

RETHINKING REFUGEE POLICY IN EUROPE: "FORTRESS EUROPE" AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Anthony Avice Du Buisson

SAIS Europe Journal – Spring 2022

Footnotes

¹ Christian S. Czymara, "Attitudes Toward Refugees in Contemporary Europe: A Longitudinal Perspective on Cross-National Differences," *Social Forces* 99, no. 3 (2021): 1316.

² United Nations General Assembly, *United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees*, July 28, 1951, <https://www.unhcr.org/en-au/3b66c2aa10>.

³ Jack Shenker, "Mohamed ElBaradei Urges World Leaders to Abandon Hosni Mubarak," *The Guardian*, February 2, 2011, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/feb/02/elbaradei-abandon-mubarak>.

⁴ Mehari Fisseha, "The Roles of Civil Society and International Humanitarian Organizations in Managing Refugees Crisis in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) Region," *Journal of Mediterranean Knowledge* 3, no. 1 (2018): 63-7.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Aziz Douai, Mehmet Fatih Bastug, and Davut Akca, "Framing Syrian Refugees: US Local News and the Politics of Immigration," *The International Communication Gazette* (March 2021): 94.

⁷ Laura Zanfrini, "Europe and the Refugee Crisis: A Challenge to Our Civilization," *United Nations Academic Impact*, 2021, <https://www.un.org/en/academic-impact/europe-and-refugee-crisis-challenge-our-civilization>.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Kyilah Terry, "The EU-Turkey Deal, Five Years On: A Frayed and Controversial but Enduring Blueprint," *Migration Policy Institute*, April 8, 2021, <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/eu-turkey-deal-five-years-on>.

¹⁰ Ninna Nyberg Sørensen et al., "Europe and the Refugee Situation: Human Security Implications," *Danish Institute for International Studies* (DIIS) no. 3 (2017): 11.

¹¹ Leila Simona Talani, "The 2014/2015 Refugee Crisis in the EU and the Mediterranean Route," *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 22, no. 3 (2020): 452-54.

¹² Teresa Wright, "Alan Kurdi Photo Spurred Canadian Government Scramble to Respond, Documents Reveal," *The Globe and Mail*, April 29, 2018, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/politics/article-alan-kurdi-photo-spurred-canadian-government-scramble-to-respond/>.

¹³ Joe Parkinson and David George-Cosh, "Image of Drowned Syrian Boy Echoes Around World," *Wall Street Journal*, September 3, 2015, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/image-of-syrian-boy-washed-up-on-beach-hits-hard-1441282847>.

¹⁴ The Visual and Data Journalism Team, "Hundreds of Migrants Still Dying in Med Five Years Since 2015," *BBC News*, September 1, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-53764449>.

¹⁵ Susan Ferreira, "From Narratives to Perceptions in the Securitisation of the Migratory Crisis in Europe," *E-International Relations*, September 3, 2018, <https://www.e-ir.info/2018/09/03/from-narratives-to-perceptions-in-the-securitisation-of-the-migratory-crisis-in-europe/>.

¹⁶ Thomas Gammeltoft-Hansen and Nikolas F. Tan, "The End of the Deterrence Paradigm? Future Directions for Global Refugee Policy," *Journal on Migration and Human Security* 5, no. 1 (March 2017): 33-35; Talani, "The 2014/2015 Refugee Crisis," 15-17.

¹⁷ Sørensen et al., "Europe and the Refugee Situation," 11.

¹⁸ Mojib Rahman Atal, "The Asymmetrical EU-Afghanistan Cooperation on Migration," *The Diplomat*, May 12, 2021, <https://thediplomat.com/2021/05/asymmetrical-eu-afghanistan-cooperation-on-migration/#!#:~:text=On%20April%2026,%20the%20European,in%20the%20EU%20member%20states>.

¹⁹ Janosch Delcker, "The Phrase that Haunts Angela Merkel," *Politico*, August 19, 2016, <https://www.politico.eu/article/the-phrase-that-haunts-angela-merkel/>.

²⁰ Stefan Lehne, "The Tempting Trap of Fortress Europe," *Carnegie Europe*, April 21, 2016, <https://carnegieeurope.eu/2016/04/21/tempting-trap-of-fortress-europe-pub-63400>.

²¹ UN General Assembly, *Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees*.

²² Charlotte Alfred and Benjamin Holst, "How Denmark's Hard Line on Syrian Refugees is an Aid Group's Ethical Dilemma," *The New Humanitarian*, January 11, 2022, <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/news->

feature/2022/1/11/how-Denmark-hard-line-Syrian-refugees-aid-group-ethical-dilemma#:~:text=Denmark%20is%20the%20first%20European,right%20to%20work%20since%202019.

²³ Lydia Gall and Tanya Lokshina, “Die Here or Go to Poland: Belarus’ and Poland’s Shared Responsibility for Border Abuses,” *Human Rights Watch*, November 24, 2021, <https://www.hrw.org/report/2021/11/24/die-here-or-go-poland/belarus-and-polands-shared-responsibility-border-abuses>.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Sørensen et al., “Europe and the Refugee Situation,” 11.

²⁶ Antonio Guterres, “Secretary-General Antonio Guterres’ remarks to the General Assembly on Taking the Oath of Office,” *United Nations Secretary-General*, December 12, 2016, <https://www.un.org/youthenvoy/2017/01/secretary-general-antonio-guterres-remarks-to-the-general-assembly-on-taking-the-oath-of-office/>.