

# From Alleged Failing to a Burden Sharing System?

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A Newspaper Analysis on the Dublin  
Procedures in the Syrian Refugee Crisis

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## List of Abbreviations

AT	Austria
CEAS	Common European Asylum System
DE	Germany
DP	Die Presse
DR	Dublin Regulation
DS	Der Standard
TDT	The Daily Telegraph
EASO	European Asylum Support Office
EC	European Community
ECJ	European Court of Justice
ECHR	European Court of Human Rights
EU	European Union
EURODAC	European Dactylographic Comparison System
FAZ	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
RQ	Research Question
SZ	Süddeutsche Zeitung
TG	The Guardian
UK	United Kingdom

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## Introduction

The European migration crisis and specifically the repercussion of the Syrian refugee crisis are discussed in politics and media daily and all over the world and the demand for a solution is becoming more and more pressing. The Dublin Regulation (DR) is a central element of the European migration system and can currently be seen as at an intermediate state. This is because the old system is seemingly not functioning properly anymore, causing the allegation of its failing. A new system is still to be developed which also causes further debate. This thesis investigates the current debate about a new burden sharing system in times of the Syrian Refugee Crisis by applying a newspaper analysis.

The DR (EU Regulation No 604/2013) determines that asylum seekers must make their claim in the country where they first set foot on European Union grounds (Weinzierl, 2005, p. 35). This mechanism results in unequal numbers of asylum claims in the countries located in Europe's south, putting certain member states under such pressure that human rights of refugees cannot be assured anymore (Bröcker, 2010, p. 19). Here it is worth mentioning that this thesis makes a distinction between the forced migration into the European Union (EU) and the possibly following internal migration of these refugees. In order to maintain this differentiation, it will be refrained from using the term 'migrant'. Instead the terms of 'asylum seeker' and 'refugee' will be used interchangeably which should also support readability. Furthermore, the structure of the DR might call European solidarity into question and has already resulted in suspensions of refugee transfers such as to Greece in 2011 by the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) and European Court of Justice (ECJ) (Bröcker, 2010; Hampshire, 2016). Despite of two reforms of the DR (formerly Dublin II Council Regulation (EC) No 343/2003, and the Dublin Convention 41997A0819(01)), there is ongoing criticism of the DR and differences in national interpretation that cause political and public debates. For example, in August 2015 a unique case occurred when the German government put a hold on transfers of Syrian refugees but deeming this in line with the DR. This event was commented by the vice president of the European Parliament Ulrike Lunacek who expressed: "Dublin ist tot – und das ist auch gut so" (Dublin is dead – as it should be) [own translation] (Stürzenhofecker, 2015). The event also catalyzed a new public debate on the European migration regime highlighting its social relevance. Moreover, it not only directly affects a lot of European citizens and refugees, but also elevates the significance of EU politics.

The outlined social and political relevance surrounding the DR also increased its research value which led to a number of scholars attending to the topic. There is a strong focus of academic research on the juridical or legal aspect, with methodological analysis of legal documents (Battjes, 2002) or the case law of the ECHR (Moreno-Lax, 2012). A recent research by Morgades-Gil (2015) investigates the latest reform of the DR which is known as Dublin III, in which she focuses on the integration of both the sovereignty and humanitarian clauses into discretionary clauses. Here she examines to what extent

the states' discretion depends on judgments of the ECHR and ECJ (Morgades-Gil, 2015). Another study examines Greece's implementation of the DR. It focuses on a legal provision allowing for an interruption in the examination of asylum claims, applicable for asylum seekers who have left their place of residence (Papadimitriou & Papageorgiou, 2005). These results are of high relevance for the DR, as it is applicable for asylum seekers who have been transferred back to Greece from another European country under the DR. Furthermore, a study has been conducted in which the DR was researched in regards to destination choices of asylum seekers. Through interviewing Algerian refugees in the UK, some assumptions regarding 'asylum-shopping' and migration networks were confounded (Collyer, 2004). Also, several researchers have focused on irregular transit migration and human smuggling (Andersson, 2016; Jandl, 2007; Nadig, 2002; Papadopoulou, 2004). Additionally, another study by Jean-Paul Brekke and Grete Brochmann combined secondary migration and the DR in which a case-file study was conducted as well as qualitative interviews with refugees and other actors in the migration system (Brekke & Brochmann, 2015).

As the majority of these outlined studies are not theory-driven and rather incorporate a descriptive approach it is desirable to take another angle into account. On theoretical grounds, the concept of burden sharing has gained increasing relevance in research on the DR. Several authors (Betts 2003, Boswell 2003, Byrne 2003, Thielemann 2003, Vink & Meijerink 2003) who have applied the concept of burden sharing, addressed the Dublin system diversely in their research. The DR is perceived as playing a key role in legislative harmonization and can be seen as an answer to a missing burden sharing framework for refugee distribution and the regarding expenses (Byrne, 2003). Additionally, the Dublin system is considered as part of 'implicit burden-sharing' as it results in a redistribution of refugees (Vink & Meijerink, 2003). Furthermore, within an assessment of different forms of burden sharing in the EU, Boswell (2003) explains the Dublin system to be one approach to it. Also, in his analysis of motivations and patterns for burden sharing in the EU, Thielemann (2003) offers two approaches to burden sharing: a cost-benefit logic, following which actions will be taken strategically according to the expected consequences; and a norm-based logic following which actions are driven by what seems to be appropriate. It is further discussed whether asylum provision can be seen as a public good (Suhrke 1998, Thielemann & Dewan 2006, Betts 2003). According to Suhrke (1998), this is the case because international security will be raised by granting refugees asylum as it prohibits the expansion of the conflicts these individuals are fleeing from. Betts (2003) argues for the higher plausibility of a joint product instead of the public goods model as there might be private benefits to individual states from providing asylum.

The concept of burden sharing seems to be an approach worthwhile to be investigated in more detail under the management of the Syrian Refugee Crisis, which has been chosen as theoretical starting point for this thesis. With the premise that the DR is a form of burden sharing of refugees, its alleged failing consequently represents a challenge to the burden sharing system which summarizes the core

research problem for the thesis at hand. At the same time this challenge raises the question of what a future burden sharing system might look like or if there will even be one. The present research seeks to find clues about the outlook of the DR and provide a novel facet through applying the concept of burden sharing. The concept of burden sharing provides explanations to why states would cooperate in a burden sharing system or on which grounds they might withhold cooperation. Through the conceptual lens of the burden sharing theory, the press reportage on the DR in the Syrian refugee crisis has been analyzed. The aim of the thesis is to analyze the press reportage and potential future of the DR in the light of burden sharing theory in order to better understand how the alleged failing is discussed in public. The aforesaid is reflected in the following research questions for the thesis at hand:

#### Central research question

To what extent can the press reportage on the alleged failing of the Dublin system be explored with the concept of burden sharing?

Furthermore, the process of this research is clarified and the thesis is structured with the following two sub-questions:

- (1) How do newspapers report the alleged failing of the Dublin system in the management of the Syrian refugee crisis?
- (2) To what extent is this newspaper reportage influenced by a cost-benefit and norm-based logic?

Since there is a strong focus on legal analysis and there seems to be mostly descriptive research on the DR as of yet, the present thesis addresses this gap by providing a newspaper analysis. Newspaper articles have been chosen as data source because of their influence, importance and outreach to the public. More specifically, mass media has the potential to shape the public opinion (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur 1976, Beck 2013, Luhmann 1996/2000). A total of 84 newspaper articles from the UK, Germany and Austria and from two climactic periods are analyzed. During these two time spans, the DR was more frequently discussed in the media and allegations of its failing increased. The selected newspaper articles are analyzed using a content analysis with regard to the aforementioned research questions. This approach allows for contextualized interpretation of ideas (Schreier 2012) of the two cost-benefit and norm-based logics expressed in the newspaper articles. In this way, it further clarifies how the theoretical reasons for cooperation in a refugee distribution scheme are actually phrased by the media and represented in society. Hence, this study aims to contribute to the existing research on the relevance and opportunities of a new burden sharing system.

In the following Chapter 2, the theoretical framework for this thesis is built. This is carried out through providing some background to the DR, presenting the theoretical approaches to the challenge of

burden sharing and introducing theoretical concepts on the role of the media. To summarize the theory chapter, the model of the conceptual framework is displayed. Subsequently, the methodological strategy for the thesis is discussed in Chapter 3. After introducing the research design, the methods of data collection and data analysis are presented, followed by the operationalization. Chapter 4 concentrates on the findings of the analysis. It is firstly structured with the reportage on the DR, secondly the leaning towards a burden sharing system and lastly the influence of the two logics of social action. The final Chapter 5 draws conclusions from the analysis.

## Theory

The present chapter lays out the theoretical framework for the thesis at hand that builds the core of this research and is essential to guide the analysis. This is firstly set forth by focusing on the background to the DR as part of the European migration system and secondly presenting the role of the media. In a third step, the theoretical concept of burden sharing is laid out and finally, to summarize this chapter, the model of the conceptual framework for this thesis is presented.

### 2.1. Dublin Regulation

On April 6<sup>th</sup> 2016, the BBC reported about the European Commission's plan to reform the Common European Asylum System (CEAS) with the DR at the core of the proposal (BBC, 2016). As its vice president Frans Timmermans is cited: "We need a sustainable system for the future, based on common rules, a fairer sharing of responsibility, and safe legal channels for those who need protection to get it in the EU" (BBC, 2016).

The European migration regime has been put under high pressure for multifaceted reasons. Firstly, one must mention the swift enlargement of the European Union (EU). Secondly, the ongoing conflicts in North Africa and the Middle East were leading to what seem to be ever increasing numbers of refugee inflow. Thirdly, migration governance in the EU is of a multilevel nature, making it highly complex (Hampshire, 2016). Fourthly, procedural aspects and national differences hinder unified policy-making that is efficient and effective (Brekke & Brochmann, 2015). Finally, the EU has been subject to migratory pressure over the last years because of its political stability and economic prosperity (Bröcker, 2010, p. 19). From a historical perspective, migration rates in Europe remained low before the modernization of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Lucassen & Lucassen 2013). With the industrial revolution, new types of transportation (railways, steamships) and communication (newspapers, telegraph, telephone) mobilized people. Lucassen and Lucassen note that this progress led to the 'mobility transition' with increasing migration from countryside to cities in Europe and overseas. At the time emigration was prevailing, immigration to Europe increased especially after the Second World War (Lucassen & Lucassen, 2013). Lucassen and Lucassen explain that this was a result of the decolonization by France, the Netherlands, Belgium, the UK and Portugal. They furthermore note that from the 1950s onwards migration in Europe was characterized by guest workers, a process which has been further increasing since the 1980s. The question can be raised whether there is a second mobility transition now, made possible with the progress in transportation, such as cheap flights, and communication, such as internet and cell phones, that resulted in even higher and steadier migration flows.

Over the last years, the main destinations for migrants coming to Europe were Spain, Italy and Greece, with further internal or secondary migration often in practice, as pointed out by Bröcker (2010). He notes that various versions of the external dimension of the CEAS indicate the EU's reduced

disposition to receive refugees. Member states seem to differ in their opinions about the substance and the level of harmonization of European migration policies (Hampshire 2016). Hampshire (2016) further outlines that the CEAS is one building block of the migration governance in the EU, containing the DR, Asylum Directives, European Refugee Fund and European Asylum Support Office. Furthermore, it is stated by Brekke and Brochmann (2015) that for Europe's endeavor of building universal asylum legislation, the DR is fundamental. However, the incentive of the DR to avert secondary migration might be threatened by "national differences in reception conditions, access to integration measures and social rights" (Brekke & Brochmann, 2015). This raises the question whether these national differences may cause the failing of the DR. Officially, the DR is titled 'Regulation [...] establishing the criteria and mechanisms for determining the Member State responsible for examining an application for international protection lodged in one of the Member States by a third-country national or a stateless person'.

Henceforth, the DR determines which member state is responsible for examining an asylum application. Thus, responsibility is assigned to exactly one state. In principle, this is the country where a person seeking asylum first entered the EU. This is also where their fingerprints are taken and archived in the EURODAC system, so that refugees who manage to travel further can be identified and transferred back if necessary (Bröcker, 2010, p.69). Through the EURODAC system, the EU has compiled a fingerprint database for asylum seekers which is accessible to immigration authorities in the area. In that way they can detect if an asylum seeker has passed through another European country and already applied for asylum (Brekke & Brochmann, 2015, p. 3). Henceforth, the DR plays a key role in the question of how to prevent secondary migration. However, this puts disproportional weight on member states with external borders, in particular the southern European countries (Bröcker, 2010; Hampshire, 2016; Weinzierl, 2005). This controversy was the cause of a suspension of transfers to Greece in 2011 which was ruled by the ECHR and the ECJ as a consequence of the Greek government not being able to secure the human rights of asylum seekers. Additionally, there were short time suspensions for transfers to Italy, Hungary, Poland and Malta and a call for a suspension of transfers to Bulgaria by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (Hampshire, 2016). In August 2015 Germany's Federal Office for Migration and Refugees directed its agencies to stop the transfers of Syrian refugees to their respective EU countries of first arrival. Controversially, this was explained by the German government to be seen only as a simplification of the procedure instead of being a suspension of the DR, motivated by solidarity and the right to asylum as it is presented in the German constitution (Bundesregierung, 2015).

Brekke and Brochmann (2015) identify two main challenges for the DR which remain unresolved despite its two reforms: first, "the principle of 'first country of arrival' lays a disproportional burden on the countries on Europe's southern border (e.g., Italy and Greece); and second, differences in reception conditions, processing ability, and access to social rights prompt regime competition" (p. 4).

They further point out that “differences among the member states in living standards, labour-market conditions, and access to government support create incentives for asylum seekers to move on from the first country of asylum to better conditions in other EU countries.” Brekke and Brochmann’s (2015) study shows that these challenges have been emphasized by the economic crisis. This is reflected in the collapse of the Greek asylum system and a steady flow of secondary migration from Italy to Sweden, Norway and the UK (Brekke & Brochmann, 2015, p. 14). The authors furthermore found that the refugees’ strategies were influenced by the DR before entering the EU as they attempted to circumvent registration at arrival and strove to find asylum in a country with higher standards. With the risk of getting stuck in the arrival country in mind but still endeavored to travel further, asylum seekers might not attempt to integrate (Brekke & Brochmann, 2015, p. 16). A motivation to advance further, were stories of registered asylum seekers who moved on to other countries where they were successful with their re-application for asylum (Brekke & Brochmann, 2015, p. 17). In contrast, the suspension of transfers to Greece in 2011 is illustrated by the authors as a *carte blanche* for migrants who entered the EU there to move on to a country of their choice for their asylum application (Brekke & Brochmann, 2015, p. 16). Here the question might arise whether migrants could or should be sent to specific states or how could the distribution of migrants be approached.

## **2.2. The Concept of Burden Sharing**

Within the concept of burden sharing, researchers study “how the costs of common initiatives or the provision of international public goods should be shared between states” (Thielemann, 2003, p. 253). Apart from what might sound like an entirely normative approach researchers explore the motives for cooperation in such common initiatives or burden sharing systems. Besides its roots in welfare economics and significance in military cooperation (Suhrke 1998), the concept of burden sharing has gained elevated importance in the distribution of refugees and more specifically in policy analysis such as of the DR.

Suhrke (1998) explains how a burden sharing scheme of refugees can be as attractive as an insurance scheme, especially for countries in a region where mass movements are likely. It holds the guarantee of a state not having to face a refugee crisis by itself. This further assures the persistence of the institution of asylum because states will rather offer protection when the burden is shared (Suhrke, 1998). The underlying principle of burden sharing in this area is the jointly held moral obligation of helping refugees under international law. A burden sharing framework for refugees would potentially make state’s responses more predictable, lower transaction costs and lead to a greater international order in times of a migration crisis (Suhrke, 1998). What makes burden sharing in this area more difficult, in comparison to other transnational flows like environmental effects or finances, is the elevated issue of social membership. This arises as refugees have to be included in the host society in some way (Suhrke, 1998).

In Boswell's study (2003) the DR is mentioned as a form of burden sharing in the EU. In her research, Boswell examined the refugee dispersal systems of the UK and Germany and analyzed their applicability to the EU level. The similarity she found in both countries was that the dispersal systems were initiated to encounter the increasing numbers of refugees. There, burden sharing was established through existing redistribution patterns between regions or compelled top-down by the central government but with monetary compensation in place. Three objectives to these burden sharing systems were identified (Boswell, 2003). The first one is the distribution of reception and assistance costs among the regions. The second goal is to lessen social tensions in certain areas with an accumulation of refugees. Finally, the deterrence of prospective refugees is identified as an objective of burden sharing systems. Vink & Meijerink (2003, p. 301) note that while the Dublin Convention refers to the concept of burden sharing it is not premised as an instrument of burden sharing. Instead, they argue that it is primarily based on the principle of responsibility. This is because exactly one member state is held responsible for an asylum application one by one. It is further argued, that the Dublin Convention results in merely an indirect redistribution of refugees. This increases its significance for burden sharing merely to some extent (Vink & Meijerink, 2003, p. 303).

Contrarily, Boswell (2003) explains this attribution of responsibility to represent one form of burden sharing. She illustrates that defining which state is responsible for an asylum claim will enhance the state's acceptance of responsibility to prevent irregular migration. She explains that "by making states responsible for assessing the claims of asylum seekers who have illegally traveled through their country, such a system could encourage them to accept greater responsibility for controlling irregular flows" (p. 328). This might result in higher sympathy for enlarging border security but also possibly for deeper burden sharing. Furthermore, Vink & Meijerink (2003) found a relation between policy and burden regarding asylum with their analysis. Particularly, rather restrictive policies by major receiving countries do impact the deterrence of refugees and hence their burden. In their research they found a negative correlation between the numeral asylum applications and recognition rates. From these findings they derive the development of a condition for an implicit process of burden sharing.

In her study on burden-sharing during refugee emergencies, Suhrke (1998) identifies two particular origins of the academic and policy debate on burden-sharing. One is rooted in welfare economics and concentrates on the subject of public goods which incorporates the issue of financing. The other one concerns military cooperation in the 1970s and focuses on the question of who would bring in which proportion of the defense burden. What the author identifies as shared in both debates is the reference to the logic of collective action by Olson (1965). This is further specified by Thielemann (2003) offering two approaches to burden sharing theory: the cost-benefit logic and the norm-based logic. These were adapted from the two logics of social action by March and Olsen (1998, as cited in Thielemann 2003). Within the cost-benefit logic it is emphasized that "actors assess their goals, interests and desires independently of institutions" (Thielemann 2003, p. 254). Apart from that the

norm-based logic accentuates that “motivations, choices and strategic calculations of political actors are framed by institutional context” (Thielemann 2003, p. 254). Both logics offer diverse and possibly contradictory explanations to why states would cooperate in a burden sharing system.

Based on the cost-benefit logic, Thielemann (2003) developed two hypotheses which address the public goods model and the joint product model. He claims that the public goods approach has the largest influence on burden sharing theory. According to this approach “co-operation produces positive-sum benefits which in turn creates the will to share burdens/costs among actors as the benefits of the contribution exceed its costs” (Thielemann 2003, p. 255). Furthermore, the pattern of free-riding is derived from this concept. As actions of large states have a stronger effect on the outcome, their input will be bigger which further encourages smaller states to free-ride as their contribution would hardly make a difference in comparison (Thielemann 2003). Apart from that, the joint product model suggests that the scope of excludable benefits for a state determine its demeanor towards a burden sharing scheme. Besides bargaining powers, the proximity of a state to the conflict might play a role here as it affects the interest of resolving it. Also Thielemann (2003) offered two hypotheses corresponding to the norm-based logic which attend to the approaches of solidarity and norm-commitment. The solidarity approach is based on the norm of fairness and explains the willingness to cooperate with the group’s devotion of the abidance by the outcome of collective decision making or with a concern for the prosperity of the other members just because of the membership. The solidarity approach explains the cooperation in a burden sharing scheme with “the recognition of special obligations between the members of a group” (Thielemann 2003, p.258) which leads to a concern for the prosperity of the other members just because of the membership. Furthermore, solidarity is found in a group where actors are committed to the outcome of collective decision making. According to the norm-commitment approach a state is more likely to take part in a burden sharing scheme when committed to specific norms in relation to the scheme or when it is believed and expected that the scheme will protect particular norms such as human rights. In this way it is expected that a state with high investments in developmental aid and social spending would be willing to cooperate in a burden sharing scheme of refugees.

However, Betts (2003) found that the joint product model should be given more attention in the research on burden sharing systems concerning refugee distribution. Beside state specific security benefits that are already discussed in the literature (Suhrke 1998, Thielemann 2003) he discovered excludable selfless and prestige benefits for certain states which arise with the asylum provision. Then again Thielemann (2003) concludes that both logics play a role for the cooperation in refugee distribution according to the results of his research. However, he came to dismiss the common model of public goods and found ambiguous evidence for the joint product model. Concerning the norm-based rationale his results showed modest support for the solidarity approach and stronger support for the norm-commitment.

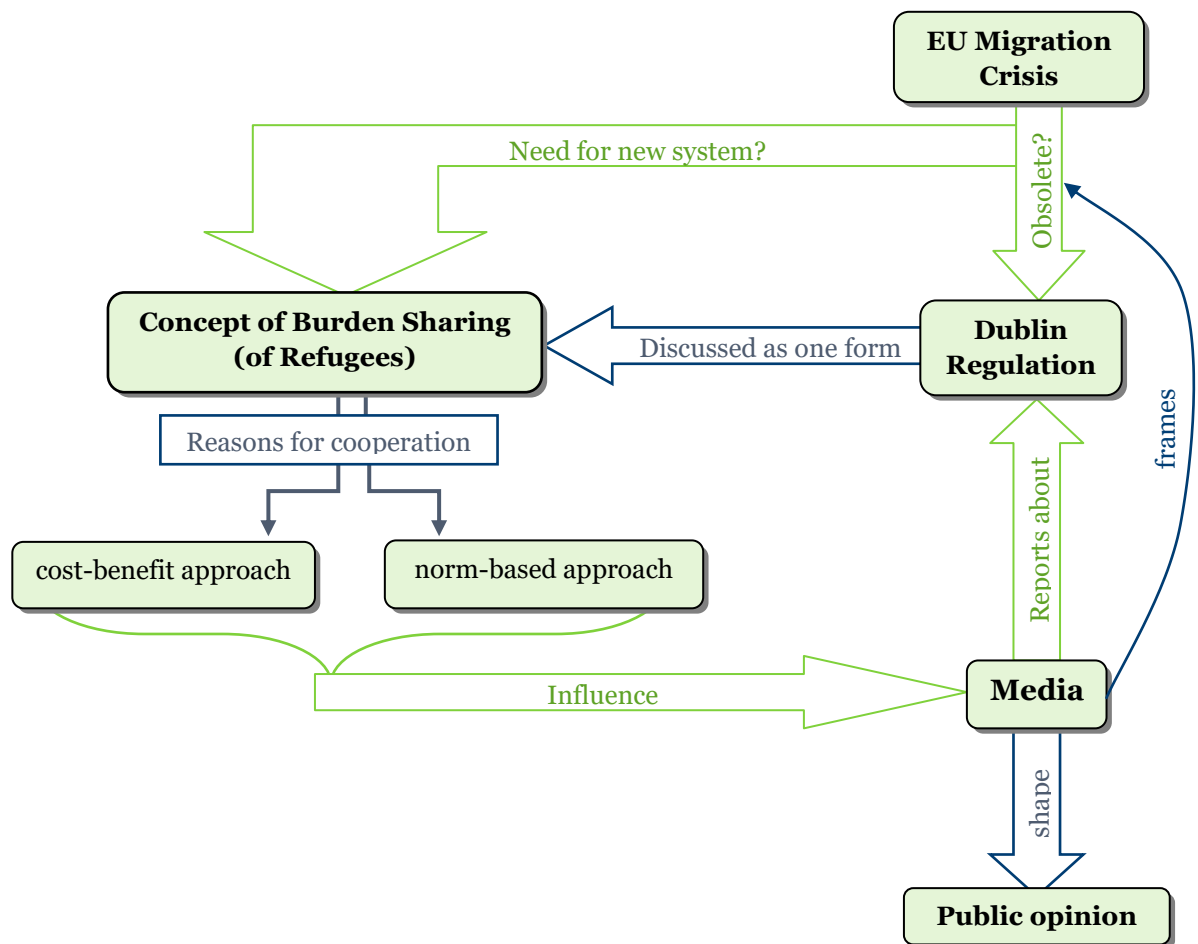
### **2.3. The Role of the Media**

Since the object under investigation in this thesis is the newspaper reportage on the DR, a great deal of attention should be put on the connotation of media. As noted by Ball-Rokeach and DeFleur (1976), within media lies the capacity to approach cognitive, emotional and behavioral effects of specific themes to the public. Certainly, the accelerated technological progress of the last decades that brought widespread access to the internet, led to a decline in the circulation of newspapers. However, newspapers are still relevant and have not vanished. The media's role is to contribute to the shaping of public opinion as ascribed from both normative perspective and systems theory (Beck 2013). This is further emphasized by Luhmann (1996/2000) who pointed out that "Whatever we know about our society, or indeed about the world in which we live, we know through the mass media." From the perspective of dependency theory the impact of media rises in times of social or structural conflict and change, as this is when people's dependency on media is increased (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976). The European migration crisis represents such change and thus, it can be derived that the media's impact is elevated here. This acts as a solid base for an analysis of the press reportage on the failing of the DR which will be carried out for this study.

### **2.4. Conceptual Framework**

To summarize this chapter, the model of the conceptual framework for the thesis at hand is laid out. It provides an overview of the different theoretical concepts that were introduced and are used to support the analysis. These concepts are highlighted with blue arrows, whereas the green arrows indicate where the empirical analysis ties in with the concepts.

Figure 1: Model of Conceptual Framework



## Methodology

In this chapter the methodological strategy for the present thesis will be laid out. For answering the proposed research question ‘To what extent can the press reportage on the alleged failing of the Dublin system be explored with the concept of burden sharing?’ a qualitative approach is utilized. More precisely, a content analysis of newspaper articles is carried out. This chapter is structured by firstly introducing the research design, secondly explaining the method of data collection and thirdly outlining the method of data analysis and finally discussing the operationalization of the research questions.

### 3.1. Research Design

In order to facilitate the analysis for the present thesis, the research design of a comparative qualitative case study with three cases is applied. The cases under investigation are the three EU member states UK, Germany, and Austria. From these cases, it can be expected that the national media report differently or even contradictory about the failing of the DR as they differ numbers of receiving refugees in past.

Furthermore, the case selection is restricted to English and German speaking countries within Europe. This is due to language limitations, the regarding feasibility, time and costs, as it is necessary to fully understand the content of the data. In order to gain a preferable broad overview of the news reportage, the sources are selected from newspapers from different European countries where the DR is applicable. These are the UK, Ireland, Malta, Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Switzerland is included as the DR is applicable there despite the fact that it is not a member state of the EU. However, for the further selection of newspapers, possible different ideological leanings should be taken into account. The various papers address different groups of readers and it is likely that they report about asylum differently. With this differentiation, the range in the plurality of political opinions can be approached (Hartwich, 2014). In that way, the data will not only be derived from English left-liberal press and German conservative ones or vice versa. This is desirable, as articles should be comparable to some extent and wrong implications might be drawn otherwise. Thus, newspapers with similar slants are selected from each country. For the most part, quality press can be assigned to the distinguishable leanings of left-liberal, conservative and independent. As an equal number of newspapers with similar leanings were not accessible for each of the five mentioned countries, the selection had to be adapted slightly. Again, it is desirable to analyze the same number of newspapers for each slant and country so that the data is comprised of articles that are comparable. Therefore, the selection of countries had to be reduced to the UK, Germany and Austria, as for solely these countries out of the initial six, newspapers with the different leanings of left-liberal and conservative were accessible through databases.

### 3.2. Data Collection

By and large, 84 articles about the DR from six newspapers have been selected and analyzed from two climactic periods of respectively one month from the last year. From each of the two periods and six papers respectively seven articles were selected, equaling 84. To illustrate this calculation:  $2 \cdot 6 \cdot 7 = 84$ . The first climactic period from when articles were selected begins on August 25, 2015 as this was when newspapers first reported on Germany's freeze of transfers for Syrian refugees and spans over one month until September 24. The second period spans from April 5 as then the EU's proposal to revise the DR was firstly mentioned in the papers until May 4. At the time of these events, the DR received a higher attention in the media and was discussed in newspapers more frequently. However, this raised attention on the topic might result in to some extent biased news coverage with a more colorful language. From these two months 42 articles respectively were selected that report about the DR. A list of all selected articles can be found in the appendix.

From the three countries of Austria, Germany and the UK two newspapers each were selected which is displayed in a table below. From each newspaper seven articles were selected from each of the two time periods, adding to a total of 84 articles. The articles are retrieved from the 'Lexis-Nexis' database and individual databases from newspapers, all accessible via the university's network.

*Table 1: Newspaper Selection*

Country	Newspaper by Leaning	
	Left-liberal	Conservative
UK	The Guardian	The Daily Telegraph
Germany	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
Austria	Der Standard	Die Presse

Following, the selected newspapers are listed and abbreviations are introduced in brackets. For the UK, 'The Guardian' (TG) was selected as a left-liberal newspaper and 'The Daily Telegraph' (TDT) as a conservative newspaper. For Germany, 'Süddeutsche Zeitung' (SZ) was selected representative for left-liberal press and 'Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung' (FAZ) for conservative press. For Austria, 'Der Standard' (DS) was selected as a left-liberal newspaper and 'Die Presse' (DP) as a conservative newspaper.

Through an initial search for relevant newspaper articles a variety of terms used for the DR were found and are displayed in the following table.

Table 2: Terms used for DR: Dublin +

English language newspapers	German language newspapers
regulation	Regelung, Verordnung
III	III, III-Verordnung
convention	Abkommen
procedures	Verfahren
rules	Regeln, Asylregelungen
protocol	Grundprinzip
agreement	Regime
system	System
accord	Regelwerk
treaty	Verträge

As these are quite a number of terms that are used in the press, the search was facilitated by utilizing only the keyword ‘Dublin’ which was then refined by the use of index terms. The British and Austrian papers were accessed through the ‘Lexis-Nexis’ database where the following index terms were applied: ‘Politics’ or ‘Refugees’ or ‘European Union’ or ‘European Migration Crisis’. The German newspapers were both accessed through their individual online archives (FAZ and SZ ‘Archiv’). Here the search was specified within searching of just the Politics department (‘Ressort Politik’) and additionally for the FAZ with the country selection “EU”. By using this broad keyword, some individual articles came up which were irrelevant regarding content. This includes articles about the airport in Dublin or the company Facebook Inc. These articles were removed before selecting the relevant articles. For each newspaper and climactic period seven articles were selected. In cases where more than seven articles were available the following strategies were applied in the order of mention: firstly, articles were selected according to document length with a range of 200-3000 words. When further reduction was necessary, extra articles from the same day were removed in no particular order but to receive one article per day at the maximum. If still more than seven articles were left, in a last step articles were selected evenly spread across the time span. For example the search in the first climactic period for The Guardian produced articles from the 26<sup>th</sup> of August, 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, 23<sup>rd</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> of September. Here the articles from September 3<sup>rd</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup> were removed from the selection for it to be made up of seven articles which are evenly spread across the respective period of time.

### 3.3. Data Analysis

To facilitate answering the research questions, the selected newspaper articles are analyzed using a content analysis. This approach allows for contextualized interpretation of ideas (Schreier 2012) of the

two cost-benefit and norm-based logics expressed in the newspaper articles. In this way it further clarifies how the theoretical reasons for cooperation in a refugee distribution scheme are actually phrased by the media and represented in society. As defined by Hsieh and Shannon (2005, p. 1278), qualitative content analysis is ‘a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns’. As the proposed data to be analyzed offer a large amount of text, the systematic manner of content analysis is considered a suitable approach to analyze and interpret the newspaper coverage of the DR. Furthermore, this process of analysis can shed light on underlying meanings and structures. The meaning of data is systematically described through classifying the data according to the categories of a coding frame (Schreier, 2012). Unlike other qualitative methods such as hermeneutics, qualitative content analysis will not offer a holistic overview of the data. Instead, the angle from which the data is examined is specified by the research question which itself is mirrored in the coding frame. In order to stay close to the theory and keep the analysis strictly structured, a deductive approach to content analysis is utilized. This approach might cause some bias but ensures a systematic and structured analysis. In this manner, key aspects or components are identified from the concept of burden sharing as a first step. Then these components are used to define main coding categories which are operationalized in a next step, or rather explained explicitly in line with the theory. This coding scheme builds the framework for interpreting and analyzing the newspaper articles. In order to maintain a more structured overview and organize the articles and progress of the analysis, the computer application ATLAS.ti is used. After reading the articles, passages of text will be assigned to the categories. In the course of the analysis, it is expected to refine the coding scheme according to the content of the articles. Patterns between categories will be further identified, analyzed and interpreted.

### 3.4. Operationalization

The following section lays out how the presented concepts are practically used for the empirical analysis that is to follow. The research questions and including items are operationalized and the resulting coding categories are displayed. Since it is likely that the coding scheme will be further specified during the analysis with new categories and subcategories emerging, the final list of categories will be added to the appendix. As the main research question was further divided into two subquestions for additional clarification, this scheme is useful to structure the present section as well.

Central RQ: To what extent can the press reportage on the alleged failing of the Dublin system be explored with the concept of burden sharing?

The selected articles all mention the DR and it is to be seen how and in what depth they report about it. One objective is to find statements that call for or imply a burden sharing system for refugee distribution in the EU and alternatively statements against it.

(1) How do newspapers report the alleged failing of the Dublin system in the management of the Syrian refugee crisis?

It is likely that the media will allege the DR to have failed and cite corresponding politician's statements. However, it will be of interest to see if and what valuation will be assigned to that and if the Syrian refugee crisis will be agreed upon the press to be the cause of the DR's alleged failing. Furthermore, suggestions and concrete proposals of alternatives to the existing system and the regarding valuation will be searched for.

(2) To what extent is this newspaper reportage influenced by a cost-benefit and norm-based logic?

The analysis is set out to utilize the two logics of social action presented by Thielemann (2003). The articles are studied for statements that are in line with either the cost-benefit or norm-based rationale as they were conceptualized in chapter 2, the theory section. According to the cost-benefit logic, bigger states are willing to take a higher burden while smaller states would be more likely to free-ride (public goods model). Furthermore, the joint product model suggests that increased bargaining power and other linkage benefits increase willingness to share the burden. Thus e.g. Mediterranean countries would be more willing to cooperate in a burden sharing system as their proximity to the conflict gives them a larger incentive of resolving it. According to the norm-based rationale, a state's commitment to particular norms (e.g. such as human rights, development aid development aid, social spending) and protection of certain rights is related to its willingness to accept a burden.

The following coding categories were developed for both subquestions:

- (1) DR – New System – Willingness Burden Sharing
- (2) Displayed in a table below

*Table 3: Categories for logics of social action*

	Logics	Approaches	Reasons for cooperation	Keywords
The Concept of Burden Sharing	Cost-benefit rationale	Public goods	According to effect of outcome	Wave through
		Joint product	according to scale of excludable benefits	Linkage benefits, bargaining
	Norm-based rationale	Solidarity	according to capacity	Fair, equal
		Norm commitment	according to commitment to specific norms	Values, Humanitarian

While coding, the following issue arose for the joint product approach concerning the EU - Turkey deal: e.g. TG15\_7 “Turkey has quickly emerged as the lynchpin of European attempts to contain and manage the crisis, putting Ankara in a strong bargaining position.” This quotation could be seen as in line with the joint product approach although it poses Turkey (as opposed to an EU member state) with the bargaining power and therefore this is where the excludable benefit would be assigned to. Since the object of study in this thesis is a possible burden sharing system (as a new system following the DR) within the EU, the case of Turkey is not of relevance and it was decided to exclude statements of the line from the analysis/coding.

## Analysis

This chapter is dedicated to presenting the findings from the 84 newspaper articles which have been content analyzed in regard to the concept of burden sharing and the DR. These articles were from the UK, Austria and Germany with each country contributing the same number (28) of articles and half of the articles from conservative and the other half from left-liberal newspapers. The analysis was focused on articles from two climactic periods – stretching around the months of September 2015 and April 2016. The newspaper analysis brought forth three core elements which guided the research and will be used to structure this chapter. Firstly was the reportage on the Dublin system, secondly the proposals for a new system and leaning towards burden sharing and lastly the influence of the two logics of social action.

From the 84 articles that have been selected for analysis, 14 could not be assigned to any category whilst coding. Initially, they were part of the selected articles because they mentioned the DR but during the analysis they turned out as non-relevant. These articles included stories about politicians, the journey of individual refugees or national draft bills.

### 3.5. Reportage on the Dublin System

During the press analysis of the reportage on the DR several patterns across the articles emerged. The identified patterns are criticism, crisis-evoked failing, Germany's freeze of transfers and magnet factor. These patterns will be utilized to structure this section.

*Table 4: Appearance of criticism on the DR in number of articles*

Country	UK		Austria		Germany		Subtotal		Total
Newspaper	TG	TDT	DS	DP	SZ	FAZ	Left-liberal	Conser-vative	
Count	4	2	4	2	4	4	12	8	20
Total	6		6		8				

Statements that reported explicitly critical on the Dublin system were found in only twenty articles. In the German press the highest number of critical articles towards the DR was found with a count of 8 and with equal contributions from both newspapers. In contrast to this in the British and Austrian media especially the left-liberal press reported critically on the DR with contributions of respectively four as opposed to two articles in the conservative papers. An explanation for the described outcome in the German media might be the background of the Governments' suspension of the rule. This is expected to cause a generally more critical view on the regulation on one side. On the other side, this criticism is also expressed more frequently by the conservative FAZ as it can be seen as rather close to

the Christian-democratic government and therefore might report in line with its actions. However, only the British conservative press (TDT) also reported favorably on the DR in two other articles that were analyzed. Here, the DR is clearly described as a helpful means to the restrictive British asylum system as it “lets Britain deport around 1,000 asylum seekers a year” (TDT16\_4) and more generally “allows states to send back migrants” (TDT16\_7). Also, it reports rather hopefully about the option for the UK to keep the DR if the EU chooses to replace it with a quota scheme. The issue of lacking harmonization is further found in a number of articles.

The analysis uncovered that the alleged failing of the DR was reasoned in nine articles with the ongoing refugee crisis. These articles report that the DR has indeed failed or collapsed and identify the refugee crisis as the main reason. Five of these articles are from Germany, three from Austria and only one from the UK. This distribution might be due to the varying relevance of both the DR and the crisis in these countries: the UK accommodated smaller numbers of refugees in comparison to the other two countries which can be linked to more restrictive policies but also its geographical location. Generally, these articles state that the DR is not sustainable and collapsed because of the high burden brought on by the crisis. Other reasons stated are missing solidarity and more specifically missing rule compliance of certain states. In this context Germany’s freeze on transfers for Syrian refugees is also mentioned as a reason for the failing of the DR in a citation of the European Commission by The Guardian (TG15\_7). This policy implementation or interpretation by Germany was furthermore discussed in a number of articles as displayed in a table below.

*Table 5: Articles Reporting About Germany’s Freeze of Transfers for Syrian Refugees*

<b>Country</b>	<b>UK</b>		<b>Austria</b>		<b>Germany</b>		<b>Subtotal</b>		<b>Total</b>
<b>Newspaper</b>	TG	TDT	DS	DP	SZ	FAZ	Left-liberal	Conser-vative	
	6	5	4	3	3	2	13	10	23
<b>Total</b>	11		7		5				

Concerning the media coverage on Germany’s freeze of transfers for Syrian refugees, the analysis disclosed 34 statements in 23 articles. The majority was contributed by the British press; a smaller contribution was made by the Austrian and the smallest by the German press. The left-liberal papers produced exactly one article more per country than its conservative counterpart. The analysis further revealed that The Guardian reports about this procedure as it was only a matter of time that an incident like this occurred since the DR “has been under strain for years” (TG16\_1). It also calls it “a relaxing” (TG15\_1) of the DR instead of a suspension or “tearing up the EU’s rulebook” (TDT15\_2) that is rather used in the conservative press. The Daily Telegraph (TDT15\_6) reported that with the suspension of the DR, Merkel “exacerbated the migration crisis now threatening to overwhelm her country” after trains with refugees arrived in Munich and supports this with a quote by Sigmar Gabriel

saying Germany was at its limits. Interestingly, an article from the same time in The Guardian (TG15\_6) uses a larger quote by Gabriel where he reasons this with the inaction of Europe. This demonstrates quite nicely how differently the left-liberal and conservative papers report about the migration crisis. These differentiations were foremost found in the two British newspapers each of which are known to be affiliated politically, with TG associated to the Labour party and TDT also known as 'Torygraph' (BBC 2009). The analysis disclosed another example of the line with TDT and the German left-liberal newspaper SZ. In the German article (SZ15\_1) Merkel is quoted saying that welcoming and helping refugees was natural for the Germans and that it came from their hearts. Then again TDT reports that "many Germans [...] feel that they have taken more than their fair share" (TDT15\_2) which shows that the realities produced by these papers are not matching.

The German conservative paper FAZ reports how other member states ask for clarification and that the government claims to not having suspended the DR but rather modified for practical reasons and that there was just a high possibility for Syrians of making their asylum claim in Germany (FAZ15\_2). The Austrian conservative newspaper DP reports more critically about this issue as well. It quotes Faymann with a suspension of the DR should only be done when there is a new system in place (DP15\_2). Then again the left-liberal paper DS puts the focus more on the view of other European countries, with Greece supporting Germany's decision (DS15\_1) and Croatia calling upon it (i.e. Germany's decision) whilst waving through the refugees (DS15\_7). Nevertheless, it reports about the demand for a suspension of the DR by the vice-mayor of Vienna and by the asylum coordinator who said that it would be a relief for the Austrian authorities (DS15\_2).

This line of coverage has disclosed another pattern: the magnet factor which was apparent in seven of the 23 articles discussed prior and four more that were in another context. Six of the articles discussed point to the fact that Germany's procedure creates a magnet or pull factor for other refugees to begin their journey to the EU. Especially the conservative papers made use of this pattern, with TDT contributing two articles, one contribution each from DP, FAZ and also from the left-liberal DS and TG. In opposition to that stands another article of the FAZ stating that Merkel would not accept the blame and claims that she is not responsible for more refugees trying to get to Germany (FAZ15\_2). The other four articles report other issues that generate a magnet factor. Here, the German press focuses on actions from recent years such as the 'waving through politics' of some countries (SZ16\_6) but also EU measures like the sea rescue, work permits and social benefits that are similar to those of EU citizens (FAZ15\_5), whereas the British media rather examine possible future courses of action that could cause a pull factor. Here, TDT mentions this as an argument against a burden sharing scheme (TDT15\_2) and TG quotes the government as unwilling to receive unaccompanied children (TG16\_5).

### 3.6. New System and Willingness towards Burden Sharing

The second section of the analysis chapter will lay out how the articles under research reported about the future of the DR and the openness towards a burden sharing system. Concerning the future of the DR, only 10 articles posed ideas for alternative approaches and new systems which is displayed in a table below.

*Table 6: Articles Proposing Ideas for the Future of the DR*

Country	UK		Austria		Germany		Subtotals		Total
Newspaper	TG	TDT	DS	DP	SZ	FAZ	Left-liberal	Conservative	
	1	1	1	2	4	1	6	4	10
<b>Total</b>	2		3		5				

Half (5) of the articles proposing alternative approaches and new systems was contributed by the German press, with a vast majority (4) by the left-liberal SZ. The other half was divided almost evenly upon the remaining newspapers with one article each although with the exception of the Austrian conservative paper DP, which contributed two articles. It was further differentiated between the proposals of alternative approaches to conquer the migration crisis and suggestions for concrete new systems. Regarding alternative approaches, a two-speed Europe for the asylum system is suggested (FAZ15\_1) as it was done for the Euro. The SZ proposes to extend financial aid for Libanon, Jordan and Turkey (SZ15\_2) and to build cities for refugees in North Africa (SZ16\_7). Concerning a new system, suggestions from the two types of newspapers differ greatly. While the left-liberal DS suggests to focus on more Europe, including a quota scheme, true harmonization of reception conditions and the establishment of reception centres (DS15\_4), conservative TDT proposes an “every-man-for-himself” (TDT15\_2) approach. The German papers both discuss financial approaches with the conservative press suggesting financial compensation (FAZ15\_1) whereas the left-liberal paper leans more towards offering financial incentives for each received refugee (SZ15\_3). While the importance of securing the EU’s external borders is emphasized in both conservative articles TDT15\_2 and DP15\_4, the left-liberal TG15\_4 calls for a more whole approach with new rules concerning where refugees are processed, about internal travel and an agreement on who will receive asylum and where they will live and work.

Rather than suggesting truly new options for a system to follow the DR, the analysis revealed a number of articles that reported about the new options for the DR that have been proposed by the EU which is displayed in a table below.

*Table 7: Articles Reporting About New Options Proposed by EU*

<b>Country</b>	<b>UK</b>		<b>Austria</b>		<b>Germany</b>		<b>Subtotals</b>		<b>Total</b>
<b>Newspaper</b>	TG	TDT	DS	DP	SZ	FAZ	Left-liberal	Conser-vative	
	4	2	3	5	6	7	13	14	27
<b>Total</b>	6		7		13				

In 27 articles, the new options proposed by the EU are discussed. German papers make up the largest contribution with 13 articles compared to 7 by Austria and 6 by the UK. The articles are almost divided equally across the newspapers of different political affiliation. In 2015, the EU tried to allocate a number of refugees with the use of a quota scheme. In April 2016, this was again part of their proposal among two other following new options for the future of the DR. The EU offered a so-called corrective fairness mechanism that builds upon the existing system but provides for the allocation of refugees from states under high pressure in times of a crisis. This mechanism would also incorporate a financial so-called solidarity contribution from states who refuse to receive refugees. The third proposal by the EU concerns the centralization of the asylum system under its agency EASO.

Besides the frequent appearance of the EU's options in the analyzed articles, there is hardly any discussion of it but rather a provision of objective information for the reader. Nevertheless, in some articles the options are discussed and that mostly with a negative connotation. Especially the refugee quota is discussed negatively, as impractical and merely enforceable. For example, DP writes that the suggestions are far away from reality (DP16\_3) and TDT remarks just that "Brussels is to demand yet more money to bolster the EU's failing policies" (TDT16\_5). However, the SZ does report about the options positively (SZ15\_5 & SZ16\_5) and often refers to solidarity.

Another objective of the analysis was to find statements concerning the willingness to cooperate in a burden sharing system. This willingness can have the value of negative and positive and for clarification this subchapter differentiates between the terms deterrence and receptiveness. Deterrence was utilized to code statements arguing against a burden sharing system and receptiveness was the category used for coding expressions in favor (of a burden sharing system). In 31 articles, 45 statements concerning the willingness towards a burden sharing system were found and the explicit distribution is displayed in a table below.

Table 8: Willingness towards Burden Sharing System in Number of Articles

Country	UK		Austria		Germany		Subtotals		Totals
Newspaper	TG	TDT	DS	DP	SZ	FAZ	Left-liberal	Conser-vative	
Deterrence	1	4	4	1	3	3	8	8	16
Subtotal	5		5		6				
Receptiveness	3	1	2	1	2	1	7	3	10
Subtotal	4		3		3				
Both	1	1	-	-	3	-	4	1	5
	2		-		3				
Subtotal	5	6	6	2	8	4			
Total	11		8		12		19	12	31

The analysis revealed that 31 articles include statements in favor or against a burden sharing system. The contribution of the left-liberal papers was somewhat higher with 19 articles compared to 12 from the conservative press. Taking a look at the distribution between the countries, the articles from the Austrian media make up the smallest portion with 8 articles, compared to 11 (UK) and 12 (Germany). The value of willingness predominantly found is deterrence which is found in 16 articles with an equal division over both types of newspapers. Receptiveness was identified in 10 articles and was foremost utilized in the left-liberal press with a contribution of 7 articles compared to 3 articles from the conservative papers. There were 5 articles that included statements associated with both values, where only one was contributed by a conservative paper (TDT) and the remaining 4 by left-liberal. Now these findings indicate that (far) more articles take a stance against a burden sharing system than in favor (of it). The left-liberal papers show rather a tendency towards a positive willingness (of burden sharing) but the contribution of articles is also higher (compared to the conservative press) as was to be expected. Interestingly, the division between the two types of newspapers is exactly the other way around for deterrence in the British and Austrian papers. The largest contribution of articles comes from the SZ with 8 articles and the smallest from DP with merely 2. Following, an example each will be given for deterrence and receptiveness. In TDT15\_2 it is stated that “Britain, with a strong economy, is a powerful draw for migrants but we are outside the borderless Schengen area and Theresa May is determined to keep asylum seekers out of the UK.” Whereas the SZ15\_2 reports how states that used to be hesitant like Spain and Portugal finally came around to receive the assigned number of refugees.

### 3.7. Influence Logics of Social Action

Another element of the analysis was to find statements in line with the two logics of social action. The analysis revealed 45 statements that were found in 36 articles. The distribution of the cost-benefit logic and the norm-based logic are displayed in a table below.

Table 9: Appearance of Cost-Benefit and Norm-Based Logics in Number of Articles

Country	UK		Austria		Germany		Subtotals		Totals
Newspaper	TG	TDT	DS	DP	SZ	FAZ	Left-liberal	Conser-vative	
Cost-benefit	1	1	1	-	1	-	3	1	4
Subtotal	2		1		1				
Norm-based	9	1	2	5	10	3	21	9	30
Subtotal	10		7		13				
Both logics	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	1	2
Subtotal	10	2	3	6	12	3			
Total	12		9		15		25	11	36

It becomes immediately apparent that the cost-benefit rationale was found in far fewer articles than the norm-based rationale, with an amount of 4 as opposed to 30 (appearances). A few similarities can be found concerning the division of articles between countries, the types of newspapers and the unique distribution in the Austrian media. Germany contributes the most articles (15) followed by the UK (12) and Austria (9). The left-liberal press prevails the contribution of the conservative with 25 articles compared to 11. The Austrian conservative paper (DP) contributes twice as many articles as the left-liberal paper (DS). This is clearly divided the other way around for the other two countries where the left-liberal press contributes the fourfold (Germany) and fivefold (UK) amount of articles of the conservative papers. Since the appearance of the cost-benefit rationale is so low its distribution is almost negligible. Whereas when looking at the distribution of the norm-based rationale over the newspapers of different political affiliation, the analysis has shown that it was found more frequently in the left-liberal press with the exception of the Austrian media. Possible reason for this outcome is foremost the association of the two logics with a general willingness to burden sharing as this is what these logics deliver reasons for.

A more precise distribution gives insights to the four approaches associated with the cost-benefit logic and the norm-based logic. The analysis revealed only 2 articles which included statements in line with the public goods model which were found in the British and German left-liberal press. TG reports that only strong states are capable of supporting those in need on a large scale” (TG16\_4). In the contribution of the SZ it is described how most countries let refugees pass through since they want to

continue forward to Germany or Sweden anyway (SZ15\_2). For the joint product model, corresponding statements were found in 5 articles with one in each newspaper but the German conservative FAZ. The majority of these statements refer to excludable linkage or bargaining benefits. So displays this example from TDT15\_2 “as the crisis boosts the british no campaign, [...] Cameron [...] has, moreover, a direct interest in reforming the EU's migration regime as it is bound to loom large in the coming referendum.” The solidarity approach was found in the highest number of articles by far with 20. For the most part, it was either discussed as needed for the European asylum system or it was claimed to be missing. Often (9 cases), solidarity is mentioned as an aim for European migration policies and most newspapers agree that it should be the premiss used for a possible distribution of refugees within the EU. However, this was often discussed without going into detail on any concrete suggestions or policy proposals. For the approach of norm commitment, 9 articles were discovered that incorporate correspondent statements. Three of these were each contributed by the left-liberal TG and SZ, two more by the Austrian conservative paper DP and the remaining one article from DS, whereas again there was no contribution by FAZ. The Austrian and German left-liberal papers reported how human rights were part of Europe’s foundation and that it was obliged to help refugees. However, TG contributed three articles quoting the British government and its representatives arguing that it was foremost “concentrating its efforts on helping refugees before they reach Europe” (TG16\_3) and explaining a rather restrictive policy with “already helping children within the refugee camps in the Middle East” (TG16\_5).

The presented findings will be utilized to pose conclusions to this research in the following chapter and answers to the research questions will be given.

## Conclusion

The final chapter to this thesis provides an overview to the key insights that have been developed and the posed research questions are answered. This is carried out in reference to the findings of the analysis that were presented in the previous chapter and the outlaid conceptual framework of the third chapter. The subquestions to the central research question are utilized once more to structure this chapter.

(1) How do newspapers report the alleged failing of the Dublin system in the management of the Syrian refugee crisis?

The analysis revealed a number of patterns across the newspaper articles. Firstly, criticism on the DR was identified which was especially utilized by the German press, whereas the British conservative media reported less critically and even in favor of the DR as the only newspaper. The issue of lacking harmonization in the asylum system as it was described by several scholars that have been introduced in the second chapter of this thesis was also quite often found in the media analysis. The line of reasoning to the DR's alleged failing that was posed in the newspapers included simply the high burdens brought on by the refugee crisis and Germany's actions therein. In this line of reporting the pattern magnet factor could be further identified. But also it was reasoned that the DR has not been sustainable in the first place and that the missing solidarity within Europe did its part. As expected, the media reported rather colorful on the topic and Germany's freeze of transfers was overinflated to some extent. This can explain partly that besides all the leveled criticism, merely any viable suggestions for a new system to replace the DR have been posed. Also the new options presented by the EU have been foremost criticized in the analyzed press reportage without offering alternatives.

(2) To what extent is this newspaper reportage influenced by a cost-benefit and norm-based logic?

As both rationales offer reasons to why a state would cooperate in a burden sharing system their occurrence is highly associated with the scale of that willingness. This means the two logics are hardly to be found when willingness is low and it would make it especially hard to find the cost-benefit rationale since it is unlikely to find negatively corresponding statements. This explains to some extent why the public goods model was hardly found in the analysis of the newspaper articles. This remains in opposition to Thielemann's statement that the public goods model has the largest influence in burden sharing theory. This emphasizes the value of the laid out thesis but might as well be due to the chosen method. Concerning the joint product model it should be mentioned that supporting evidence could hardly be found in the analysis. Thielemann's assumption of states being more willing to cooperate when they are closer to a conflict might not pertain to Europe in this case as it is – geographically or possibly only perceived as – not close enough to the civil war in Syria. Although this could be rather the case for countries in the middle east like Lebanon and Jordan which have taken in great numbers of Syrian refugees. Thielemann studied the Kosovo conflict and applied his

hypotheses to actual reception numbers of European states. Since Kosovo is located in Europe a somewhat higher applicability of the assumptions made for the joint product model could be reached. Betts as well argued for the relevance of the joint product model and brought in altruistic and prestige benefits that arise for a state with the provision of asylum. This approach might be applicable for a country like Germany that was criticized but also praised for its actions in the management of the European migration crisis. However, this would be difficult to measure, especially in a content analysis of newspaper articles as it was carried out for this thesis. Still, this remains another angle worth of further investigation, possibly with a discourse analysis of politician's speeches.

The norm-based rationale was discovered much more frequently in the analysis of the newspaper articles than the cost-benefit rationale. Regarding solidarity one has to mention how difficult it is to measure. It certainly was found in the majority of articles as it is frequently mentioned in EU documents but does it really influence politics? Another approach to analyze this issue would be of interest. Solidarity was discussed as a goal but also as missing in the current asylum system. This finding is rather in line with Thielemann's ambiguous results on solidarity. It seems member states rather demand solidarity from others and that it is a nice thing to say but where can it be found in reality? While the approach of norm commitment could be found in several newspaper articles, the findings of this thesis resemble quite the opposite of what Thielemann suggested. His assumption was that states would be more likely to accept refugees when they are committed to certain norms which can be resembled in a state's investments in developmental aid. His research delivered large support for the norm commitment hypothesis. However, the newspaper analysis conducted for the present study would suggest otherwise. It was found that especially the UK utilized its investment in aid for refugees in Syria to justify a rather restrictive asylum policy. In this way it stated that it was already doing enough for the refugees. This leads to the conclusion of dismissing the norm commitment approach. To conclude this thesis the central research question is answered.

To what extent can the press reportage on the alleged failing of the Dublin system be explored with the concept of burden sharing?

One has to conclude that the DR can merely be seen as a starting point for a burden sharing system. The analysis revealed that a leaning against a burden sharing system was prevailing in the newspaper coverage. This made it difficult to identify the two logics of social action in the press articles. Furthermore, the articles hardly dealt with the idea of burden sharing or did at least not offer a point of view. Regarding the future of the allegedly failed DR, only a few alternatives to the existing system are suggested. Instead, mostly criticism is offered on the current political processes, reporting about current happenings and the individual situation in different countries. The concept of burden sharing was certainly a viable and helpful angle for this research, however supporting statements could only be found to a very limited extent.

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## Appendix

### List of Newspaper Articles

No	ID	Title	Date	Newspaper	Country
1	DS16_7	Flüchtlingsquoten: Verweigerern droht offenbar Strafe; Die EU-Kommission wird neue Pläne präsentieren, darunter soll auch ein Vorschlag für Geldstrafen sein	04.05.2016	Der Standard	AT
2	DS16_6	Asylnovelle noch härter: Längere Haft	15.04.2016	Der Standard	AT
3	DS16_5	Preis für Ortschefin und Konvoi; Ute-Bock-Auszeichnung geht heuer an Flüchtlingshelfer	11.04.2016	Der Standard	AT
4	DS16_4	Flüchtlingsrecht ade	09.04.2016	Der Standard	AT
5	DS16_3	Asylreform: EU-Kommission will breite Debatte in Staaten	07.04.2016	Der Standard	AT
6	DS16_2	EU-Kommission tastet sich zur Asylreform vor	06.04.2016	Der Standard	AT
7	DS16_1	Flüchtlings- Notstand ohne aktuelle Not; Das Obergrenzen-Gutachten operiert mit europarechtlich unbestimmten Begriffen	05.04.2016	Der Standard	AT
8	DS15_7	Ranko schickt die Flüchtlinge weiter nach Europa; Mitteleuropa wurde zu Verschiebebahnhof für Flüchtlinge Serbien kritisiert Grenzschießungen	22.09.2015	Der Standard	AT
9	DS15_6	Schönes, schreckliches Europa	19.09.2015	Der Standard	AT
10	DS15_5	Flüchtlinge: Regeln gegen Angst und Hass	14.09.2015	Der Standard	AT
11	DS15_4	Im Schwitzkasten nationaler Interessen	10.09.2015	Der Standard	AT
12	DS15_3	Merkel weist Österreichs Kritik an angeblich laxen Verfahren zurück; Deutsche Bundeskanzlerin betont: Dublin ist nicht ausgesetzt aber geltende Rechtslage wird offensichtlich nicht praktiziert	02.09.2015	Der Standard	AT
13	DS15_2	Grüne fordern Aussetzen der Dublin-Regelung; Syrische Flüchtlinge sollen automatisch bleiben dürfen Mikl-Leitner dagegen	28.08.2015	Der Standard	AT
14	DS15_1	Flüchtlinge: Die EU-Außengrenzen im Mittelpunkt	27.08.2015	Der Standard	AT
15	DP16_7	Brüssel erwägt Strafen im Flüchtlingsstreit	04.05.2016	Die Presse	AT
16	DP16_6	"Von einer Invasion sind wir weit entfernt"	27.04.2016	Die Presse	AT
17	DP16_5	Jammern über Europa: Aber EU kann es schaffen; Gastkommentar. Höchste Zeit, dass wir uns daranmachen, die "Schicksalsgemeinschaft Europa" wieder handlungsfähiger zu gestalten.	11.04.2016	Die Presse	AT
18	DP16_4	Die vergessenen Jugendlichen	10.04.2016	Die Presse	AT

19	DP16_3	An den Grenzen der Gemeinschaft	07.04.2016	Die Presse	AT
20	DP16_2	Zweiter Anlauf zur Flüchtlingsquote	06.04.2016	Die Presse	AT
21	DP16_1	Kommission will Dublin-System reformieren	05.04.2016	Die Presse	AT
22	DP15_7	Blitzbesuch in Transitländern der neuen Balkanroute	18.09.2015	Die Presse	AT
23	DP15_6	Der Zug der Flüchtlinge und die Politik der Symbole	15.09.2015	Die Presse	AT
24	DP15_5	Deutschland gibt uns unsere Verantwortung zurück	14.09.2015	Die Presse	AT
25	DP15_4	Irgendwann wird Deutschland Grenzen setzen müssen	12.09.2015	Die Presse	AT
26	DP15_3	"Eklatante Verletzung europäischen Rechts"	03.09.2015	Die Presse	AT
27	DP15_2	Faymann: "Da mache ich nicht mit"	01.09.2015	Die Presse	AT
28	DP15_1	Lösungen für die Flüchtlingskrise	29.08.2015	Die Presse	AT
29	TDT16_7	Visa-free arrivals from Turkey could disappear in EU; A new plan allows Turkish citizens to visit Europe - but there is no way of keeping track of them	04.05.2016	The Daily Telegraph	UK
30	TDT16_6	Afghan interpreter cases 'shame the UK'	03.05.2016	The Daily Telegraph	UK
31	TDT16_5	Brexit voters will be in the dark over asylum; Europe 2016 ; EU decision on whether to scrap Britain's current deportation rights to be made after referendum	07.04.2016	The Daily Telegraph	UK
32	TDT16_4	Visa-free travel deal imminent for Turkey; European Commission expected to green-light deal tomorrow to ease restrictions by next month	03.05.2016	The Daily Telegraph	UK
33	TDT16_3	Europe's president attacks Merkel over free speech case	23.04.2016	The Daily Telegraph	UK
34	TDT16_2	Call to speed lone child migrants to Britain	09.04.2016	The Daily Telegraph	UK
35	TDT16_1	Still in the dark on asylum-seekers	07.04.2016	The Daily Telegraph	UK
36	TDT15_7	Germany wants mandatory quotas to deal with refugees; Burden must be shared by EU nations, says foreign minister as thousands more head for Europe	19.09.2015	The Daily Telegraph	UK
37	TDT15_6	A semi-detached Britain may still be too close to the EU super state; Europe can only stop itself unravelling over the migrant crisis by going for full political integration	15.09.2015	The Daily Telegraph	UK

38	TDT15_5	German generosity pushed to the brink amid growing unrest	14.09.2015	The Daily Telegraph	UK
39	TDT15_4	The migrants that Germany is attracting will stay and Europe will become more divided	05.09.2015	The Daily Telegraph	UK
40	TDT15_3	Washed up on a beach, the symbol of despair; Body of little boy carried from idyllic Turkish sands after family fails in attempt to escape Syria for new life in Europe	03.09.2015	The Daily Telegraph	UK
41	TDT15_2	This migration crisis could test the European project to destruction; Angela Merkel knows that open borders and national immigration policies are simply unsustainable	27.08.2015	The Daily Telegraph	UK
42	TDT15_1	Germany stops deporting Syrian refugees; Merkel demands change to EU's asylum rules that force migrants to stay in first country they reach	25.08.2015	The Daily Telegraph	UK
43	TG16_7	EU executive to propose asylum reforms and approve Turkey visa deal; European commission proposes 'solidarity contributions' by states that do not take in refugees, to support those that do	04.05.2016	The Guardian	UK
44	TG16_6	Paddy Ashdown slams government for refusing entry to Afghan interpreter; Lib Dem peer decries treatment of Nangyalai Dawoodzai who killed himself after being sent back to Italy under Dublin convention	02.05.2016	The Guardian	UK
45	TG16_5	Fresh proposal to help child refugees stranded in Europe tabled; After government vote against accepting 3,000 children into UK, Labour peer's proposal sidesteps financial issues by not giving specific number	26.04.2016	The Guardian	UK
46	TG16_4	By being tough on migration Europe can also be humane; Only strong and stable states can react to this crisis. We were helpless, but the new three-pronged strategy is working	22.04.2016	The Guardian	UK
47	TG16_3	Calais's youths: the unaccompanied minors left in political limbo; There are roughly 150 lone children in the Jungle with relatives in the UK, yet there is a lengthy and complex process between them and a potential reunion	13.04.2016	The Guardian	UK
48	TG16_2	EU summit will push Turkey on helping to stem flow of Syrian refugees; Diplomatic efforts to focus on countries outside Europe to tackle refugee crisis,	11.04.2016	The Guardian	UK

		while British referendum campaign 'will play no role' at summit			
49	TG16_1	EU to set out proposals for overhaul of European asylum rules; European commission will publish paper suggesting changes after migration crisis left current Dublin regulation unworkable	06.04.2016	The Guardian	UK
50	TG15_7	Divided European leaders meet to devise plan to tackle refugee crisis; After months of recriminations and amid a situation seemingly spiralling out of control, EU heads of state attend summit in Brussels	24.09.2015	The Guardian	UK
51	TG15_6	Germany border crackdown deals blow to Schengen system; Decision to re-establish national border controls will shock the rest of the EU and may spur it towards a more coherent strategy on refugees	14.09.2015	The Guardian	UK
52	TG15_5	Angela Merkel: plan to share 160,000 refugees across EU may not be enough; German chancellor warns Europe might have to accept even bigger numbers than those proposed by European commission	09.09.2015	The Guardian	UK
53	TG15_4	This refugee crisis is too big for Europe to handle - its institutions are broken; The EU needs a new asylum system based on reality. But without an influx of migrants, it faces a future of economic stagnation	04.09.2015	The Guardian	UK
54	TG15_3	Hungary closes main Budapest station to refugees; Move follows chaotic scenes after thousands of people were allowed on to trains for Austria and Germany without visa checks	02.09.2015	The Guardian	UK
55	TG15_2	The Guardian view on Europe's refugee crisis: a little leadership, at last; Angela Merkel has faced up to how a humanitarian emergency is threatening a continent's defining values. The rest of Europe should pay attention, and follow suit	01.09.2015	The Guardian	UK
56	TG15_1	Angela Merkel to visit asylum shelter after wave of far-right attacks; German chancellor, who has been under pressure to take public stand against protests, will meet volunteers and refugees at shelter in Heidenau	26.08.2015	The Guardian	UK

57	FAZ16_7	Dublin wird noch zu erkennen sein; Brüssel rückt vom permanenten Verteilschlüssel ab. Staaten, die Flüchtlinge aufnehmen, sollen entlastet werden und einen Solidaritätszuschlag erhalten.	03.05.2016	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	DE
58	FAZ16_6	Rechtsgutachten gegen politischen Druck; Die Wiener Regierung sieht sich bei ihrer Asylgesetzgebung juristisch auf der sicheren Seite / Von Stephan Löwenstein	29.04.2016	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	DE
59	FAZ16_5	Der Konsens kann nicht erzwungen werden; Die EU-Innenminister erzielen beim Verteilungsschlüssel keine Fortschritte, aber billigen Erfassung von Fluggastdaten.	22.04.2016	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	DE
60	FAZ16_4	Ausschreitungen in Idomeni	14.04.2016	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	DE
61	FAZ16_3	Die Ruhe selbst	07.04.2016	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	DE
62	FAZ16_2	Hässliche Zäune	07.04.2016	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	DE
63	FAZ16_1	Fairness statt Rechtsbruch; Die Europäische Kommission will das "Dublin"-Verfahren reformieren	06.04.2016	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	DE
64	FAZ15_7	Falsch gezählt ist halb gewonnen; Italiens Innenminister will 40000 Flüchtlinge loswerden - und damit Ergebnisse vorweisen. Doch es ist unklar, wie viele Migranten noch im Land sind.	22.09.2015	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	DE
65	FAZ15_6	Der Praxisschock; Wenn die EU ein Thema wie das Asyl vergemeinschaftet, wird es der nationalen Demokratie entzogen. Doch der politische Resonanzraum schwenkt darauf nicht ein.	17.09.2015	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	DE
66	FAZ15_5	Der zerbrochene Konsens; Die EU erlebt den Kollaps ihres Grenz- und Asylsystems. Sie muss handeln.	14.09.2015	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	DE
67	FAZ15_4	Falsche Signale; Die Osteuropäer werden in der Flüchtlingsdebatte pauschal verurteilt. Aber was sie sagen, ist richtig.	11.09.2015	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	DE
68	FAZ15_3	Tusk fordert faire Verteilung	04.09.2015	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	DE

69	FAZ15_2	Merkel: Keine Mitverantwortung Deutschlands für Flüchtlingsstrom; "Dublin nicht ausgesetzt" / Orbán trifft EU-Spitzenvertreter am Donnerstag	02.09.2015	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	DE
70	FAZ15_1	Asyl als Lotterie; Ein europäisches System gibt es nur auf dem Papier, Rufe nach mehr Solidarität bleiben ungehört	28.08.2015	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	DE
71	SZ16_7	Klagen statt Schattenboxen!; Warum Bayern seine Drohung wahr machen muss, gegen die Bundesregierung vors Verfassungsgericht zu ziehen.	02.05.2016	Süddeutsche Zeitung	DE
72	SZ16_6	Wien und Berlin setzen Rom unter Druck; Bundesinnenminister de Maiziére: „Was am Brenner geschieht, liegt zuallererst in der Hand Italiens“	30.04.2016	Süddeutsche Zeitung	DE
73	SZ16_5	Wunsch und Wahrheit	06.04.2016	Süddeutsche Zeitung	DE
74	SZ16_4	Gezerre um die Quote; Welches EU-Land nimmt wie viele Flüchtlinge auf? Die Antwort könnte einfach sein, es gibt bereits Beschlüsse. Doch die Europäer streiten weiter	22.04.2016	Süddeutsche Zeitung	DE
75	SZ16_3	Freundlich, aber unbestimmt; Was die Kanzlerin Horst Seehofer geschrieben hat	27.04.2016	Süddeutsche Zeitung	DE
76	SZ16_2	Brüssel will einheitliches Asylverfahren für Europa; Weil das bisherige System gescheitert ist, plant die EU einen neuen, „fairen“ Verteilmechanismus für Flüchtlinge	06.04.2016	Süddeutsche Zeitung	DE
77	SZ16_1	Das System hat versagt; EU-Kommission macht Vorschlag für Reform des Asylsystems	07.04.2016	Süddeutsche Zeitung	DE
78	SZ15_7	Flüchtlinge sterben im Lastwagen; Österreichische Behörden finden auf der Autobahn nahe Wien einen Lkw voller Leichen. Die Polizei spricht von bis zu 50 Toten. EU will Balkanstaaten im Kampf gegen Schleuser unterstützen	28.08.2015	Süddeutsche Zeitung	DE
79	SZ15_6	Wenn Regeln widrig werden; Europa streitet über die gemeinsame Flüchtlingspolitik. Und eine Einigung wird immer schwieriger	02.09.2015	Süddeutsche Zeitung	DE
80	SZ15_5	Weit entfernt von einer Lösung; Die Spitzenpolitiker Europas kommen bisher über umstrittene Vorschläge nicht hinaus	14.09.2015	Süddeutsche Zeitung	DE
81	SZ15_4	Die Staaten pokern; Ein EU-Sondergipfel am nächsten Mittwoch soll den Streit um	18.09.2015	Süddeutsche Zeitung	DE

		Flüchtlingsquoten klären			
82	SZ15_3	Schluss mit der Feilscherei; Wie EU-Kommissionschef Juncker die Flüchtlinge verteilen will	07.09.2015	Süddeutsche Zeitung	DE
83	SZ15_2	Was wir schaffen	19.09.2015	Süddeutsche Zeitung	DE
84	SZ15_1	„... dann ist das nicht mein Land“; Angela Merkel und Werner Faymann rechtfertigen ihre Flüchtlingspolitik – der Österreicher sarkastisch, die Deutsche mit einem Rundumschlag	16.09.2015	Süddeutsche Zeitung	DE

## Final List of Categories

public goods  
 border  
 joint product  
 EASO  
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 corrective fair mechanism  
 DR fail crisis  
 new system  
 norm commitment  
 DR future  
 receptiveness  
 DR  
 refugee quota  
 deterrence  
 DR critique  
 solidarity  
 Germany's suspension