee Deal". E. Collett, March, 2016. Web. 25 Aug. 2017

<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/news/paradox-eu-turkey-refugee-deal>

Parliamentary Library. "Asylum seekers and refugees: what are the facts?" J. Phillips, 2011. Web. 25 Aug. 2017

<http://www.aph.gov.au/binaries/library/pubs/bn/sp/asylumfacts.pdf>

Raptim. "Refugees and Dangerous Routes". Web. 12 Sept. 2017

<https://www.raptim.org/refugees-and-dangerous-routes/>

SBS. Ben Winsor. "The World's most dangerous refugee journeys". 12 Sep. 2016. Web. 12 Sept. 2017

<http://www.sbs.com.au/news/dateline/article/2016/09/12/worlds-most-dangerous-refugee-journeys>

The Globe And Mail. Geir Moulson. Where key countries stand on Europe's ongoing refugee crisis.

28 Aug. 2016. Web. 12 Sept. 2017

<https://beta.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/where-key-countries-stand-on-europes-ongoing-refugee-crisis/article31586516/?ref=http://www.theglobeandmail.com&>

The Guardian. "Council of Europe vote puts pressure on Turkey over human rights". J. Rankin, 26 April, 2017. Web. 25 Aug. 2017

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/apr/26/council-of-europe-turkey-human-rights-pace>

The Guardian. "Migrants, refugees and asylum seekers: what's the difference?". A. Travis, 28 August, 2015. Web. 25 Aug. 2017

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/aug/28/migrants-refugees-and-asylum-seekers-whats-the-difference>

UNHCR. Refugees. January, 2014. Web. 12 Sept. 2017

<http://www.unhcr.org/uk/refugees.html>

United Nations. "Adopting Resolution 2240 (2015)". UN 9 October, 2015. Web. 25 Aug. 2017

<https://www.un.org/press/en/2015/sc12072.doc.htm>

United Nations. “*Adopting Resolution 2312 (2016)*”. UN 6 October, 2016. Web. 25 Aug. 2017
<https://www.un.org/press/en/2016/sc12543.doc.htm>

United Nations Refugee Agency. “*Europe Situation*”. UNHCR 14 September, 2015. Web. 25 Aug. 2017
<http://www.unhcr.org/europe-emergency.html>

United Nations Refugee Agency. “*Internally Displaced People*”. UNHCR, 2016. Web. 25 Aug. 2017
<http://www.unhcr.org/internally-displaced-people.html>

Huffpost. Willa Frej. “*One Of The Last Remaining Routes To Europe For Refugees Is Also One Of The Deadliest*”. 27 Oct. 2016. Web. 12 Sept. 2017
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/refugee-s-europe-mediterranean_us_5810be6fe4b02b1d9e63f478

Human Rights Watch. “*Afghanistan. Events of 2016*”. HRW, 2016. Web. 25. Aug. 2017
<https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2017/country-chapters/afghanistan>

Human Rights Watch. “*Eritrea. Events of 2016*”. HRW, 2016. Web. 25. Aug. 2017
<https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2017/country-chapters/eritrea>

Human Rights Watch. “*European Union. Events of 2016*”. HRW, 2016. Web. 25. Aug. 2017
<https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2017/country-chapters/european-union#1007e1>

Human Rights Watch. “*Iraq. Events of 2016*”. HRW, 2016. Web. 25. Aug. 2017

<https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2017/country-chapters/iraq>

Human Rights Watch. “*Serbia/Kosovo. Events of 2016*”. HRW, 2016. Web. 25. Aug. 2017
<https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2017/country-chapters/serbia/kosovo#40e5f4>

Wired. Katie Collins. “*Mapping the Syrian refugee crisis across Europe: in pictures*”. 11 Sep. 2015. Web. 12 Sept. 2017
<http://www.wired.co.uk/article/europe-syria-refugee-crisis-maps>

Graphs

Figure 1: Economist. Main migratory routes into the EU/land & sea. 9 May 2015. Web. 12 Sept. 2017
<https://www.economist.com/blogs/graphicdetail/2015/05/graphics>

Figure 2: The Conversation . Arrivals & Deaths of refugees in the main host countries from the Mediterranean route in 2015 and 2016. 29 March 2016. Web. 12 Sep. 2017
<https://theconversation.com/european-policy-is-driving-refugees-to-more-dangerous-routes-across-the-med-56625>

Figure 3: BBC. Migrant deaths in the Mediterranean by month. 4 March 2016. Web. 12 Sep. 2017
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-34131911>

Figure 4: Frontex. Illegal Border Crossing 2017.
<http://frontex.europa.eu/trends-and-routes/migratory-routes-map/>

Figure 5: Adam Smith. Arrivals & Deaths of Refugees compared during types of

Mediterranean Search and Rescue Missions.
Web. 12 Sep. 2017
<https://www.adamsmith.org/blog/do-mediterranean-search-and-rescue-missions-cause-more-drownings#>

Figure 6: BBC. Asylum applications per 100,00 local population, 2015. 4 March 2016. Web. 12 Sep. 2017 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-34131911>

Figure 7: Economist. Opinion poll on what Europe thinks about Refugees. 19 May 2015. Web. 12 Sep. 2017
<https://www.economist.com/blogs/graphicdetail/2015/05/graphics>

Figure 8: The Telegraph. Chiara Palazzo. Comparison in numbers of total asylum solicited by refugees for Europe and the number of the positive outcome of applications in 2015. 4 Sep. 2015. Web 12 Sep. 2017.
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/11822343/Mapped-Where-do-migrants-apply-for-asylum-in-Europe.html>