

**THE IMPACT OF THE MIGRANT CRISIS ON REGIONAL
INTERGRATION: CASE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION**

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Dedication

To my parents, Peter and Ndomupe Dube who have instilled the zeal to learn in me from an early age; all that I am or ever hope to become I owe it to you. You have inspired and guided me over the years to go beyond my capabilities because you have believed I can do more. As I undertake this research project I am very happy knowing that as your daughter I have made you proud today!!

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Abstract

The overarching objective of this study is to examine the impact of migrant crisis on regional integration particularly focusing on EU integration process. In order to critically examine the implications of migrants on EU integration, the study also investigated the evolution of the migrant by tracing the Europe migrations trends since World War I up to date. The study also examined the historical developments of the EU since 1950s to the present day. The study solely focused on Europe as the case study for examining the phenomenon under study. The research methodology was qualitative in nature. In-depth interviews were used to collect primary data from participants who were selected through purposive sampling techniques. Documentary research was also used to gather data from secondary sources of data both print material and online material. The researcher utilised thematic and content data analysis to analyse and structure the presentation of the research findings. The World Systems theory, Federalism theory and the neo-functionalism theory was adopted as the framework for analysis data collected. This study presumed that migrant crisis has posed serious challenges to the continued existence of the EU. These challenges include the rise of Anti-EU political parties, increased acrimony and decreased solidarity among member states, securitisation of the migrant crisis and the decreased leadership of the so-called EU engine countries such as Britain, France and Germany. The study also presupposed that the migrant crisis would be an opportunity for Europe to counter the impending shortage of labour force due to the aging population phenomenon. Nonetheless, this study concludes that the migrant crisis may not necessarily result in the disintegration of the EU in the near future but might render it a loosely integrated Union. The study recommends that EU member states should accept the world political realities on the migrant crisis and strive to balance regional interests and national interests in responding to the current surge of migrants. This would help the EU to adopt an effective multilateral approach (that is acceptable to all member states) in order to successively address the migrant crisis and at the same amending the fault-lines that have been exposed by the phenomenon.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EC	European Community
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EDC	Europe Defence Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EPC	European Political Community
EU	European Union
EURATOM	European Atomic Energy Community
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
SEA	Single European Act
USA	United States of America

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the problem

The dislocation of population is often associated with wars, escape from the whores of poverty, underdevelopment and unemployment. “The number of forcibly displaced people worldwide reached 60 million at the end of 2014 the highest number in the past 70 years. Among these, 14.4 million were refugees, an increase of about 25 percent since the end of 2013” Aiyer (2016:6). This abrupt increase is mostly due to the civil war in Syria and unrest throughout the Middle East, although other regions, such as North Africa, and some parts of Asia are also major sources of refugees. The current surge of migrants into Europe has posed serious challenges for the receiving countries across Europe. Metcalfe-Hough (2015:3) notes that “more than twice as many asylum seekers sought to enter the EU in the first ten months of 2015 as in the same period in 2014. The situation reached crisis proportions during the summer of 2015.” For advanced economies this surge is very sizable by historical standards, straining recipient countries’ capacity to respond to the humanitarian challenge, process asylum requests and prepare for the integration of those accepted into the labour market and larger society. According to Aiyer (2016:6) “security, political, and social concerns compound this phenomenon.” Consequently, security has become a major issue in policy discourse on refugees and the EU member states have tightened border control to contain the inflow of migrants.

Political, social and economic environment in majority of the source of migrants are presumed to be worsening rather than improving this would result in continuous inflows of migrants into Europe in search of safe countries. According to www.unhcr.org, “economic deprivation and political suppression will continue to push people out of the African countries. Eritrea, South Sudan and Sudan remain highly violent; and poverty, draught and other natural calamities in Ethiopia, Kenya and other countries have exacerbated the humanitarian crises.” Upadhyay (2016:2)) notes that “political instability, social unrest, violence, emerging geo-strategic dynamics in West Asian is compelling people to move in quest for better political and socio-economic security systems.” Geddes and Scholten (2016:3) notes that “politically speaking Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan are in a state of turmoil, armed conflicts, economic disintegration and social fragmentation have transformed human geography in the Middle East.” This have resulted in the displacement of people across the region and majority of the migrants are finding their way into Europe in search for safe and

better living standards as compared to those offered by the neighbouring countries in the region. Williams (2015) notes that “migrants who have taken shelter in Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan, are moving towards Europe due to deteriorating conditions in the camps, in quest for stability and prospects for better social and economic opportunities.” As a result of the political instabilities and violent conflicts in the above mentioned regions, Europe is experiencing unprecedented inflows of migrants that has posed serious challenges to the continued existence of the EU.

European regional integration started in the early 1950s with the establishment of the “European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1952” then the “European Economic Community (EEC), created in 1958” and finally “the European Union was formed in 1993” with the adoption of the Maastricht treaty (Laursen 2008:3). Dabrowski (2015:13) notes that, “economic integration has advanced further than political union because the latter has been considered by some member states as a compromise to their sovereignty. Such asymmetry did not cause tensions in “tranquil” times, but is proving to be a serious problem in crisis time.” In such a context, migrant crisis as one of the major contemporary challenges to the EU, it has revealed the incompleteness of European integration architecture. Due to the migrant crisis many questions have been asked on whether European countries would continue to push for an ever-closer union or if the union would be loosely integrated due to the migrant crisis. Therefore, this study intends to critically examine the implications of the current migrant crisis on the European regional integration process. This will enable one to predict whether the EU will remain intact in this time of the crisis or if the phenomenon provides a suitable environment for the proclaimed impending disintegration of the EU.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The current wave of migrant influx into Europe poses a historic challenge for the future of the European integration process. Metcalfe-Hough (2015:2) notes that “the flow of refugees and others seeking irregular access to Europe has increased dramatically, over 590,000 people have arrived by sea so far in 2015, more than twice the number reaching Europe this way in the whole of 2014.” In order to bring coherence to what has been a failing EU response to the migrant crisis, the EU Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker urged “EU member states to accept binding quotas for accepting refugees and develop a common European list of safe countries of origin” (Archick 2016). Unfortunately, the proposal to deal with the migrant crisis, once again exposed the dilemma at the heart of the European project, namely on how

much sovereignty EU member states are willing to surrender to preserve solidarity within the continent, when such extension possess threat to their economic, human and national security. With regards to this, it is not doubtable that the ways in which EU countries are responding to the migrant crisis would determine whether the EU will move towards a ‘closer union’ or it will become a loosely integrated confederation of states. Therefore, there is a need to systematically and empirically examine the impact of the migrant crisis on the EU integration process.

1.3 Objectives of Study

The overall objective of the study is to examine the implication of Migrant Crisis on European Integration project.

The specific objectives of the study are to:

- Investigate Europe’s immigration patterns from World War 1 to the current migrant crisis.
- Examine the evolution of the European Union integration process.
- Ascertain the nature of current Migrant Crisis in Europe
- Assess the implications of the current migrant crisis on EU integration
- Recommend ways to enhance EU response to the Migrant crisis

1.4 Justification of Study

This study seeks to advance and inquiry on the implications of the current migrant crisis on European integration process. Since the establishment of the EU, the regional body have experienced different trends of migration that threatened the implementation of EU common migration policies, particularly the Schengen agreement. Nonetheless, the current surge of migrants into Europe have revealed the incompleteness of the whole European integration architecture. Therefore, it is in the interest of this study to provide the basis for further research in order to generate an in-depth understanding on the correlation between migrant crisis and EU integration.

Although there are scholarly articles that have been published on the European migrant crisis, there is scarcity literature on the impact of migrant crisis on EU integration process. Basing of this observation, this study seeks substantiate the existing literature particularly focusing on the implications of the migrant crisis on the EU model of regional integration. It will also help

EU member states to draw useful lessons from their initial responses to the migrant crisis, in order to formulate and implement well-informed migration policies that would complement the EU integration project

1.5 Methodology

This study utilised qualitative research techniques for both data collection and data analysis. William (2005:85) argues that qualitative methods are often regarded as providing rich data about real life people and situations” Brink (1993:34) also emphasise that “qualitative researchers are not interested in causal laws but in people’s belief, experience and meaning systems from the perspective of the people. For this study, the researcher used non-probability sampling techniques to select key informants, then utilised in-depth interviews to collect data that was thematically analysed to generate an in-depth understanding of the implications of migrant crisis on EU integration project

1.5.1 Research Design

The study used Europe as the case study for examining the impact of migrant crisis on regional integration project. Yin (2002:2) defines a case study as “a research that examines a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context”. Baxter and Jack (2008:544) also emphasised that “qualitative case study is an approach to research that facilitates exploration of a phenomenon within its context using a variety of sources.” Basing on this explanation, the study examined the impact of migrant crisis on regional integration in its real life context of Europe. Although, there are various regional integration projects around the world, but this study opted to solely focus of EU model of regional integration.

1.5.2 Target Population

Population is the aggregate of all cases that conform to some designated set of specifications. Neuman (2011:247) defines population as “an abstract idea of a large group of many cases from which a researcher draws a sample and to which results from a sample are generalised.” In addition, Neuman (2011:252) defines target population as “a concretely specified large group of many cases from which a researcher draws a sample and to which results from the sample are generalised.” This study collected data from EU representative residing in Harare, Zimbabwe as well as Lecturers and Masters Students in international relations.

1.5.3. Sampling techniques

This study used purposive sampling to select key informants for primary data collection. Creswell and Plano (2011:8) also emphasised that “this involves identifying and selecting individuals or groups of individuals that are especially knowledgeable about or experienced with a phenomenon of interest.” For this study, the researcher employed purposive sampling techniques to select respondents who were knowledgeable or who had the expertise in international relations, particularly in regional integration. Therefore, only participants who were most likely to contribute appropriate data both in terms of relevance and depth were selected for in-depth interviews.

1.5.4 Data Collection

For this study, the researcher utilised qualitative data collection instruments to gather both primary and secondary data. These data collection instruments include in-depth interview and documentary research.

1.5.4.1 In-depth interviews

Smith (2011:4) defines an interview “as a conversation between two people, an interviewer and an interviewee”. Boyce (2006:3) defines in-depth interviews as “a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea, program, or situation.” For this study, in-depth interviews were utilised to collect primary data from EU diplomats residing in Harare, Zimbabwe and Lecturers and Students in international relations from the University of Zimbabwe. In-depth interviews were the most appropriate method since little was known about the subject under study, therefore detailed insights were drawn from the participants due to the availability space to probing and clarification of certain aspects of the study during the interviews.

1.5.4.1 Documentary research

The researcher also utilised documentary research to collect secondary data that complemented primary data in analysing the implications of migrant crisis on EU integration process. Schwab (2005:1) notes that secondary data is data which has been gathered and recorded by someone else prior to and for the purpose of other than the current project.” Payne (2004:8) describes the documentary research as, “a technique used to categorise, investigate, interpret and identify the limitations of physical sources, most commonly written documents

whether in the private or public domain.” For this study the researcher utilised secondary data sources both print (textbook, reports, journals and newspapers) and electronic material (e-journals, websites, and e-books), in order to substantiate data obtain during in-depth interviews.

1.5.5 Data Analysis

In any research, data analysis techniques influence data presentation. This study utilised qualitative data analysis techniques. However, it is also important to understand what the meaning of data analysis in research. Yin (2006:21) defines data analysis as “the process of making sense out of the data. Merriam (1998:178) emphasised that “making sense out of data involves consolidating, reducing, and interpreting what people have said and what the researcher has seen and read – it is the process of making meaning”. For this study the researcher utilised thematic data analysis. Braun and Clarke (2006:79) note that “thematic analysis is a qualitative analytic method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. Boyatzis (1998:1) emphasised that “data is encoded into themes and the emerging themes become categories for analysis.” For this study’s data presentation and analysis, the researcher developed themes and then made use of those themes to analyse and report patterns with the data collected.

On the other hand the data collected through documentary research was incorporated into the study through content analysis. Hancock et al (2009:14) notes that “this term often refers to a technique rooted in quantitative approaches, in which the researcher would count occurrences of a word, phrase or theme.” However, in qualitative research, Patton (2002:453) defines content analysis as “any qualitative data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings.” For this study, the researcher employed content analysis to deduce secondary data that either supported or criticise an opinion raised by a participant during interviews.

1.5.6 Validity and Reliability

Simon (2011:1) notes that “in quantitative research, reliability refers to the ability to replicate the results of a study. In qualitative research there is no expectation of replication and it is common to see the term dependability instead of reliability”. Bashir et al (2008:39) note that “qualitative researchers are of the view that the term validity is not applicable to qualitative research, but at the same time, they have realized the need for some kind of qualifying check or measure for their research.” “It is common to see the terms quality, rigor or trustworthiness

instead of validity”, (Davies and Dodd 2002:3). For this study, in order to ensure dependability, quality, rigor or trustworthiness of the research, the researcher triangulated the data collected from different source of data. In line with obtaining accurate primary data the researcher managed to spent considerable time in the field in order to obtain an in-depth understanding of subject under study. The researcher’s subjective tendencies towards the study was reduced or minimised by the researcher’s supervisor who acted as an external auditor thereby providing an objective assessment of the impact of Migrant Crisis on EU integration process.

1.6 Delimitation

The scope of the study was limited to the examination of the implications of migrant crisis on EU integration project. The study investigated the nature and trends of migration in Europe, at the same time ascertaining the determinants of migration within Europe and migrant influx from around the globe, particularly from North Africa, Middle East and Asia. The study solely focused on Europe as the case study in critically analyzing the impact of migrant crisis on regional integration projects.

1.7 Limitations

The study faced difficulties in accessing useful first-hand information due to reluctance by key respondents to consent their participation in the research. However, the researcher persistently contacted them in order to encourage the key informants to participate in the research. The researcher developed interview guide in order to ensure that critical areas of the research were answered by all key informants during in-depth interviews.

1.8 Dissertation Outline

The study consists of five chapters. The first chapter introduced the research topic and discussed the following subtopics: background to the problem, statement of the problem, objective of the study, justification of the study and the methodology used to collect and analyze data in order to generate an in-depth understanding of the subject under study. Chapter two focus on the conceptualization of Migrant Crisis and EU integration. Chapter three focus on providing historical perspective on Migrant Crisis and EU integration. Chapter four addresses the specific research objectives related to the implications of Migrant Crisis on EU integration. Chapter five will focus on conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUALISATION OF MIGRANT CRISIS AND EU INTEGRATION

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a conceptual framework for understanding both migrant crisis in Europe as well as the EU integration. To start with, the definition of the term migrant will be discussed in order to establish an understanding on the specifics of the referent object. Then, world systems theory will be utilised to understand the world migration patterns, particularly the influx of migrants into Europe from North Africa, Middle East and some parts of Asia. The concept of regional integration will also be discussed as the foundational basis for understanding the theoretical consideration proposed by federalism and neo-functionalism in explaining EU integration. Therefore, this chapter primarily focus on theoretical consideration that helps to understand the implication of migrant crisis on EU integration.

2.1 Definition of Terms

2.1.1 Migrant

For this study, it is important that one should first understand who is a migrant, in order to be able to ascertain the implications of migrant crisis on EU integration. It is in the interest of this study to clarify on the terms that are used by other scholars inter-exchangeable in discussing the migrant crisis in Europe. These terms include refuges, asylum-seekers and economic migrants. To start with, the United Nations defines a migrant as “an individual who has resided in a foreign country for more than one year irrespective of causes, voluntary or involuntary and the means, regular or irregular, used to migrate” (Metcalf-Hough 2015:3). The European Commission (2016:10) notes that migrants are in the EU context, third-country nationals establishing their usual residence in the territory of a Member State for different purpose (such as work, study, research, family reunification or on humanitarian grounds), and potentially for different durations or lengths.” With regards to these definitions, it is understandable that the term migrant formally encompasses refugees, asylum-seekers and economic migrants but these three groups are not treated equally as each status came with certain privileges and rights under international law.

Metcalf-Hough (2015:3) defines a refugee as “an individual who owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country.” In order to

distinguish between a refugee and asylum-seeker, but without disapproving that both are migrants, the European Commission (2016:10) notes that “asylum seekers are in the EU context, individuals who have submitted an application for international protection, seeking either refugee status under the Geneva Convention or subsidiary protection status, in respect of which a final decision has not been taken yet.” Metcalfe-Hough (2015:3) emphasised that, in case of a negative decision, the person must leave the country and may be expelled, as may any non-national in an irregular or unlawful situation, unless permission to stay is provided on humanitarian or other related grounds.” Park (2015) defines an economic migrant as “a person whose primary motivation for leaving his or her home country for economic gain.” Therefore, this clearly demonstrate that the term ‘migrant’ can be seen as an umbrella term for all the three groups discussed. It is also understandable that Europe is currently experiencing a mixed-migration phenomenon but the majority of migrants that are entering Europe are in search of safe countries as they are escaping from the world’s worst war zones particularly the Middle East (Syrian, Iraq and Afghan) North Africa (Libya, Eretria) and some parts of Asia.

2.1.2 Regional integration

It is of great significance to understand the concept of regional integration before ascertaining the implications posed by migrant on the EU integration project. Regional integration as a concept works as the foundational basis for understanding the theoretical underpinning of the EU integration project. In the early efforts to the study of regional integration, mainly concentrated on the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and the European Economic Community (EEC), Haas (1958:16) defines regional integration as “the process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectation and political activities to a new center whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing national states.” Deutsch (1968:192) defines regional integration as a relationship among units in which they are mutually interdependent and jointly produce system properties which they would separately lack.” According to these definitions regional integration is a process transferring loyalty, expectations and decision making power to a supranational unit. Moreover, the EU commission (2016) defines regional integration as

the process of overcoming barriers that divide neighbouring countries, by common accord, and of jointly managing shared resources and assets. Essentially, it is a process by which groups of countries liberalise trade, creating a common market for goods, people, capital and services, the European Union advocates

regional integration as an effective means of achieving prosperity, peace and security.

The EU Commissions' definition focus more on economic integration, in which countries jointly agree to remove trade barriers to allow the free movement of goods and services. The conceptualisation of the EU commission's definition seem to be guided by neo-functionalism thinking in which cooperation in the economic sector is believed to spread primarily to integration in other sectors, particularly political integration. From the EU commission's definition, it is clear that EU should provide member states with means of achieving prosperity, peace and security. This is the challenge that the EU is facing today, in which member states are questioning the effectiveness of the union in providing measures to deal with security threat that is being posed by the influx of migrants into Europe.

2.3 World System Theory

The world system theory can be utilised to understand the theoretical underpinning of the migrant crisis in Europe. The explanation rendered by the proponent of the world system theory, can help one to generate an in-depth understanding of the migration patterns within Europe and as well as the influx of migrants from across the world. Wallenstein (1976:229) notes that "a world-system is a social system, one that has boundaries, structures, members groups, rules of legitimation and coherence. Its life is made up of the conflicting forces which hold it together by tension and tear it apart as each group seeks eternally to remould it to its advantage." It is understandable that Europe should be viewed as part of this social system in which the Europeans are always aimed at maintaining their competitive advantage over the rest of the nation states in the world system. Indeed such competition among states or regions in the world system has its impact on the movement of people across the globe.

To start with, Wallenstein argues that "the modern state exists within a broad economic, political and legal framework, which is called a world system" (Carlos 2001:4). So there exist strong causal relationship between nation state and the world system. Wallenstein (1989:4) insisted that "just as individual behaviour cannot be understood without reference to the socio-cultural system in which they are members, individual societies or nation states cannot be understood without reference to the World System in which they are embedded." It is comprehensible that one can understand the trends of current migrant crisis in Europe by making reference to the world system rather than developing an inward looking on the subject matter. If one adopts the world system perspective on the EU migrant crisis, that person will have an understanding of aspects such as, country of origin of the migrants and what are the

pull and push factors that are causing such influx of migrants in Europe. With this regard, the world system theory, give a wide perspective of the EU migrant crisis, by making considerations of the global geopolitical environment.

World system theorists believe that “modern nation states are all part of the world-system of capitalism” Carlos (2001:4). It is this world-system that can also help the international community understand the world’s migration patterns that have resulted in the current migrant crisis in Europe. Wallenstein (1974:24) chronicles that

The capitalist world system begun in Europe in about 1500 and under the spur of the accumulation of capital, expanded over the next few centuries to cover the entire globe. In the process of this expansion the capitalist world system has absorbed small mini-systems, world-empires, as well as competing world economies

It is understandable that, the expansion of the capitalism necessitated the incorporation of all aspect of other economies which include labour market, raw material and production into the capitalist world system whose centre of power is located in Europe. In this regard, since then, Europe is continuously receiving an increased number of migrants annually due to the control it has in the capitalist world-system. Therefore, as long as Europe leads the capitalist world system, it will continuously integrate other small economies into such world system, and the continent will continuously experience more influx of migrants.

According to World System theorists, the capitalist world system created unequal division of labour among states. Wallenstein (1989:14) notes that,

The modern state was created in Europe along with capitalism to serve and protect the interests of capitalist. What was in the interest of early European capitalists was the establishment of a world-economy based on an extremely unequal division of labour between European states and the rest of the system

It is this unequal division of labour between Europe and the rest of the world that can help one to understand the influx of migrants in Europe since time immemorial. Carlos (2001:4) notes that “this division of labour refers to the forces and relations of production of the world economy as a whole and it leads to the existence of two interdependent regions: core and periphery.” To start with, “peripheral areas are the least developed, they are exploited by the core for their cheap labour, raw materials and agricultural production,” (Wallenstein 1976:12). Therefore, due to such exploitation most of the countries in the third world are underdeveloped and are characterised by many socio-economic problems that encourage or force people in these regions to migrate across the world in search of better living standards.

In most cases the migrants will end up in Europe as clearly demonstrated by migrants from Northern Africa, Middle East and part of Asia. This is how, world system theory contribute in generating in-depth understanding on the geopolitical environment of the country of origins of many migrants that are troubling Europe today.

The world system theory also identified semi-peripheral states which stand between the core and the periphery in the capitalist world system. World System theorist explanation on the position of the semi-peripheral states fits well in determining the theoretical consideration of the EU migrant crisis. Skocpol (1977) notes that, “semi-peripheral states acts as a buffer zone between core and periphery and has a mix of the kinds of activities and institutions that exist on them.” Wallenstein (1989:24) emphasises that “the semi peripheral areas are somewhat intermediate, being both exploited by the core and take some role in the exploitation of the peripheral areas and they have been expanding their manufacturing activities particularly in areas that the core nations no longer find very profitable.” With regards to current patterns of migration from North Africa and Middle East into Europe, countries such as Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan bore the primary responsibility for taking in Syrian refugees. Within EU countries like Italy, Greece, Malta, Cyprus, Hungary and Croatia initially acted as buffer zone between the third world countries and the developed western countries.

Carlos (2001:4) notes that “among the most important of the current world-system is a power hierarchy between core and periphery, in which powerful and wealthy core societies dominate and exploit weak and poor peripheral society.” Wallenstein (1989) notes that,

It is this power that allows core states to dump unsafe goods in peripheral nations, pay lower prices for raw materials that would be possible in a free market, exploit the periphery for cheap labour, dump in their environment, abuse their consumers and workforce, erect trade barriers and quotes, and establish and enforce patents.

It is understandable that such exploitation negatively impacted on the economies and political systems of nation states in the peripheral regions. Consequentially, perpetual poverty and economic and political instability are the major contributing factors for the current migrant influx in Europe. Cenderello (2015:2) emphasises that the most recent surge is fuelled by the growing of the number of Syrians, Iraqis, Libyans, Afghans and Eritreans fleeing war, ethnic conflict or economic hardships.” Therefore, according to world systems understanding of the world, as long as Europe which is the core continues to under-develop or sabotage the economies of the third world countries, the influx of migrant in Europe will not end in the near future.

It is important to note that according to the world systems theory, the existence of the unequal exchange and division of labour in the world system is the major determinant of migrations pattern across the world. Carlos (2001) notes that, the unequal exchange is characterised by systematic transfer of surplus from semi-proletarian sectors in the periphery to the high-tech industrialised core.” Goldfrank (2000) emphasise that these are geographically and culturally different, one focus on labour-intensive and the other on capital-intensive production. With this regard, the world system theorist will maintain that the influx will continue as the peripheral states continues to provide the core state with the much needed labour force.

2.4 Federalism Theory

In an effort to understand the threat posed by migration crisis on the EU integration, there is a need to first understand the theoretical consideration that explains the EU integration. To start with, Federalism theory can help one understand EU integration both from a realist stand point as well as from a liberalist perspective. King (1982:20) defines federation “as an institutional framework that takes a form of sovereign state and distinguished from other form of states, solely by the fact that in federal state, the central government includes regional or provincial states in the central government’s decision making procedure based on constitutional obligations and privileges.” Posenrode (2010:10) emphasise that “the word federation has been borrowed from Latin *foedus* meaning covenant, alliance, and pact agreement signed voluntarily and implying a degree of mutual trust among the contracting parties. A federation is one form of state among others in international relations.” With regards to these definitions, one can deduce that a federation is a specific organisational form that can be distinguished from other forms of state and such distinction is based on the amalgamation of other states through alliance to form a central authority which governs all. In international relations such understanding can be used to qualify the EU as a federation of European countries, given the fact that EU countries voluntarily entered into an agreement, known as the Maastricht treaty which ushered in the establishment of the EU in 1993.

In international relations, (neo) realism can be used to explain the federalists approach to regional integration. Realist argues that “state interests provide the spring of action and the necessity of policy arise from the unregulated competition of state....calculations based on these necessities can discover the policies that will best serve state’s interest and success is defined as preserving and strengthening the state” (Booth 2011:23). This was captured by one of the federalist in developing the concept of ‘federal bargain’ which constitutes an

integration perspective. In explaining, how integration can be achieved under the pretext of federal bargaining, Riker (1964:14) concurs with realism in writing that,

Sovereign states usually who offer the bargain desire in order to expand their territorial control regionally or at global level by peaceful means, either to prepare for diplomatic aggression, aggrandisement or external military inversion. The predisposition for nation-states that offer the bargain is that federalism is one of the effective instruments of foreign policy that can be used to accomplish the desired expansion without the use military force.

On the other hand the realist thought that guide those who accept the bargain was also captured by Rikar (1964:14), in noting that,

Sovereign states that accept the bargain, by giving up some sovereignty to supranational authority for the sake of enhancing cooperation due to the existence of external diplomatic or military threat or opportunity. This is only if the desire for participation or protection outweighs any desire for absolute sovereignty and total independence.

It is understandable, that in 1948, USA introduce the Marshall plan, which “aimed at fostering integration in western Europe by rebuilding war-devastated regions, removing trade barriers, modernising industry and make Europe prosperous once again thereby preventing the spread of communism” (De Long and Eichengreen 1991:5). It is also not doubtable that small European countries perceived that standing alone will render them vulnerable to Russia’s expansionism, but some form of federation under the EU would allow them both to keep some kind of political self-control and utilise the union’s centralised power to compete with other countries around the globe.

Federalism theory can also be envisaged through (neo) liberalism a perspective which contends that states desire unions for various reasons. Neo-liberalism tend to agree with realism in that the “international system is anarchic...states are rational-unitary actors but they emphasise that cooperation is possible through international regimes and institutions”(Thompson 2005:257). In explaining, federalism perspective on integration through the lens of neo-liberalism, Wheare (1963:37) chronicled several reasons that guide state’s desire to promote and participate in any integration process in international relation, particularly the EU, in writing that,

Desire to be independent of foreign powers, the consequent need for common defence, the realisation that only through union could independence be secured, a sense of military insecurity, a hope of economic advantage from the union and some political association of the community concerned prior to federation or in a loose confederation.

Indeed, from a liberalist stand point the EU integration is viewed as peace project that result from mutual military insecurities among European countries as well as a need for common defence against any external threat, particularly threat posed by Russia expansionism policy the Eastern Europe. Federalism paints an optimistic picture on the future of EU integration especially when the union is faced with challenges that require cooperation among European countries. With this in mind, it is possible to witness enhanced cooperation towards a 'close union' in order to successively manage the migrant crisis which many believe to be an existential threat on the future of the union.

Moreover, analogously to international relations, the federalist who perceives federalism from a neo-liberal stand point argues that states intending to integrate should be organised in the same way, share the same basic values and adhere to higher or lower degree of economic model depending on the ambitions of the integration framework or plan. This was captured by one of the 'neo-liberal federalist' who noted that

One of the strongest forces that compel nation states to cooperate or enter into a union has been practically aroused by the presents of similarity of political institutions either actually or potentially among sovereign states that are envisaging the creation of the union (Wheare, 1963:37).

According to this understanding, one can conceptualise the existence of democratic institutions and observance of human rights across Europe as pillars that produced the best capacity for the EU integration. Therefore, in order to generate an in-depth understanding of the impact of migrant crisis on EU integration, one has to first ascertain the implications of migration on these shared values among European countries, particularly political institutions. For instance, "the influx may become a political crisis because these refugees do not arrive as individuals, but bunched together as highly visible groups which overwhelm the capacity of the local authorities to accommodate and process them" (Gros 2015:15). With this regard, member states may start to view the EU not as a community of values and solidarity but hard-headedly evaluates their own membership in terms of tangible cost and benefits.

2.5 Neo-Functionalism

Since 1940s, various model of regionalism have been developed throughout the world to explain regionalism. In the 1950s neo-functionalism was developed by Hass to try and explain the growing level of European integration and the role of supranational bodies in the furtherance of this integration. For this study, neo-functionalism will help one to understand EU integration from a neo-functional perspective in which focus is on interdependence and

increasing demand for cooperation between states was used to explain regionalism, with such understanding one might be able to predict the impact of migrant crisis on EU integration project. To start with, using the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) as the starting point of theorising regionalism and as an attempt to attach a theoretical angle to the thinking of the founders of the ECSC, neo-functionalists proposed that integration starts in the economic sector and then spread to other sectors which will lead to the creation of a supranational political community. One of the neo-functionalists notes that, “integration occurs when organised economic interests pressure governments to manage economic interdependence by centralising policies and creating common institutions” (O’Neil 1996). Lee (2007:6) asserts that “to this end neo-functionalists identified economic transactions and welfare needs as the real source pushing positive inter-state cooperation and common endeavours.” With this regard, neo-functionalists may perceive the implications of migrant crisis on EU economic transactions and welfare needs either as a driver or as a threat in the furtherance of EU integrations. Therefore, neo-functionalists give regionalists clues as to the economic and fiscal impacts on the host nations of the migrants might affect the fundamental foundation of regional integration which is invested in economic interest of the member states.

Moreover, neo-functionalists place much emphasis on the concepts of the so-called spill-overs. The core argument for this concept is that any initial decisions to integrate in one sector produces and unintentionally both economic and political spill-overs that push regional integration forward. Haas (1968:283) defines spill-overs as “a situation where the creation and deepening of integration in one economic sector would create pressures for further economic integration in other sectors of the economy.” This definition was based on Haas’ observation of the European integration started with cooperation in coal and steel and then spreads primarily to other sectors of the economy and eventually covering all spheres of national economies participating in the integration process. Ozen (1998:6) notes that “after the integration of national economies and markets into a single supranational organisational framework, loyalty of the peoples would be directed from the national level to the supranational level.” This is based on the argument that liberalisation of trade within Europe led to the harmonisation of general economic policies which eventually spill-over into the creation of some kind of political community known as the EU today. Therefore, from a neo-functionalists perspective, the impact of migrant crisis on EU integration can be conceptualised

from an economic angle in which any draw-back in economic integration will definitely slow down the integration process towards achieving a closer union in Europe.

However, other neo-functionalists have adopted a broader concept of spill-overs which do not solely focus on the economic spill-overs. This broader conceptualisation of spill-overs is vividly captured by Lindberg (1963:10) in noting that “spill-overs refers to a situation in which a given action related to a specific goal creates a situation in which the original goal can be assured only by taking further action, which in turn creates a further condition and need for more action and so forth.” This definition opened new grounds in the conceptualisation of neo-functionalism in trying to explain the on-going integration process in Europe. In this regard, neo-functionalists identified the so-called cultivated spill-overs, another type of spill-overs that is driving forward the EU integration. Nye (1971:202) notes that “this type of spill-over takes place when some sort of driving forces behind the integration (for example politicians or technocrats) form coalitions which deliberately promote increased integration.” Lee (2007:7) also emphasises that “cultivated spill-overs place its emphasis on the institutional interchanges between the EU actors and their ability to influence and actually advance the process of European integration.” This clearly demonstrates that neo-functionalists also identified politicians and technocrats as an important component of the integration process. Therefore, regionalism tendencies among these might lead to a degree of automaticity in the integration process and increased protectionism tendencies in dealing with the migrant crisis may also limit or slow down the gain made by the EU in fostering integration across Europe.

However, neo-functionalists also foresaw the implications of the reverse process of the concept of spill-overs which they theoretically assume that a spill-back situation may occur when member states no longer wish to deal with a policy at the supranational level. This was clearly captured by Schmitter (1971:242) in writing that,

“for neo-functionalists spill-over was not the only possible option in the process of integration, but the process could also lead to a spill-back situation, where the process of integration takes one step back or even returns to the state of affairs that existed before the integration scheme was initiated.”

Indeed, the collapse of the Euro or the member states existing from the Eurozone or even the EU either coerced (Grexit) or voluntary (Brexit), these are notable examples that vividly demonstrate the consequences of spill-back in the EU integration project. With regards to the migrant crisis, neo-functionalists might foresee a spill-back in the gains achieved under the

Schengen agreement which has allowed free movement of people across borders within Europe. Given this analysis, it is important to note that overly neo-functionalist are of the EU is not likely to break as long as it successfully fulfils key functions for the Union's economies and society as a whole, but it can and will break if it does not.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to define and examine the meaning of the term 'Migrant' from the UN perspective as well as EU conceptualization of the word migrant. This study established that migrant refers to any individual who resided in a foreign country irrespective of causes, voluntary or involuntary for different durations of lengths. World system theory was also discussed to explain how the world system as propounded by Wallerstein generates an in-depth understanding of the world's migration pattern which has resulted in the current migrant crisis in Europe. The study also adopted Hass' definition of regional integration in which integration is defined as a process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to cooperate under a supranational authority in order to achieve the desired interests. Federalism and neo-functionalism was also discussed in order to provide an in-depth understanding on the theoretical consideration of the EU integration project. This was aimed at providing theoretical thinking that will enable one to ascertain the impact of the current migrant crisis on EU integration. The next chapter focuses on a historical perspective on the EU migration patterns and the EU's model of regional integration.

CHAPTER 3: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON MIGRANT CRISIS AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

3.1 Introduction

The current influx of migrants in Europe, has received much attention in international relations especially among integrationist. The central question revolves around the future of the EU in the face of the current surge of migrants in Europe. This chapter claims that one cannot foretell or empirically predict the future of Europe without an in-depth understanding of the historical development of the EU which encapsulates the logical basis behind its establishment and its continued existence. The chapter also argues that although it seems to be unique, this current migrant crisis phenomenon is not foreign to Europe, because since the World War I (WWI) the continent has recorded several episodes of mass movements of people within Europe. Therefore, this chapter unpacks the historical development of the European integration process as well as the historical and current migration trends in Europe which is the foundation for understanding and ascertaining the impact of the current migrant crisis on EU integration.

3.2 Evolution of Migration trends in Europe

3.2.1 Historical trends

The current migrations patterns are mainly reminiscent of the past integration trends. Therefore, it is in the interest of this chapter to provide a detailed account on Europe's historical migration trends. Although the historical account of migration patterns can be traced back beyond the WWI but for this chapter, the WWI would be the starting in examining the nature and impact the current migrant crisis on EU integration.

3.2.1.1 First World War

It was in the twentieth century that a recognisably modern form of mass migrations was witnessed in Europe particularly during the First World War. As with any other modern migration pattern in which war, political and economic instability force people migrate, the First World War had many refugees moving to other countries in search of safety and protection. www.teachingenglish.org.uk notes that “in 1914, when German invaded Belgium many Belgians left their homes, families and possessions as they moved to Britain...and when German invaded Serbia many Serbians moved to Greece, believing that the land ruled by King Constantine the First would be a safer place.” In fact, because Switzerland was neutral and did not send its armies to other countries during the First World War and it was not

invaded many people also went there for safety (Schrover 2014:2) Although, this was more of migrations within Europe, this mass movement of people in search of safety provides a historical understanding of the modern migration patterns which people are forced to leave their native countries due to the same reasons.

3.2.1.2 Second World War

During the Second World War, Europe was engulfed with another migrant left their homes and families to countries which were relatively secure for them to survive. Bundy (2016:5) notes that “in the four year of the war, Germany and USSR uprooted, transplanted, expelled, deported and dispersed some 30 million people and by 1945 there were well over 40 million refugees in Europe.” Crawley (2016:13) also notes “the Second World War created an estimated 60 million refugees...migration on a significantly larger scale than the refugee flows in Europe today.” This stand as another notable example that demonstrates that the current migrant crisis is not new to Europe as the continent has undergone several migration crises in the past. Although the War ended in 1945, these mass movements of people continued after the war but on wide scope as it included global trends of migration.

The early decades of the post Second World War witnessed new forms of migrations trends in Europe. These new trends were linked to specific country national policies as a reactionary stance to the process of decolonisation and the need of active labour to rebuild the post-war economies in Europe. Christian et al (2005:14) notes that “Northern European countries such as Belgium, Germany, Netherlands, Switzerland, and Sweden actively recruited migrants in response to the significant labour shortages during their post-war economic recoveries, drawing predominantly from Southern European countries such as Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal and Turkey.” Rica et al (2013:14) note that, likewise during the post-war period, former colonial powers such as France and Britain greatly facilitated the arrival of immigrants from their former colonies after independence.” This clearly shows another dimension of mass movement of people that involves both influxes of migrants into Europe as well as migration within Europe. But in this case, the inflow of migrants was mainly facilitated by the receiving countries in order to address the much need human capital for economic recovery.

3.2.1.3 First decade of post- Cold War era

At the beginning of the 1990s, with the end of the Cold War, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the breakup of the former Yugoslavia, Europe witnessed another mass movement of people from their countries to other countries in order to seek refuge. Bundy (2016:5)

captured the mass movement of people that took place immediately after the end of the Cold War, in noting that “the fall of the Iron Curtain triggered a large flow of workers from Central and Eastern Europe to Western Europe.” In the case of Yugoslavia, Crawley (2016:13) notes that “conflict ripped apart the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s, leading not only to the creation of more than half a dozen new countries in the Western Balkans but also to the displacement of huge numbers of people, including 1.2 million Bosnian refugees.” This clearly demonstrates that many of today’s scenes are reminiscent of the past period of unrest in Europe in which changes related to economies as well as wars and conflicts have resulted in millions of refugees across Europe. These historical accounts provides the basis for understanding the post 2000s migration trends that most of the existing scholarship such as Crawley 2016, Upadhyay 2016 and Lima et al 2016 have referred to as the 21st century migration trends or current migrations trends.

3.2.2 Twenty-First Century Migration trends

As a reminiscent of the past, wars and political instabilities are the major determinants of migration patterns in the 21st century. Across the world the number of refugees and internally displaced people is on the rise due to combination of afore mentioned factors. In the past few years at least 15 conflicts have erupted or reignited across the world which include eight in Africa (Ivory Coast, Central African Republic, Mali, Libya, Nigeria, Democratic Republic of Congo, South Sudan and Burundi), three in the Middle East (Syria, Iraq and Yemen), three in Asia (Kyrgyzstan and in several areas of Myanmar and Pakistan) and one in Europe (Ukraine) (www.unhcr.org). Most of the refugees created by the conflicts are ending up in Europe as their final destination, because the media has shaped their thinking in such a way that they believe destination Europe is only place in which their safety and protection would be guaranteed.

3.2.2.1 Middle East to Europe

Most of the migrants that are entering European borders today are fleeing from the Middle East particularly from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq. Upadhyay (2016:2) notes that “in Syria, the conflict started in March 2011 as a pro-reform and democracy movement but has escalated over the five years, drawing in countries with and outside the region and it is now associated with the rise of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS).” As a result of the conflict millions of people have been displace internally and outside the country. Crawley (2016:14) notes that “more that 12 million Syrians have been forced to leave their home and

Syria is now the largest source country of refugees, with a refugee population of 4.2 million by mid 2015.” Martin et al (2015:3) observed that “with 1 million Syrians newly registered in Turkey over the course of 2014, the refugee population in Europe increased sharply to 3.1 million and additional 79, 700 Syrians asylum-seekers were granted international protection on an individual basis in other European countries.” Williams (2015) also notes “that Syrian migrants, who have taken shelter in Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan are moving towards Europe due to deteriorating conditions in the camps, in quest for stability and prospects for better social and economic opportunities.”

Among those migrants from Middle East, Iraq is the third producing country from Syria. The current conflict in Iraq cannot be separated from the 2003 US-led invasion which resulted in the ouster and killing of President Saddam Hussein in 2006. Upadhyay (2016:8) notes that “the end of the rule of Saddam Hussein could not bring peace and stability in the country.” Cordesman (2012:521) notes that “Iraqis are facing a resurgence of violence and conflict...as a result of the Islamic State’s offensive across multiple parts of the country; over four million Iraqis are currently displaced within and outside the country.” www.unhcr.org notes that “this made Iraqis the third-largest group of asylum seekers with a total of 100,000 new applications registered during 2014 most of them in Turkey (50,000), Jordan (20,500) Lebanon (6,300), Germany (5,300) and Sweden (1,700).” The failure by the international community particularly the UN Security Council to take action in addressing the situation in Iraq is another key factor that is contributing in the surge of irregular migrants into Europe.

“Afghans are the second-largest refugee group from the Middle East, “with some 2.6 million persons at the end of 2014” (Martin et al 2015). The current conflict in Afghanistan can also be linked to the 2001 US purported pre-emptive attack in Afghan which resulted in the replacement of the Taliban government with US favourable government led by president Ghani. Upadhyay (2016:8) notes that “president Ghani priorities the reconciliation process with Taliban, which is considered to be crucial in shaping the political and security process in the country, but serious security challenges from insurgents, poverty and lack of opportunities has caused continued migration from Afghanistan.” Hollifield et al (2014) observed that in 2001 about 3.8 million Afghans were reported as refugees worldwide,...at the end of 2014 Germany hosted 27.800 Afghan refugees...aside from Syria, most of those arriving in Greece are refugees from Afghanistan and Iraq. The failure of the US to effectively support the nation

building and economic recovery in Afghanistan has been long regarded as the major determinant for Afghans' migration to Europe.

3.2.2.2 Africa to Europe

Africans constitute the second largest group of refugees in Europe and form a significant proportion of those still going to Europe. Okello (2016:24) notes that migration from Africa is only a symptom of deeply rooted problems among them poverty, wars, persecution and human rights violations.” These factors will continue to push people out of the African countries in search for protection and better quality asylum frameworks. Brhane (2016:34) notes that “the movement of Eritreans into Europe is just one aspect of their search for a secure and peaceful life, something which is not achievable in the countries neighbouring Eritrea.” Upadhyay (2016:8) notes that most of the Eritreans refugees in Europe were living in Sudan and Ethiopia but were frustrated with the humanitarian situation in refugee camps and self-reliance opportunities, violence has also erupted in South Sudan and natural calamities-heavy rainfall and flooding in Ethiopia.

Moreover, security and political situation has remained fragile in Somalia, Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Mali, Libya, South Sudan and Nigeria. www.unhcr.org observed that “in 2014, Mali was the main country of origin of asylum-seekers in Italy (9,800 claims), followed by Nigeria (9,700), Gambia (8,500) and the DRC was the top country of origin of asylum-seekers in France with 5,200 applications.” The refugees arriving in Serbia mostly originate from Syria (nearly 50%) followed by Somalia and Afghanistan (Vukcevic 2016:52). Boko Haram's military activity accounts for 975,300 displaced people in Nigeria and 40,000 in Cameroon. Swing (2016:14) also notes that “political instability in Libya has not decreased, and so it continues to be both a source and a channel of irregular flows to Europe via the Central Mediterranean route.” Valle et al (2016:15) chronicled that “there are also large numbers of people from African countries who have been immigrants in Libya are now fleeing from there because of harassment, violent assault, rape, forced labour, detention and kidnapping for ransom by armed groups and smugglers alike.” Indeed due to its geographical proximity to Europe and the political vacuum created after the ouster and killing of Gaddafi following the 2011 UN sanctioned no-fly-zone, the country has become the hub and the irregular route for African migrants as they make their way to Europe. Therefore, as long as these conflicts are left unresolved and migrant

safety and decent life is not attainable closer to home in the neighbouring countries, these desperate migrants in Africa will continue to risk treacherous crossing into Europe.

3.2.2.3 Migration within Europe

The annexation of Crimea by Russia and the persisting tension in Ukraine has transformed the geopolitical environment as well as migration flows in Europe. Marta and Tylec (2016:71) note that “while the majority of refugees fleeing military conflict in Ukraine have sought asylum in Russia, a much smaller number applied for international protection in the EU.”(www.unhcr.org)observed that “fighting in eastern Ukraine led the total number of refugees in the Russian Federation to swell to 231,800 by end of 2014, up from 3.400 only 12 months earlier.” Daniel et al (2016:10) observed that “the limited numbers of Ukraine refugees in European countries in noting that “Belarus has recorded 81,100, Romania 1,528, Moldova 5,443, Hungary 5,627 and Poland 22,793 refugees from Ukraine.” This clearly shows that although the Ukrainian conflict has forced many people to move out of the country to neighbouring states, influx of Ukrainian migrants in EU member states has remained limited as compared to destination Russia.

3.3 A Historical Perspective on European Union

The genesis of the integration process in Europe can be traced back to the end of the World War II. Judt (2005) notes that, “in the process of planning the introduction of new political order in the post-war Europe, it was acknowledged that the key task was the reconstruction of European economies and coordinated actions could provide European countries with the force with which Western Europe could resist the Soviet influence.” This was made possible by the American aid plan for Europe- the European Recovery Plan also commonly known as the Marshall Plan. Areilza (2016:8) notes that, “the first step in the economic and political unification of Europe was the Marshall Plan, its contributions were essential at all levels of reconstruction and co-operation among Europeans.” It is also important to note that NATO was created in 1947 to guarantee the West’s freedom and safety against the communist Soviet Union. Indeed the post-World War II geopolitical environment has shaped the European integration in its early stages as it preconditioned US’s support through Marshall Plan and NATO towards mobilisation of western societies to undertake a firm integration action. This vividly shows the historic strategic importance of the EU integration project on the continent which seems to be relevant today given the existing hostilities between Russian and Western Countries.

3.3.1 European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)

In 1951, Europe witnessed the signing of the Treaty of Paris by six western European countries which includes, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Belgium, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands, thereby establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), (Haas 1958:3). Established at the initiative of the French foreign minister Robert Schuman, the ECSC was charged with regulating the markets of strategic importance for rebuilding Europe's resources such as coal, steel and iron. Moga (2009:8) notes that it took into account the abolition of export and imports levies on these strategic materials, the elimination of subsidies in the production of steel and coal mining as well influenced the maintenance of permanent rules for the related trade. Bindi (2007:14) argues that "in embarking on this plan, the six founders hoped to greatly diminish the chance of another catastrophic conflict in Europe by binding their economies together, controlling the raw materials of war and promoting political reconciliation (especially between France and Germany)." Although, the ECSC expired in 2002 as agreed in 1952 by the state parties, the rationale behind its establishment portrays European integration as a peace project that is aimed at promoting peaceful co-existence among former rivalries in Western Europe.

3.3.2 Europe Defence Community (EDC) and the European Political Community (EPC)

After the creation of the ECSC, the western European countries foresaw the immediate need to foster both defence and political integration across Europe. To this end two community initiatives were proposed for ratification by the ECSC member states, namely the European Defence Community (EDC) and the European Political Community (EPC). The treaty establishing the EDC was signed 1952 by Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy and the Netherlands. Turker (2012:9) notes that, "it was planned to create a common European army, composed of military contingents coming from particular countries and to organise a joint headquarters for the European army." Nonetheless, this proposal sparked fierce debate in France as a result it was rejected in 1954 by the French National Assembly. This rejection by France led eventually to the abandonment of the plans to build the common European army.

Simultaneously, these six countries were attempting to establish the European Political Community which was supposed to be the combination of the ECSC and the EDC. Turker (2012:12) notes that "the main task of this organisation was to coordinate foreign policies of

Western European countries and to construct a common market. Although the Common Assembly of the ECSC managed to adopt the Treaty establishing the EPC, Tuominen (2003) argues that the French rejection of the EDC automatically led to the plan for an EPC of which it was the institutional corollary being abandoned.” Therefore, the abandonment of these two communities denotes that EU member states are always likely to agree on any proposal that seeks to foster joint decision making on economic and trade matters but it also painted a gloomy picture on the willingness to waive their competence in the field of defence and hand it over to supranational institutions.

3.3.3 Treaties of Rome

In light of the ECSC’s success and the failure of the EDC and EPC, Western European leaders realised that economic integration was important and yet the most effective form of integration. This conviction resulted in the creation of two communities that are regarded as stepping stones for the European integration process namely the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom). Bindi (2007:25) notes that

These two are commonly referred to as the Treaties of Rome. One treaty established the Economic Community to develop common economic policies and merge the separate national markets into a single market in which goods, people, capital and services could move freely; the other created a European Atomic Energy Community to ensure the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes

These treaties were signed on March 25, 1957 in Rome and entered into force in 1958. Notably, the successes of these two treaties have been marked by the establishment of the European Economic Community in 1967 in which the ECSC, the EEC and EURATOM collectively became known as the European Community (EC). Borchardt (1995:13) notes that “the EEC introduced the four freedoms of the common market: the free movement of persons, services, goods and capital.” Since then the European integration process has recorded major success in these areas due to limited contestations in making joint decisions by the member states.

3.3.4 Single European Act

In the early 1970s the EC became more prominent in Europe as evidenced by its increased membership. Bindi (2007:25) notes that the EC first added new members in 1973 with the entry of the United Kingdom, Ireland, and Denmark. Greece joined in 1981 followed by Spain

and Portugal in 1986.” In 1987 the continent witnessed the crafting and adoption of the Single European Act (SEA) to facilitate the creation of the single market. Moravcoik (1993:2) notes that “SEA influenced the transformation of decision-making procedures in Europe gave rise to a common European market and enhanced political co-operation between the Member States of the European Communities”. Since then the SEA has remained one of the most important initiative in the European integration process as it widened member states cooperation in economic and social policies, environmental protection, science development and technological process.

3.3.5 European Union

In the 1990s, the European continent went through profound transformation namely the breaking up of the Soviet Union, German reunification and political and economic transitions in central and Eastern Europe. Bindi (2007:29) notes that “western European countries responded by signing the Maastricht treaty, which entered into force on 1 November 1993, encompassing the EC and establishing the modern-day European Union.” This treaty became the breakthrough document or a significant step on the path towards not only great economic integration but also closer political cooperation among western European states. In the economic sector the treaty contained provisions that resulted in the creation of the Eurozone in 1997 in which EU member states share a customs union, a single market (in which goods, people and capital move freely), a common trade policy, a common agricultural policy and common currency (the euro) and a common central bank (the European Central bank) (Moga 2009:8). This marked the highest point of EU integration in the economic sector.

3.3.6 Schengen Agreement

The Schengen agreement came into force in March 1995, but its origins can be traced back to 1984 when Germany and France concluded an agreement in Saarbrücken to facilitate crossing of their shared borders by their citizens. The agreement covered only the controls on existing border crossings (Coleman 2016:3). Bindi (2007:28) notes that Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg become interested in the agreement and on 14 June 1985 a new agreement termed the Schengen Agreement was concluded in Schengen (Luxembourg). The Schengen Agreement was conceived as an instrument to realise the common market, in accordance with the Treaty of Rome that founded the European Economic Community in 1957, article 3(c) of this Treaty envisaged “the abolition as between Member States of obstacles to freedom of movement for persons, services and capital.” To this end, the Convention implementing the

Schengen Agreement within the EU integration process framework was signed in 1990, confirming arrangements and safeguards for implementing the freedom of movement that would only enter into force five years later. Coleman (2016:4) notes that, “the abolition of internal borders was achieved on 26 March 1995 with the creation of the so called Schengen Area.” The agreement was gradually extended to almost EU members and was included with the competences of the EC by the treaty of Amsterdam that entered into force in 1999. Bindi (2007:29) notes that, with the exception of Britain, Romania, Bulgaria and Cyprus, the remainder twenty-two EU members participate in the Schengen area of free movement, which allows individuals to travel without passport checks across Europe.

3.3.7 The Treaty of Nice

In the early 2000s, the supporters of EU integration process foresaw the opportunity for the Union enlargement to include Central and Eastern countries; therefore, they converged in Nice in 2000 to draft new treaty to regulate matters that were not addressed by the existing treaties. As a result the Treaty of Nice amending the treaty on European Union, the treaties establishing the European Communities and certain related acts was signed in Nice on 26 February 2001 and entered into force on 1 February 2003 after a protracted ratification process (Bindi 2007:33). A historical decision was made at Nice on the accession of young democracies of the Central and Eastern Europe to the community. Archick (2016:3) notes that “in 2004 EU witnessed increased membership by 12 new countries which include Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Malta and Cyprus, Romania and Bulgaria. The treaty addressed some institutional matters such as composition of the European Commission, judicial systems of the European Communities and the position of the President of the European Commission, as well as the extension of qualified majority voting in the EU.

3.3.8 The Constitutional Treaty

In the early 2000s, the supporters of the EU integration initiated the drafting of the European Constitution as a deliberate move towards a closer union. To this end “the Convention on the Future of Europe chaired by Valery Giscard’ Estaigne documented a 278 paged proposed treaty for establishing a constitution for Europe” (Kuhnhardt 2009:54). This treaty was aimed at replacing the European Community and the Treaty of European Union and all the documents amending and supplementing these contracts. In this respect the treaty was approved by the European Council on 18 June 2004 and on the 29th of October 2004 in Rome

the representative of the 25 Member States of the Union signed this historical document. Bindi (2007:37) notes that “for the constitutional treaty to enter into force, it required ratification by parliament or through referendum in all the EU member states.” Although, the constitution was successfully ratified in some of the EU member, the rejection of the proposed constitution in national referendums by the French (29 May 2005) and Dutch (1 June 2005) effectively stopped the ratification process and ultimately led to the abandonment of the Euro-Constitution (Kuhnhardt 2009:54).

3.3.9 The Treaty of Lisbon

After the defeat of the Euro-Constitution, EU member states met in Lisbon on 18-19 October 2007 and decided to adopt a new document known as the treaty of Lisbon amending the Treaty on European Union and the treaty establishing the European Community. Piedrafita (2002) notes that:

In order to avoid controversy, which occurred during ratification of the Euro-Constitution, the word constitution was not used in this document, the article talking about the flag, anthem and motto of the European Union were removed, the usage of terminology of legal acts specific for national laws was renounced. The document also allowed Member State to resign from the EU’s Membership and for the first time laid down the appropriate procedures for such a case

Due to these outstanding changes, the treaty was signed on the 13 of December 2007 and entered into force after a long and exceptional ratification on 1 December 2009. The Lisbon treaty recognised that the EU as the legal successor of the European Community, and treaty establishing the European Community was renamed to the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union but the EURATOM remains as it is. The treaty of Lisbon has probably ended an intense period of almost 66 years of continuous reform of the European integration treaties which began in 1951 with the negotiation of the Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community. Today, the EU has increased the number of its Member States and has acquired ever more competences and assigned tasks.

3.3.10 Objectives of the Europe Union

The EU’s objectives are clearly expressed in the Article 3 of the Lisbon Treaty, these objectives includes among others:

- The promotion of peace, its values and well-being of its peoples [Article 3(1)]

- Offering its citizens an area of freedom, security and justice without internal frontiers...respect to external border controls, asylum, immigration and the prevention and combating of crime [article 3(2)].
- Establish an internal market and work for the sustainable development based on balanced economic growth and social justice [article 3(3)]
- Establish an economic and monetary union whose currency is the euro [article 3(4)]
- Contribution to peace, security, the sustainable development of the Earth, solidarity and mutual respect among peoples, free and fair trade, eradication of poverty and the protection of human rights [article 3(4)].

3.3.11 European Union Membership and European Countries

Currently the EU consists of 27 member states, after the success of the British referendum to leave the EU. According to the founding treaties of the EU, member states are subject to certain obligations and privileges of the membership. There are also five EU candidates that have fulfilled the EU membership conditions commonly referred to as Copenhagen criteria and two potential candidates that have not yet fulfilled the Copenhagen criteria. There are also fifteen European countries that are not members of the EU and have not yet expressed any intentions to join the Union. Below are tables that demonstrate the distribution of EU membership and European Countries.

Table 1, EU membership, Eurozone and Schengen Area

EU Members	Eurozone	Schengen	EU Members	Eurozone	Schengen
Austria	X	X	Italy	X	X
Belgium	X	X	Latvia	X	X
Bulgaria			Lithuania	X	X
Croatia			Luxemburg	X	X
Cyprus	X		Malta	X	X
Czech Republic		X	Netherlands	X	X
Denmark		X	Poland		X
Estonia	X	X	Portugal	X	X
Finland	X	X	Romania		
France	X	X	Slovakia	X	X

Germany	X	X	Slovenia	X	X
Greece	X	X	Spain	X	X
Hungary		X	Sweden		X
Ireland	X	X	Britain		

Author's review literature

Table 2, Prospective EU membership (candidates and potential candidates)

Countries	EU Candidates	Potential Candidates
Albania	X	
Montenegro	X	
Serbia	X	
Macedonia	X	
Turkey	X	
Bosnia and Herzegovina		X
Kosovo		X

Author's review of literature

Those that are referred to as candidates are countries that fulfilled the requirements of the EU membership and the potential candidates are those countries that have not yet satisfied the set requirement for the membership.

Table 3, Other European Countries

Andorra	Iceland	Russia
Armenia	Liechtenstein	San Marino
Azerbaijan	Moldova	Switzerland
Belarus	Monaco	Ukraine
Georgia	Norway	Vatican City

Author's review of literature

3.4 Conclusion

It was in the twentieth century that a recognisably modern form of mass migrations was witnessed in Europe particularly during the First World War. Since, then it has evolved to include other regions of the world which include Africa and the Middle East. This chapter also established that migrant crisis phenomena is old than the European integration project

which was established in 1951 with the creation of the ECSC. The current EU was established with the Maastricht treaty of 1993. Since then, EU member states have made several attempts to reform the EU's establishment treaty towards a closer union. The next chapter will present findings and analysis on the impact of migrant crisis on EU integration.

CHAPTER 4: IMPACT OF MIGRANT CRISIS ON EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is a presentation of findings on the impact of migrant crisis on European integration. This chapter enables the reader to ascertain the future of the EU in the face of the migrant crisis. This presentation of findings is based on themes that emerged during data analysis. The data was collected through in-depth interviews that were conducted by the

researcher with participants who were selected based on the knowledge and experience in regional integration particularly on EU integration. Secondary sources such as books, journals and e-research were also used to compliment primary data that was collected from afore mentioned respondents.

4.2 Profile of Interviewees

The researcher managed to conduct four interviews, particularly from the European Union (one EU representative residing in Zimbabwe) and the University of Zimbabwe (two senior lecturers and two Masters Students in international relations). The interviewee transcript codes and the codes translations are presented in the diagram below. The researcher will use transcript codes in the presentation of data in order to safeguard and protect anonymity and confidentiality of the participants.

Interview’s Organisation	Participant Code
European Union	Participant 001
University of Zimbabwe (Students)	Participant 002
University of Zimbabwe (Students)	Participant 003
University of Zimbabwe (Lecturer)	Participant 004
University of Zimbabwe (Lecturer)	Participant 004

Authors’ work

4.3 Political Impact on EU integration

4.3.1 The Rise of Anti-EU or “Euroskeptic” Political Parties

This current surge of migrants into Europe has triggered a right-wing populist backlash. Although, over the years many of the EU member states have witnessed the existence of populist, nationalist and anti-establishment political parties, the migration crisis has reignited such nationalist spirit among the general populace in Europe. Participant 001 notes that heightened fears towards the current migrant inflows appears to be the driving force behind the rising poll numbers for populist parties and most of these parties harbour anti-immigration sentiments. Archick (2016:6) notes that “these parties are often termed “euroskeptic” because many have been fuelled by worries that too much national sovereignty has been relinquished to Brussels.” With this regard, the rise of populist parties across Europe, could pose a challenge to the pro-European establishment parties that are championing the move towards ever closer union. These euroskeptical factions within Europe have contributed to the failure of the European Defence Community and the European Political Community in the 1950s

(see Chapter 3), therefore, there are possibilities that the rise of these political factions due to the fear generated by the influx of migrants in European would reverse the gains made over the years.

Participants 002, 003, 004 and 005 directly pointed out that euroskeptic parties or factions in the UK was key proponents of the referendum that resulted in Britain officially breaking away from the EU after decade of fruitful fellowship with other European Countries. This was clearly captured by Participant 002, who noted that euroskeptic parties or factions in the UK were key proponents of holding the referendum that decided on whether the UK should leave the EU or not. Indeed euroskeptic British politicians used the migrant crisis as an argument against the UK membership to EU. Emerson (2015:1) alluded that “it is the chemistry of democratic politics that synthesizes it all, with a sinister combination of rising extreme right-wing populism and secessionist tendencies.” Indeed it is the migrant crisis that acted as the catalyst for Brexit initiative because the populist politicians have used the securitisation of the migrant crisis as a tool in shaping and influencing the electorate to vote against continued fellowship within EU framework. The UK case stand as the most notable example for the implications of the rise of euroskeptic political parties in Europe, this study managed to identify the mushrooming of such tendencies across Europe as clearly demonstrated by the diagram below. This diagram below will help the reader to ascertain the magnitude of the rise of the euroskeptic parties across Europe, so as to be in a position to predict the future of EU integration given this political environment.

Table 1 (Euroskeptical Parties or Factions within Europe)

Country	Euroskeptic Parties or Factions	Activites
Austria	The Freedom Party	Norbert Hofer won the first round of the Presidential elections
Denmark	Danish People’s Party	Won 21 seats of the votes in the 2015 legislative polls

Slovakia	People's Party Our Slovakia	Won 14 seats in the country's 150 seats of the parliament
Poland	The Law and Justice Party	Swept into power in the late 2015 after nearly a decade, playing on the fears sparked by refugee influx
Norway	The Progressive Party	Joined the government in 2013 after winning 16 percent of the votes
Britain	UK independence Party (UKIP)	The "leave" victory is a historic success of euroskeptical factions in Britain. Daine James has said the party will become Britain largest opposition party.
France	The National Front	Notched up several local electoral successes since 2012, Marine Le Pen's campaign against the influx of migrants might found favour among the electorate for his presidential candidacy.
Germany	Alternative for Germany (AfD)	Won seats in the regional parliament with 14 percent which is not far from 18 percent won by the Christian Democratic Union
Netherlands	The Freedom Party	Won 20 seats of the 2017 parliamentary elections, this has rendered it the second largest party in the government
Hungary	Fidesz Party	Won presidential elections in Hungary
Finland	The National Finns Party	Won 18 percent of the 2015 legislative elections and now it is part of the government coalition.

Author's Review of Literature to compliment primary data

Table 1, shows the resurgence of populist parties across Europe in the 21st century. Migrant crisis among other challenges such a euro zone crisis and the Global financial crisis has fuelled the rise of these parties in the contemporary political environment in Europe. Participant 003 notes that "all the populist leaders are talking about the issue of protecting nationals against the current influx of migrants from Middle East and Northern Africa." In echoing such sentiments the leaders of the populist parties have also highlighted the need to take nationalist oriented policies in order to effectively respond or address the influx of migrants into Europe. Horn (2015:22) notes that these parties also oppose any further European integration as they argue of a return to more national decision-making, which would further weaken EU integration. As has been illustrated in table 1 these political parties that are

opposing the open door policy towards migrants are almost everywhere in Europe. In such context, it is understandable that migrant crisis has reignited the rise of euroskepticism that over the years have been waiting for the perfect moment to utilise to their advantage particularly against the move towards ever closer union. With this in mind, there possibilities that those populist parties might continue to gain considerable control across Europe and later shape the implementation of the EU integration project in accordance with their view of a 'limited' supranational entity as most decisions would be the preserve of the national authorities.

4.3.2 Increased Acrimony and Decreased Solidarity

Participants 001, 002,004 and 005 expressed concern on the strength of the EU principle of solidarity among its member states in the face of the current migrant crisis. This was captured by Participant 004, who noted that “the migrant crisis has produced high degree of acrimony and lack of trust among European countries across the continent....there no doubt that this crisis has threatened the core EU principle of solidarity.” This principle of solidarity is stated in Article 80 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) which noted that “the policies of the Union set out in the EU Chapter and their implementation shall be governed by the principle of solidarity and fair sharing of responsibility among the Member States.” It was based on this article that countries like Germany, Greece, Italy and Sweden have criticised other EU member states such as Hungary, Czech Republic and Slovakia for their rejection of the EU approved quota system that aimed at redistributing refugees among member states. This was explicitly restated by Participant 002, who noted that “frontline states such as Italy and Greece and key destination countries (Germany, Benelux countries, Finland and Sweden) have expressed dismay on the lack of European solidarity towards sharing the refugee burden among the EU membership.” Indeed such rejections by these countries have reflected deeper divergence that will be echoed on any attempt towards the ever closer union.

It is not only Germany and her allies (coalition of the willing) have changed their tone towards the Central and Eastern European countries that refused to show the purported solidarity in the refugee crisis but also those from the Central and East are condemning Western Countries for opening European borders for more immigrants. Countries such as Hungary, Czech Republic, Poland and Slovakia “charged that traditionally generous asylum policies in countries as Germany and Sweden were serving as the pull factors and

exacerbating the continued flow of migrants into Europe” (Horn 2015:13). This was also vividly highlighted by Participant 005, who noted that Germany is highly accused of its open door policy...without considering the consequences for the countries of the Southern Europe and Western Balkans through which the migrants need safe passage in order to reach their final desired destination. Crawley (2016:18) contends that “in the absence of a willingness to engage with the dynamics of migration in Europe and in the context of a lack of solidarity, the countries of Europe have instead, turned to blaming one another for the crisis.” Lack of increased acrimony and decreased solidarity among the 28 states prompted member states to organise themselves into two groups that is those that are advocating for open door policy and on the other hand those that are against it. There are possibilities that such finger-pointing would result in loose union or disintegration of EU.

Moreover, Dullien (2015:15) captured the possibilities of a disintegrated Europe, as evidenced by member states’ attitude towards the Union’s institutional capacity to coordinate collective action in addressing the current migrant crisis, in writing that:

The migrant crisis is further moving the European Union down a slippery slope, with more and more member states not seeing the European Union as community of values and solidarity, but hard-headedly evaluating their own membership in terms of tangible costs and benefits.

Indeed, the position adopted by both groups (the coalition of the willing and those advocating for restrictive policies towards migrants) on the migrant crisis have been preconditioned by their calculations of tangible costs and benefits rather than value and principles enshrined in the EU charter. This was expressed by the accusations that are laid against Germany Chancellor Angela Merkel’s strategic calculation of repositioning and rebranding Germany’s image towards migrants. This was restated by Participant 004, who firmly noted that “Central and Eastern European countries have accused Angela Merkel of trying to redeem Germany for the sins of its past most notably World War II and the deadly Holocaust which claimed the lives of many Jewish migrants in Europe during that time.” In this context, it is understandable that the current migrant influx in Europe have negatively impacted on the very principles of solidarity on which the EU is based. Such a blow to solidarity undoubtedly would result in the disintegration of the union as reflected by these two camps which came into existence during this current migrant crisis.

4.3.3 Security Threats - Countering Terrorism

Majority of the respondents (Participant 001, 003, 004 and 005) highlighted that the majority of the Europeans believed that the influx of migrants into Europe would increase the likelihood of terrorism across the continent; therefore it is in the interest of each member state to guarantee security to its citizens. In pursuant of national security, the EU member states might opt for national strategies rather than a common security and defence mechanism. This was reckoned by Participant 003, who noted that:

...after the 9/11 attacks in the US, the EU member states recognised terrorism as an immaterial and non-identifiable threat that could travel with persons and could menace directly the national security of the Western World...and there was a genuine fear that Islamic State terrorist group could exploit the migrant crisis to carry out its atrocities.

Indeed this thinking preconditioned the securitisation of the migrant crisis across Europe. Buzan et al (1998:21) defines securitisation “as a process where by state actors transforms an issue into an existential threat to a referent object,” and further identified the state, government, territory and society as examples of referent objects. In this context, favourable conditions for the increased securitization of the migration into Europe have been witnessed by the establishment of the linkage between migrant crisis and terrorism after the Paris and the Brussels attacks. Participant 002 noted that “the increased terrorist attacks in Europe have created favourable condition for the securitisation of the current migrant influx into Europe, in which terrorists are presumed to have taken advantage of the migrant crisis to infiltrate and stage their attacks in Europe.” Some of the recent attacks that have prompted the securitisation of the migrant crisis are presented in Table 2 below.

Table 2 (Timeline and facts of terror attacks in Europe)

Timeline	Country	Facts
19 December 2016	Germany	A deliberate truck crush believed by security as a terrorist attack at a Berlin Christmas market attack where 12 died and 48 were injured
21 July 2016	France	Normandy church terror, a Priest had his throat slit and several others taken hostage after armed men stormed a church in northern France during morning mass- (described as a Islamic attack)
14 July 2016	France	84 people were killed and 100 more were injured in

		the southern city of Nice after a truck was deliberately driven into crowd celebrating Bastille day in a confirmed terrorist attack
22 March 2016	Belgium	Brussels terrorist attacks: two blasts went off in the departure hall of Brussels' Zaventem Airport and another bomb exploded at the Maalbeek Metro station. Almost 300 people were injured.
13 November 2015	France	It was a bloodiest attack on French soil since World War II. The suicide bombing took place at several places namely at the State de France stadium preceded by more shooting at popular bars and restaurants. 130 people were massacred many were injured
8 January 2015	France	Charlie Hebdo magazine shootings
9 January 2015	France	Four hostages killed at a Jewish Market

Author's Review of Literature to compliment primary data

These terrorist attacks have shaped each of the above countries' policies towards immigrants in such a way that it may negatively impacted on the gains of the EU integration especially the Schengen Agreement that regulates free movement of people within Europe. Participant 001 noted that the migrant crisis has severely strained the Schengen system that mostly depends on the confidence in the security of the bloc's external borders. Archick (2016:11) notes that "two of the Paris attackers may have entered Europe through Greece in early October 2015 by posing as refugees with fake Syrian passports." Indeed, in response to these attacks France adopted restrictive immigrant policies and intensified its border controls, this was also the case in Germany and Belgium after the Berlin Christmas market attack and Brussels attack respectively. This notion of equating refugees with terrorists might reserve the gains that have been made in the establishment of the Schengen Area as some of the EU member states reinstated border controls within Europe and some have suspended the application of the Schengen that is a blow to the EU integration project.

4.4.4 The so-called EU 'engine' (key countries)

Archick (2016:6) notes that "the development of the EU has largely been driven forward by several key countries as an 'engine'," and further singled out France, Germany and United

Kingdom as the drivers of the EU integration project. This was captured by Participant 005 who concurred that “historically there were three drivers of EU integration, namely France, Germany and Britain that is before it initiated the Brexit process...and their response to the current migrant crisis might be detrimental to the future of the integration project. To start with Britain, some of the participants were of the view that Britain voted to leave the European Union because of the migrant crisis. This was clearly expressed by Participant 003, who noted that “although there are various factors that influenced Brexit, but the chaotic influx of hundreds of thousands of refugees was the greatest tool for euro-scepticism in Britain.” Indeed the migrant crisis was the worst political context for the Brexit referendum because it was easy for Euro-sceptics politicians to blame the EU and EU countries for the current surge of immigrants.

The majority of the respondents (participant 002, 004 and 005) were of the view that the power of EU now resides with Germany alone, in part because Britain voted to leave the EU and France have been constrained by domestic politics and economic preoccupations, but it also seems Germany is also in trouble with its open door policy towards refugees. This was captured by participant 004, who noted that the “in the recent year Germany have appear to be the bedrock of stability for the EU, gently leading with calm good sense and firm commitment to the European ideal. But now it seems the Germany leader, Chancellor Angela Merkel is losing support for having invited refugees.” At regional level, German’s dominance is also said to have been compromised by this current migrant crisis. This was vividly expressed by participant 001, who noted that the *de-facto* German dominance of EU policymaking of the past few years has been challenged by the so-called Visegrad group (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, And Slovakia) which strongly rejected the proposed quota system for sharing refugees within EU member states. Codogno (2015:21) emphasised that “this may lead to a reshuffling of the political equilibrium within Europe, and might risk the future of the EU. Indeed, it seems Chancellor Angela Merkel is losing standing in Germany as well as in Europe but her continued commitment in taking the leadership role is crucial because failure to do so would be a blow to European integration.

4.5 The Economic impact of migration

Participants 002, 004 and 004 were of the perception that the migrant crisis revealed the weakness of the functioning of the EU mainly in the political integration while in economic integration they foresaw the need for qualified and educated workforce by some EU countries

in order to make their economies more competitive. This was summarised by Participant 004, who noted that the current migrant influx in Europe have marked a significant impact on the skills base in host countries...especially the influx of new talented and skilled migrants probably would stimulate growth in entrepreneurship and the establishment of new businesses.” Cenderello (2016:6) noted that “some of the migrant also fill skill needs in areas typically less attractive to domestic workers.” Indeed, basing on this observation Europe might positively benefit from highly skilled and educated migrants that would contribute to economic growth thereby repositioning EU economic power in the international economic relations.

Moreover, in support of the positive impact of current influx of migrants on EU, some of the respondents highlighted that the influxes would be economically beneficial and help to offset the unfavourable EU demographic developments that include aging population and a shrinking workforce, thereby strengthening EU fiscal sustainability in the longer term. Participant 001 vehemently argued that “in the long run the EU ageing population phenomenon will weigh on the potential of Europe as a global player...it not doubtable that without sustained migration inflows, the growth challenges for Europe would be much more complicated.” Cenderello (2016:6) notes that the “EU’s old-age dependency ratio will rise from the current 26% to over 50% by 2060...without migrants, Western Europe would need to increase its working-age population by 46 million employees by 2030 to sustain the average economic growth of the past two decades.” Lima et al (2016:11) contends that the current influx of migrants might help to counterbalance the drag of ageing and to support much needed productivity growth in Europe. Hufner (2015:20) also emphasised that “the negative demographic developments in many countries of the EU will at least in part be alleviated.” It is understandable that the current influx of migrants into Europe presents a potential solution to the impending challenges of Europe’s aging population, therefore, it appear to be a solution rather that a threat to EU integration.

4.6 Social Impact of Migrant Crisis

Most of the migrant that are entering Europe are Muslims by religion. This is divergent to EU’s dominant religion which is Christianity. According to the perceptions expressed by most of the interviewees, the migrant crisis has renewed questions about the ability of European countries to integrate minorities into European culture and society. Participant 003 noted that with the number of Muslims in Europe increasing dramatically due to newly

arriving migrants, European countries are afraid that this could alter the primarily Christian identities of the countries and of Europe. Horn (2015:21) notes that the “influx of migrants has shown that the member states of the European Union do not necessarily share the same values. Majority of the Eastern European countries in particular bluntly refuse to accept refugees, predominantly for cultural and religious reasons.” In Slovakia, the government rightfully stated that “it would only accept Christians from Syria as they do not have mosques in Slovakia,” Hogberg (2015:22). The Dutch right-wing politician Geert Wilders called the influx of migrants as an ‘Islamic invasion’ that threatens Europe’s prosperity, security, culture and identity (Hufner 2015:20). The Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban proclaimed the immigration surge as the end of ‘Christian Europe’, Hogberg (2015:22). This observation clearly demonstrates that the securitisation of Islam as a threat to an established EU’s ‘Christian character’ shaped the response of some of the EU member states to the migrant crisis that resulted divisions within the EU. It is understandable that such division could definitely negatively impact on the future of the EU as a regional bloc.

Participants 001, 003, 004 and 005 were of the view that such hostilities towards migrants also become more pronounced amid reports of criminal activity and sexual assaults allegedly committed by some migrants and the reflection that most of the terrorist attacks in Europe were carried out by European of Muslim background. Participant 005 noted that “although most of the Muslims could be law-abiding, responsible and hardworking, the already established linkage between Islam, extremism and terrorism has preconditioned the integration of Muslim migrants into European communities.” Horn (2015:21) notes that not only did this discourse excluded migrants from the European society but labelled them as dangers to the society, as they are uncivilised, do not respect EU law and they are prone to committing crimes.” According to these perceptions, it is no doubtable that such securitisation of the migrant crisis has influenced the refusal by Poland, Hungary and other European countries to accept the proposed EU quota system for the distribution of the refugees among the EU members. Indeed this might result in a loosely integrated Europe due to these divisions that have been reignited by the migrant crisis.

4.7 Conclusion

In summation of the findings, this chapter established that the current migrant crisis pointed not only to the weaknesses in the functioning of the EU, but also the diverging political, economic and societal interests among EU member states. Due to the continued influx of

migrants into Europe, the continent has witnessed the re-emergence of conservative and right-wing political parties that are vehemently standing against opening doors for more immigrants into Europe. This has contributed to the lack of acrimony and solidarity across Europe, clearly demonstrated by the rejection of the EU quota system aimed at the distribution of the refugee burden among the EU member states. The securitisation of the migrant crisis across Europe was identified as one of the serious threats to the continued existence of the EU, due to the adoption of nationalistic policy frameworks in order to counter the alleged threat of terrorism emanating from the influx of migrants. The responses of the so-called engine of the EU integration (such as Britain, France and Germany) towards the migrant crisis have been presumed as being of critical importance in determining the future of the EU. Brexit was also reckoned as the major blow to Europe's goal of 'ever closer' union. In the economic circles, the perceptions presented in this chapter established that migrant can solve the gap in the EU labour market that is being created by the aging population phenomenon and the impending lack of labour force across in some EU member countries. This chapter also presumed that although, Islam is just like other religions, some of the EU members have used the purported linkage between the Islam and extremism or terrorism as a scapegoat their hostile position against other fellow member states that are welcoming migrants in Europe. The following chapter focus on the conclusions and recommendations that can be drawn from this study.

CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the study. To this end, the chapter will discuss the purpose of the study, restatement of the research objectives and methodology as well as framework of analysis. This chapter also presents a summary of key findings, recommendations and the implications of the findings. This will enable the reader to ascertain

the contributions that have been made by this study towards addressing the perceived immigration threat to EU integration.

5.2 Summary of the Study

5.2.1 Purpose of the Study

Since its inception in the 1951, the EU has experienced a number of migration crises that were characterised by influx of migrants into Europe and migration within EU borders. Over these years the EU member states have managed to respond to such immigration phenomenon. Nevertheless, the current wave of migrants surging into the European Union poses a historic challenge to the continued existence of the EU as a regional bloc. The failure by the member states to agree on the implementation of the EU quota system on the distribution of the refugee burden across Europe, the suspension of the Dublin code and the Schengen Agreement are some of the pointers that demonstrate that the EU might be at the verge of collapsing due to continued influx of migrants into Europe from the Middle East, North Africa and some parts of Asia. Therefore, this study focused on an empirical examination of the impact of the current migrant crisis (time of the writing) on EU integration. This aimed at ascertaining whether the current influx of migrants into Europe would lead to disintegration of EU or make it a loosely integrated regional bloc.

5.2.2 Restatement of the Objectives

The study examined the impact of migrant crisis on EU integration by:

- Investigating Europe's immigration patterns from World War 1 to the current migrant crisis.
- Examining the evolution of the European Union integration process.
- examining the nature of current Migrant Crisis in Europe
- Assess the implication of the current migrant crisis on EU integration
- Recommend ways to enhance EU migration policies and integration in the face of the current Migrant crisis.

5.2.3 Restatement of the Research Methodology

The study was based qualitative research methods. Therefore, the researcher utilised in-depth interviews to gather primary data from respondents, who were selected basing on their knowledge and experience as required by guidelines of purposive sampling techniques. The researcher also conducted documentary research, in which secondary source of data such as books, journals and websites were used to compliment the perceptions of the participants

collect through in-depth interviews. The presentation of findings and analysis was based on themes that emerged during data analysis that was guided by principles of thematic data analysis and content data analysis.

5.2.4 Framework of Analysis

The study utilised the neo-functionalism theory in analysing the future of the EU integration process in the face of the current surge of migrant in Europe. Given the current and concurrent crises of the EU and the migrant crisis, this study deemed it appropriate to explore the presumptions of the neo-functionalism that employs the prediction of ‘spill-backs’ rather than ‘spill-overs’ to explain the probability of the disintegration of the EU. Schmitter and Lefkofridi (2016:2) note that “a spill-back is when member states no longer wish to deal with a policy at the supranational level.” Indeed as a result of the migrant crisis, Europe has witnessed the rise of Anti-EU political parties that are campaigning against Brussels ability to deal with the migration phenomenon. Indeed the neo-functionalist concept of spill-over explains that due to the migrant crisis would compel the member states to withdraw their competence to make policy in an arena previously subject to EU transnational governance. It can be understood that the EU is not likely to break as long as it successfully fulfils key functions for the Union’s economy and society as a whole but it can and will break if it does not.

5.4 Summary of Findings and Analysis

The migrant crisis has appeared to be a major stumbling block to European’s desire for an ever closer union. Most of the migrants that are entering Europe are from the Middle East, North African and partly from Asia. These migrants are fleeing from perennial and deadly conflicts that have destroyed their native countries over the years and most of them find their way to destination Europe as it is viewed by the migrants as the safer region for refuge. Nonetheless, this influx of migrants purportedly reignited the long standing division among the EU member states as witnessed by divergent views on the EU quota system and the suspension of the Schengen Agreement by some of the member states. This was attributed to the rise of Anti-EU political parties, increased acrimony and decreased solidarity among member states. Securitization of the crisis has also shaped member states’ responses that are more nationalistic rather than searching for a common solution from Brussels. Unlike in the political and social sectors, the continent is said to have benefited from the integration of well-educated and skilled migrants into the European labour market.

5.4.1 The rise of Anti-EU or “Euroskeptic” political parties.

Although, over the years many of the EU member states have witnessed the existence of populist, nationalist and anti-establishment political parties, the migration crisis has reignited such nationalist spirit among the general populace in Europe. These political parties are often termed “euroskeptic” because many have been fuelled by worries that too much national sovereignty has been relinquished to Brussels. Notable examples of Eurosceptical political parties in Europe includes the Freedom Party (Austria), Danish People’s party (Denmark), the National Front (France), the Freedom Party (Netherlands), Fidesz Party (Hungary), the National Finns Party (Finland), the Progressive Party (Norway), the law and Justice Party (Poland), People’s Party Our Slovakia (Slovakia) and the UK independence Party (Britain). These political parties are using the migrant crisis as the campaigning tool against relinquishing much sovereignty to the regional bloc. The success made by euroskeptic politician in the UK in spearheading the British referendum to leave the EU is one of the deadliest blows to the future of the EU towards an ever closer union and they are growing concerns that other countries might also decides to leave the EU as result of the Brexit euphoria.

5.4.2 Increased Acrimony and decreased solidarity

This study established that policies that are set and implemented in Europe by the EU are based or governed by the principle of solidarity and fair sharing of responsibility among the member states (according to Article 80 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union). Findings presented in this study presumed that the rejection of the EU quota systems on the distribution of refugees by other member states as notable example that demonstrates increased acrimony and decreased solidarity among EU member states. Indeed, this poses a serious threat to the future of the EU since its operations are based on solidarity as one of the guiding principle of the conduct of member states. Notably as it stands today Europe is divided among those who favoured the proposed quota system and those who rejected it. Basing on the observations presented in this study, migrant crisis is negatively impacting on the EU integration as it is eroding away the core principle of the integration process that is solidarity among member states.

5.4.3 Security Threats - Countering Terrorism

There is growing concern across Europe that the current influx of migrants into Europe has contributed to increased extremism and terrorist activities in selected EU member states. The

Berlin Christmas market attack (German), Normandy church attack, Southern city of Nice truck incident, Charlie Hebdo magazine shootings, and Jewish Market hostage killings (France), as well as the Brussels' Zaventem Airport and Maalbeek Metro station attacks (Belgium) are notable examples that have been used to establish the purported linkage between the migrant surge and terrorism in Europe. Indeed, the need to counter terrorism has influenced member states to reinstitute border controls (contrary to Schengen Agreement) and are applying strict asylum seekers scrutiny (contrary to the EU asylum seekers regulations) which is a divert from the implementation of a common policies spearheaded by the EU. This tendency of equating refugees with terrorists has been established as one of the major challenges that are threatening the continued existence of the EU because states are becoming more inward looking in safeguarding their national security.

5.4.4 The so-called EU 'engine' (key countries)

This study established that the development of the EU has largely been driven forward by several key countries as an 'engine' but further singled out France, Germany and United Kingdom as the drivers of the EU integration project. From the perceptions of interviewees presented in this study, the migrant crisis has compromised the leadership role of these countries in championing regional integration across the continent. In Britain, the migrant crisis was used by the Anti-EU politician as a campaigning tool against the EU which resulted in the Brexit thereby relieving Britain from its leadership role. The same was likely to happen in if Le Pen won the 2017 presidential election as she is known of her anti-EU and Anti-refugee rhetoric statements, fortunately, Macron won the election therefore the world awaits to see what would be the position of France towards EU and world politics. In Germany, Chancellor Angel Merkel's support (in Germany as well as in Europe) has been negatively affected by her open door policy towards refugees. The study established that since Britain is out of the EU the leadership of France and Germany is crucial because failure to do so would be a big blow to EU integration.

5.4.5 The Economic impact of migration

This study established that the migrant crisis revealed the weaknesses of the functioning of the EU mainly in fostering political integration among its member states and on the other hand the influx of migrant have proved Europe an opportunity to counter the impending shortfall in labour force across EU members due to the aging population phenomenon. Perception presented in this study also presumed that the might benefit from the integration of

well-educated and skilled migrants into the EU labour market as well as the low skilled migrant may also help with areas that are not preferable to native Europeans working age group. Therefore, migrants surge in Europe can be viewed as a solution of EU labour market in which the migrants will help member states to maintain their production competitiveness thereby guaranteeing a competitive edge for EU as a trading bloc in international economic relations. From an economist perspective, this study assumes that the migrant crisis would contribute to the prosperity of Europe thereby strengthening the position of the EU within Europe as well as at global level.

5.4.6 Social Impact of Migrant Crisis

With the number of Muslims in Europe increasing dramatically due to newly arriving migrants, European countries are afraid that this could alter the primarily Christian identities of the countries and of Europe. Some of the European countries are bluntly refusing to accept refugees predominantly for cultural and religious reasons. Highest leaders of European countries such as Hungary, Slovakia and the Netherlands highly spoke against the current migrant surge in Europe and referred to it as an 'Islamic invasion'. In addition, criminal activities, sexual assaults and terrorists attacks allegedly committed by some migrants have been associated or linked to migrants with Muslim background. This have posed a challenge to successful integration of the migrants into European societies across the continent and this have influenced policy makers in Eastern Europe to reject the EU proposed quota system and the facing of borders by countries such as Hungary and Slovakia which is a blow to the establish Schengen Agreement. This might not result in the disintegration of the EU but it would make it a loosely integrated union.

5.5 Implications of the Study

The current surge of migrant into Europe have reached unprecedented level and given the continued fighting in the major contributing countries such as Syria, Iraq, Afghan and selected North African countries there probabilities that the numbers will continue to rise. This migrant phenomenon has posed serious challenges to the continued existence of the EU as a regional bloc. The securitization of the migrant crisis have contributed to the rise of Anti-EU political parties, increased acrimony and decreased solidarity among member states as well as shaped the response of the so-called the EU engine namely Britain, France and Germany. The linkage between Islam and extremism or terrorism and the fact that most of the migrant are Muslims this has posed migrants as serious threat to national security and to European

civilization which is predominately Christianity. Basing on these observations, this study, therefore, implies that:

- ❖ There is need for EU member states to understand that the migrant crisis would not be successively addressed by nationalist policies but it needs collective action of all European countries. Collective action has appeared to be the best solutions in addressing regional challenges as evidenced by the success of the EU. Notably, established as a peace project the EU has managed to promote peaceful co-existence among its member states. Therefore, unless the European countries fully realized the power of collective action in addressing the challenge posed migrant crisis, the EU might be overwhelm by migrant surge.
- ❖ There is need to de-securitise the migrant crisis, so as to created room for multilateral approach in responding to the phenomenon. Due to the intensive securitisation of the current influx of migrants into Europe, there have been challenges of equating migrants with terrorists which caused some of the member states to suspend prominent Schengen Agreement. Therefore, de-securitisation of the migrant crisis will reduce the attempts of treating migrants as terrorist thereby minimizing the exaggerated threat posed by migrant to national security of the member states.
- ❖ There is need to strike balance between regional interest and national interests in addressing the current surge of migrants into Europe, so as to ensure that national oriented policies frameworks are complemented by a common EU policy strategy or the other way around in order to avoid division that have arisen due to the imposition of common EU quota system of the distribution of refugees. Indeed the EU member states have divergent interests in the influx of migrants into Europe, there the EU recognize and support each member state's expressed position so that the best interests of each member state are saved in dealing with the migrant phenomenon.
- ❖ The need to speed the integration of the migrant into the EU labour market so as to ensure that European countries will quickly benefit from them. European economies are likely to benefit from migrants as workers, taxpayers and consumers, increasing aggregate demand for goods and services, including those catering for the migrant population. This would over weigh the short-term substantial finical cost in terms of the migrant integration support (providing housing, education, health and other

welfare services). As a result the EU member states would start to see migrants as an opportunity to, not as threat to their slow growing economies.

5.5 Conclusion of the Study

The current (time of writing) influx of migrants into Europe has posed challenges to the EU integration process. This migration phenomenon has prompted numerous questions on the continued existence of the EU in the face of such huge influx of migrants from world's worst war zones that include Middle East, North Africa and some parts of Asia. Although the EU has tried to formulate and implement a common policy framework (the EU quota system of the distribution of the refugees among member states) towards addressing the migrant crisis, this study identified a number of challenges that have been brought forward by the phenomenon. These challenges include the rise of Anti-EU political parties across Europe, increased acrimony and decreased solidarity among EU member states and the characterisation of the migration influx as the Islamic inversion of a predominately Christian region. Above all the securitisation of the migration phenomenon is presumed to be the most overarching threat to the future of the EU. The migrant crisis also weakened the so called engine of the EU as witnessed by the Brexit and reduced dominance of France and Germany thereby compromising the leadership role of these countries in championing the EU integration process. Nonetheless, there are possibilities that the EU may benefit in the Economic sector as the migrant are presumed to be a solution to the impending shortages of labour force due to the aging population phenomenon. After considering all the above established observations, this study presumed that the challenges posed by the migrant crisis outweigh its benefits to Europe. The migrant crisis may not automatically result in the disintegration of the EU but it would render Europe a loosely integrated region.

5.6 Recommendations

The following are suggestions on the EU member states response to the Migrant Crisis;

- ❖ There is need for the EU member states to recognize the power of collective action in addressing transnational challenges particularly the migrant crisis.
- ❖ EU member states need to de-securitise the migrant crisis so as to avoid equating migrants to terrorist thereby reducing the growing concern linkage between terrorism and migrants that have contributed to the rise of Anti-EU tendencies across Europe.

- ❖ There is need for the EU member states accept the world realities or politics that govern state interaction in the international system, and try to encourage each other to strike a balance between regional interests and national interests in forging a common solution to the migrant crisis.
- ❖ The EU member states should quickly integrate the migrant into the EU market so as to counter the short-term financial cost in terms of migrant integration support system.

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