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The European refugee crisis:
Burden sharing in the United Kingdom and in Germany

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Abstract

In 2015 the European Union (EU) was confronted by the biggest inflow of refugees since World War II. This event triggered an intense debate on a European level. The main point for political discourse was in particular the uneven distribution of refugees among Member States (MSs). This disproportionate share of the costs and burdens reopened the discussion on burden sharing measures. Such measures have been considered by scholars and some MSs as an effective measure to deal with the refugee crisis. Therefore, this paper will analyze in what ways the parliamentary debates on burden sharing have developed in the light of the refugee crisis in Germany and in the United Kingdom in 2015. For this purpose, a qualitative content analysis will be conducted in order to reconstruct the parliamentary debates on this topic during the refugee crisis. All legislative speeches on this matter which have been made in 2015 will be analysed based on a coding scheme. At first, this thesis will reveal the government's perspective on burden sharing measures. Since national interests and concerns vary widely from country to country, this part will not only uncover the perceptions and opinions regarding burden sharing measures, but it will also provide explanations of their point of view. Furthermore, this thesis provides a broad picture on the government's perspective on burden sharing by revealing insights about how burden sharing in the light of the refugee crisis should be acquired. This thesis will demonstrate that finding a compromise on reactive measures is as expected, rather complicated. However, this thesis will show that a consensus on securing European borders and proactive measures as a way to share the burden caused by the refugee crisis can be found. These findings can be considered as a good starting point in finding a compromise on how to deal with refugees on a European level.

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1. Introduction

In 2015, the European Union (EU) was confronted by the biggest inflow of refugees since World War II (OECD, 2015). This is now commonly known as the refugee crisis. By mid-2015, Eurostat (2015) had recorded more than 400,000 people registered as asylum seekers. Compared to the previous year, this amount was twice as much. As a result, the EU was confronted with the question of how to manage this massive influx. However, instead of compromising, the EU seems to be incapable of finding a satisfactory response at a European level (Bordignon & Moriconi, 2017; Roots, 2017). Particular, the uneven distribution of refugees among Member States (MSs) implies that there is a disproportionate share of the costs and burdens. This was a main focal point for political discourse. It reopened the discussion on the importance of sharing the burdens related to asylum policies, which triggered intense discussions clearly revealing the discrepancies among MSs on this matter in 2015.

For a long time, burden sharing was acknowledged as an important aspect in European politics, whether in regard to NATO contributions, climate policy or other policy sectors (Thielemann, 2003b). In the mid-1980s, burden sharing became an important aspect in regard to refugee protection/asylum (Thielemann, 2005, p. 3). As Thielemann (2005) explains, burden sharing is not only an expression of European solidarity, but also an opportunity to provide benefits for governments "in terms of increased security, lower costs, ensured adherence to international obligations, etc." (p. 22). Consequently, the EU's efforts towards a Common European Asylum System (CEAS) emphasize the importance of "burden- or responsibility-sharing" (Thielemann, 2008, p. 2).

Notwithstanding the EU's efforts to achieve a balance of costs among MSs in this policy sector, the refugee crisis demonstrated that a reconsideration of burden sharing in the current European asylum system is inevitable. The Dublin regulation sets out that the Member State through which refugees have entered first must deal with the particular application (also known as "the country of first entry") (Angenendt, Engler & Schneider, 2013). In 2015, almost 90% of all refugees used the Eastern Mediterranean and Western Balkans routes to reach Europe (OECD, 2015). Together it led to an uneven distribution of refugees, in which the external EU border countries bear the most responsibility. Besides from providing evidence that this system failed in providing a fair distribution of burdens, the refugee crisis shows the inconsistencies among MSs regarding burden sharing on the European level. In 2015, the president of the European Commission Jean Claude Juncker, stressed the fact "that the Member States where most refugees first arrive – at the moment, these are Italy, Greece and Hungary – cannot be left alone to cope with this challenge" (European Commission, 2015c). Therefore, the European Commission proposed burden sharing measures to relocate refugees by creating the emergency relocation scheme in order to "alleviate pressure from Member States most affected" (European Commission, 2015b).

This proposal proved extremely divisive among the EU MS. Europe seemed to be divided into two parts; one in which countries as Sweden, Germany and France supported such types of measures, while, in contrast, the Visegrád- (Slovakia, Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland) and Baltic countries (Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia) considered them to be very controversial (Veebel & Markus, 2015, p. 254). This demonstrates that, whereas the European Union has emphasized the importance of refugee burden sharing mechanisms for many years "there is (still) no common understanding on how to meet up with the international expectation to guarantee the protection of human rights without endangering the wellbeing of the state itself or the people" (Roots, 2017, p. 6).

Social science has drawn attention to the disproportional amount of refugees across MSs in previous years, and hence towards the idea of burden sharing. The majority of literature predominantly focuses on the theoretical aspects of burden sharing by providing a political and legal approach to the issue. While Thielemann (2005, 2008) illustrates a government's motives for burden sharing measures and provides an explanation in what ways burden sharing can be acquired, Gregor Noll (2003) focuses on the legal substance of burden sharing, and illustrates some problems which arise. Furthermore, the influence of MS's policies has been a focus of attention for some scholars. In this regard, Eric Neumayer (2004) and Thielemann (2004a, 2004b) provide evidence that certain (pull) factors make some MSs more attractive for asylum seekers. This can include for instance a state's colonial history and economic situation, which provide an explanation for the uneven distribution within Europe. A further aspect mentioned by Neumayer (2004) is the "existing communities of asylum seekers in the past" (p. 175) stating that individuals consider countries with asylum seekers predominantly of the same nationality as most attractive. Both researchers argue that at some points governments can make use of restrictive measures in order to regulate migration. However, this is considered as rather difficult due to the country's existing communities. Moreover, other studies such as the quantitative analysis by Vink & Meijering (2003) examine whether a correlation between "asylum applications and recognition rates" (p. 298) can be found. These rates were observed from 1982 until 2001, with the conclusion being that both aspects can be linked. Besides this, other academic literature, such as Christina Boswell (2003) proposed recommendations to improve the current system to share the burden more effectively. Her article "Burden Sharing in the European Union: Lessons from the German and UK Experience," analyses the British and German regional asylum seeker dispersal system. Based on those findings, Boswell makes some suggestions on how such a system could be effective on European level. In this regard, the previous attempts to harmonize asylum policies on a European level have often been a main concern (Hatton, 2012). Thielemann (2004b) describes that such policies can be regarded as "misplaced" (p. 64) since they do not address structural factors. It is argued that harmonizing policies facilitate cooperation among MSs, but the desirable effect of sharing the burden among states will be unachievable through this method.

This illustrates that there have been various scholars focusing on burden sharing with regard to asylum policy. However, it is striking that most academic literature has been conducted at the beginning of the 21th century. By keeping in mind that relevant changes in this policy sector that have occurred after this period, as for instance the final step towards a CEAS, this indicates that a recent and more up-to-date analysis is necessary. It may seem that the refugee crisis in 2015 revived interest on this topic, but very little new information has arisen from academic literature. The primary focus has been on alternative policies such as resettlement plans or on qualitative research about the uneven distribution of refugees among MSs (Ostrand, 2015; Moraga & Rapoport, 2015; Scarpetta & Dumont, 2016). By contrast the 2015 discussions among European governments on how to manage this inflow, which attracted worldwide attention, has not been addressed at all. Even after all those years of negotiations on a common European asylum policy, there seems to be no common understanding on burden sharing in regard to asylum policy. Whereas previous literature indicates that compromising on burden sharing measures has been difficult from the very beginning, no previous scholars have addressed this topic. This is only reinforced by prominent researchers such as Thielemann (2003b), who criticize the lack of literature about the "idea of refugee burden sharing in Europe" (p. 226). With this in mind, this thesis will focus on the political discourse around burden sharing in the light of the refugee crisis. Unlike previous literature, this thesis will provide a new perspective on burden sharing, by applying this term in a real-world context. It will provide insights into states' parliamentary debates on burden sharing and will illustrate the government's perspective on those measures and the main topics of discussions.

1.2 Research Question

The refugee crisis has shown clearly that there are different opinions among MSs on burden sharing measures in regard to asylum policy. In order to gain insights into an MSs' perception, the purpose of this thesis is to reconstruct parliamentary debates on burden sharing in light of the refugee crisis. Moreover, this crisis revealed the weakness of the CEAS. It proved to be ineffective by unfairly distributing the burdens on a European level. More importantly, it jeopardized major and crucial European projects such as the "Schengen area and the future of a more integrated EU" (Postelnicescu, 2016). Since global inequality and injustice will not be solved in the near future, the EU might experience such types of migration in the future as well. According to UNHCR (2015a), the EU is one of the most attractive destinations for asylum seekers, a trend that is expected to persist. Due to this, asylum applications in the EU will not disappear quickly and, as "the number of returning refugees has remained fairly low in recent years" (UNHCR, 2015a, p. 15) due to the persisting and continuing life-threatening conditions in their home countries, one may assume that asylum seekers will remain a topic of discussion in European politics. Hence, reforms and an appropriate policy on the European level is more urgent than ever (Trauner, 2016). Since decisions made on a national level do influence the outcome on a European level, this paper argues that understanding how national governments perceive burden sharing is the first step towards finding a compromise on a European level (Miskimmon, 2012). Therefore, this paper will answer the following descriptive research question:

In what ways have the parliamentary debates on burden sharing developed in the light of the refugee crisis in Germany and in the United Kingdom in 2015?

The main goal is to reconstruct the debates on burden sharing which have been made in the German and British parliament in the context of the refugee crisis. Therefore, all legislative speeches on this matter which have been made in 2015 will be analysed. Based on the theoretical framework, a coding scheme will be created which will provide an appropriate orientation for the analysis. This thesis will give insights into the MSs' perceptions and opinions on burden sharing measures. Since national governments vary from one to another in regard to national interests, objectives and concerns, the reasons behind the government's motivation to be included in burden sharing measures will be analysed. Furthermore, this thesis will describe the national government's preferences regarding how burden sharing should be acquired. In this regard, it will reveal what types of instruments and mechanisms governments propose or oppose in order to achieve burden sharing.

1.3 Research Approach

In general, burden sharing has often been the focus of attention in academic literature. However, in regard to European asylum policies there has been relatively little research, hence, further research is essential. According to Thielemann (2003b), burden sharing "has not yet been properly conceptualized and its ramifications in the European context have only begun to be more systematically analysed" (p. 226). By addressing the question of what ways the parliamentary debates on burden sharing have developed in the light of the refugee crisis, this thesis will apply burden sharing in a real-world context. Besides this, it will provide new insights into this topic, particularly since it focuses on a recent event, which has not been often analysed. Moreover, as the MSs are the driving force behind European politics, it is crucial to understand their perspective on burden sharing measures. Particularly since members of national parliaments are simultaneously those "doing politics," the examination of their political standpoint is of great significance (van Dijk, 2004, p. 354). Such a perspective may be influenced by various aspects (such as parliament composition, etc.). A government's opinions may be shaped and influenced by a "complex mix of political, cultural, moral, legal, economic, and ideological motives" (Nickels, 2007, p. 57; Miskimmon, 2012, p. 393). Understanding the reasons for the government's attitude towards burden sharing measures provide a broader picture, which may lead to new findings, which have never been taken into consideration. Therefore, this thesis will focus on the legislative speeches, which can be considered as highly important since they are the main tools of communication in parliament. Parliaments are vital in democracies, as they can be considered as a "Multitasker" by assuming various important tasks (Auel & Raunio, 2014, p. 12). As the institutional organ "closest to the people" (Johnson, 2005, p. 2) parliaments represent their interests, since, as is usual in democratic politics, parliaments are composed of different political party representatives. In this regard, parliaments provide a stage for debates on important issues which may be considered as the "heart of western democracies" (Bayley, 2004, p. 9). Here, members of parliament can grab the chance to discuss important topics, and bring them to the public's attention. This form of verbal communication, allows members of parliament to express their opinions regarding burden sharing as option to manage this crisis. Since the discussion on how to manage the refugee crisis had a strong presence in media and national parliaments, it is important to gain an overall impression of their opinions (Huysmans & Buonfino, 2008; Schech, 2012). In order to find a compromise on the European level it is essential to understand the motives for the government's attitude towards burden sharing. By doing so, this thesis does not only contribute to already existing literature, but it can also be considered as a good starting point in finding a compromise on how to deal with refugees on a European level.

2. Conceptualisation

After having introduced the research problem of the thesis, this chapter is aimed at explaining the relevant concepts needed to uncover an answer to the research question. Since this thesis focuses on the legislative debates regarding burden sharing, made in the context of the refugee crisis, the first step of this chapter is to provide clarification of the term refugee and reasoning behind this interpretation. In particular, the definition mentioned in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights plays an important role as it can be considered the milestone regarding refugee protection. Since 2015 both expressions have been used, a refugee and a migration crisis, the definition of this term will be linked with the definition of the term migrant. Furthermore, as the purpose of this thesis is to understand how burden sharing measures have been discussed in the light of the refugee crisis, this chapter will determine its meaning whilst also familiarising the reader with the concept of burden sharing. After having identified what burden sharing means, the next section will provide the different approaches to burden sharing which are linked to various concepts. Here, the main focus lies on the research done by Olson & Zeckhauser (1966), Suhrke (1998), Sandler (1990) and Thielemann (2003a, 2003b, 2005, 2006). In order to gain a deeper understanding about how burden sharing can be carried out, the last step will be to explain the different burden sharing mechanisms, based on the research made by Thielemann (2005, 2010), Hatton (2005) and Fry (2005).

2.1 Definition of Terms: Refugee Protection

Apart from the discrepancies in finding a common approach to manage this mass influx of individuals into Europe, there are also discrepancies regarding how to define this crisis. While some use the expression migration crisis, others talk about a refugee crisis. In order to decide between one of these expressions, it is necessary to clarify both terms: migrant and refugee. According to Lee (1996), migration implies the "permanent or semipermanent change of residence" (p. 49). This can be understood as an umbrella term that outlines the different reasons causing people to leave their home countries, also known as push factors (Zimmermann, 1996). In general one may say that the main catalyst for migration is a degrading environment (Bates, 2002), however, it should be noted that two types of push factors can be differentiated (UNHCR, 2016b). While one states that the choice by individuals to migrate is expressed voluntarily, there are also situations in which people are forced to leave (Wood, 1994; Bates, 2002). This is different to unforced migrants who migrate based on their own decisions whilst forced migrants are pushed by external compulsion to leave their home countries (Bates, 2002). According to this, refugees belong to the category of involuntary/forced migration.

Refugee protection gained worldwide importance for the first time in 1948. By recognising every individual worldwide "the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution" (United Nations, 1948, p. 4), the Universal Declaration of Human Rights can be understood as the first step in establishing refugee protection. Originated from this idea, the first instrument created by the UNHCR was adopted in 1951: the UN Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (UNHCR, n.d.). As the "key legal document of today's international refugee protection" (UNHCR, 2016a) and the "cornerstone of contemporary international refugee law" (Kaunert, 2009, p. 150), it determines the definition, rules and responsibilities regarding the "treatment of refugees" (Guild, 2006, p. 635). Since states entering the European Union are automatically bound by this amended 1967 protocol, it can be considered as the "key instrument of asylum policy" (Hatton, 2005, p. 108) in the European Union. Referring to this, the definition of a refugee is as follows:

> Any person 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; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it" (UNCHR, 2011, p. 46).

Besides from providing that definition, the convention lays down some crucial rights linked to refugee protection. Apart from determining the minimum standards, which must be guaranteed during the handling of refugees, three further principles are laid down: non-discrimination, non-penalisation and non-refoulement (UNHCR, 2011, p. 1). While the first principle strictly prohibits discrimination during the treatment of refugees, the second one prohibits penalizing refugees due to illegal immigration and residence. The non-refoulement principle does not allow a state to "expel or return ("refouler") a refugee against his or her will, in any manner whatsoever, to a territory where he or she fears threats to life or freedom" (UNHCR, n.d., p. 3). As the UNHCR (2016b) argues, the European Union witnessed both, a migration and a refugee crisis. Indeed, a closer look at the statistics shows that both migrants and refugees came to the EU last year (United Nations, 2016). By having a look at the policies, which have been adopted in response to the mass inflow, one assumes that unlike the UNHCR, national governments do not take the same view. As MSs faced huge challenges resulting from this mass inflow, certain countries have implemented some restrictions in order to provide a better control and a stop of the migration inflow (Rinne & Zimmermann, 2015; Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 2015).

Apart from designating some countries as safe, there has been one further measure taken: the distinction between economic and forced migrant (Albahari, 2015). Here a European consensus has been found on the premise that economic migrants do not need international and European protection, and consequently can be repatriated to their home countries (Albahari, 2015). That type of differentiation between who needs protection and who not, weakens the reasons for applying the expression of a "migration crisis".

As this differentiation shows, governments do not seem to address all migrants, but limit the right to seek protection for only one category: the refugees. Thus, this thesis will refer to the "refugee crisis". It should be underlined that this decision is not about evaluating whether this perception is right or wrong. It is about adopting the expression used by national governments since they are the unit of observation in this thesis.

2.2 Burden Sharing

2.2.1 Burden Sharing, a Collective Action

Burden sharing is the question of "how the costs of common initiatives (...) should be shared between states" (Thielemann, 2003a, p. 253). It is described as a provision to distribute costs equally "based on the premise that collective action" (Suhrke, 1998, p. 396) is the best and effective solution to resolve discrepancies. In this context redistributive instruments, such as burden sharing, are applied to achieve a certain level of equity. Therefore, burden sharing is based on the logic of collectiveness, which relies on the belief of cooperation. As Suhrke (1998, p. 400) explains, cooperation among states implies the distribution of costs through which states can attain a high level of security. Collective actions regarding refugee protection started after the end of the WWI (Hurwitz, 2009, p. 9). Thereafter, diverse organizations were created aiming to assist refugees, for instance the Office of the International Commissioner for Refugees and the International Refugee Organization (IRO). Through this type of cooperation the most important organisation, the UNHCR, was created in 1950 with the objective to "be the provision of international protection and the search for permanent solution to the problems of refugees" (Hurwitz, 2009, p. 13). Shortly afterwards, the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees was adopted, which Hurwitz (2009, p. 13) describes as the most prominent event regarding obtaining collective responsibility towards refugees. Since then, an increasing number of cooperation activities regarding refugee protection were made on European level. However, burden sharing has been used for the first time during the discussion on NATO contribution in the 1950s (Thielemann, 2003b, p. 225). It was not until the 60s that burden sharing has been applied in a European context (Thielemann, 2003b, p. 225). At that time, burden sharing was linked to negotiations on the common European budget.

Thereupon burden sharing became more and more important in European politics, whether in connection with climate and defence policy or regarding financial and economic terms (Thielemann, 2003b). According to Thielemann (2003a, p. 254) there can be identified two main burden sharing approaches, both illustrating reasons for states to be involved in this type of collective action in regard to refugee protection.

Cost-benefit approach

The first approach is the cost benefit rationale, also called the logic of expected consequences (Thielemann, 2003a, p. 254). This emphasises decision-making based on rational and strategic behaviour. In this context, the main belief is that states feel encouraged to contribute in such redistributive measures if the "benefits of the contribution exceed 'its' costs" (Thielemann, 2003a, p. 255). Furthermore, one may say that their choices are based on their goals they intend to achieve. As Thielemann (2005, p. 12) argues, there are three reasons, which might incentivise states to participate in burden sharing approaches. The first one is related to the insurance rationale, which states that contributing through burden sharing is associated with costs in the short-term, but might prevent future higher costs in the long term. Simultaneously, this would prevent the possibility of a particular external shock (Thielemann, 2005, p. 13). The next reason is related to international obligations states are tied to. In the case of migration pressure, policies and projects to which MSs are bound to may be at stake. Such a negative impact could be tackled by participating in burden sharing incentives (Thielemann, 2005, p. 13). Furthermore, as this approach emphasizes, that actions by states are driven by self-interests and goals, whereby achieving them in an efficient way is considered crucial. Due to this, and the fact that burden sharing implies splitting costs among states, this incentive would help states to "achieve particular objectives at lower costs" (Thielemann, 2005, pp. 13).

This approach can be easily linked to the public good theory, which states that collaboration normally results in a positive sum benefit. In this context, the belief that cooperation yields a better outcome than states might achieve on their own, and the demand of "mutual insurance against the occurrence" of external shocks are important (Thielemann, 2005, p. 13). In this context, protection of refugees can be understood as a public good. As Olson and Zeckhauser argue, the public good theory is classified as such due to its characteristics as non-rival and non-excludable, differently than a private good (as cited in Thielemann, 2006, p. 6-7). As Suhrke argues, refugee protection can be seen as "an international public good from which all states benefit" (as cited in Thielemann, 2005, p. 6). Therefore, the reception of refugees creates a situation in which all states, including those who contribute and those who do not, profit from this contribution. According to this situation, which implies that "no other country can be excluded from benefiting from this contribution" (Thielemann, 2006, p. 4).

Next to that, Olson and Zeckhauser portend the problematic nature of free riders (as cited in Thielemann, 2006, p. 8). As the reception of refugees by some states includes simultaneously the accessibility of the benefit to everyone (Thielemann & Dewan, 2004), some states will be "tempted to cheat" (Suhrke, 1998, p. 400). In some cases there is no need for some states to contribute since they can profit from actions others do, with such circumstances encouraging potential free riders. From an individual standpoint this rational choice of action can be seen as efficient, however, from a collective one this is more suboptimal. In regard to the problem of free riders, Olson and Zeckhauser (1966, p. 22) assume that big states are disadvantaged when it comes to their protection of refugees. So according to their "exploitation of the big by the small"- theory, bigger states accept the most refugees, while smaller countries are considered as the free riders (Thielemann and Dewan, 2004, p. 4).

The description of refugee protection as a public good has been a highly debated issue (Thielemann, 2006). It is argued that purely public goods are rare occurrences. Based on this, the link between this theory and refugee protection has been criticised under the premise of denying "empirical reality" (Thielemann, 2006, p. 9). As result, Olson's public good theory was extended by (the refined version) 'joint product' model (Thielemann, 2003a, p. 256). This theory can be explained by "what is often regarded as a pure public good has in fact excludable private benefits to a country" (Thielemann, & Dewan, 2003, p. 12). Unlike Olson's theory, this model emphasises that burden sharing can lead to different outputs as for instance public, private or contributor specific outputs (Thielemann, 2006, p. 10; Sandler, 1990, p. 6). Burden sharing has a positive effect on other states, but also a "privatizing effect" which could prevent free riding motives (Sandler, 1990, p. 32). Based on this, this model implies both, the private good and the public good theory. Furthermore, this revised version includes new aspects, which have not been considered before. Unlike Olson and Zeckhauser, Sandler states that contribution can occur in different ways (as cited in Thielemann, 2003a). Due to this, there can be found multiple conceptions of how burden sharing can occur. Since the capacity of states differ, it is impossible for states to be involved to the same extent. Hence, as Mark Boyer argues the comparative advantages among various states have to be considered (as cited in Thielemann & Dewan, 2004, p. 2-3). While in the past a government's capacity was only measured by its economy, the consideration of other components become more important. Especially the domestic political environment has a huge impact of state's capacity to act, since policy makers do not have absolute authority, but are bound to the preferences of their country's politics. Furthermore, as Thielemann & Dewan (2004, p. 7) argue, there are two different ways how governments can contribute in regard to refugee protection. Firstly, a government's contribution can occur by taking on reactive measures, which mean that governments actively receive refugees. Secondly, governments can involve in refugee protection by taking on proactive measures such as peacekeeping missions.

While the first measure is aimed at dealing with the consequences of a refugee inflow, the latter can be seen as a preventive measure.

Norm-based approach

The second approach is the norm-based approach, in which the burden sharing impulse is based on moral grounds. Thus, this approach outweighs "calculus of identity and appropriateness" against the "calculus of political cost and benefit" (Thielemann, 2003a, p. 255). It is characterised by a norm-guided behaviour based on roles and identities created through institutions, also known as the 'logic of appropriateness' (Thielemann, 2003a, p. 254). Based on this, both the protection of norms and the notion of equity, which takes the different capacities of the different states into account, are essential elements in burden sharing. This differs from the principle of utility maximisation as actors should feel obliged to help others in difficult times and should be guided by norms and fairness, emphasising the 'principle of universalisation' (Thielemann, 2003a, p. 257). According to this, countries who have not fully tapped their potential should feel responsible to assist others in times in which the mass flow gets beyond control. Such arrangements should give a "more predictable response" to such mass movement and should enhancing the "international order" (Suhrke, 1998, p. 398).

The principle of solidarity is an important component in the norm-based approach (Thielemann, 2003a). In this context, taking the decision on participating in burden sharing measures might be based on two different motives. As Thielemann (2003a) argues, there is the "commitment to the well being of others" (p. 258) and the "commitment to other members of a group to abide by the outcome of collective decision making" (p. 257) which encourage states to be involved in such redistributive measures. Since this approach emphasises the "notions of identity and roles shaped by the institutional context", expressing solidarity with members of these institutions plays an important role (Thielemann, 2003a, p. 254). In this case, this means that states should care about the wellbeing of others, which Thielemann (2005) describes as the "recognition of special obligation" (p. 10). In this regard, refusing benefits which would cause harm to others is of great importance. The second commitment type can be related to the fact that "the logic of burden-sharing starts from the premise that helping refugees is a jointly held moral duty and obligation under international law" (Suhrke, 1998, p. 398). This and the emphasis of norms are important cornerstones for expressing solidarity, not only with states, but also with refugees. Here collaborating in order to support refugees is an important point, whilst "non-cooperation" and "burden shifting" would prevent the protection of refugees (Thielemann, 2005, p. 11).

2.2.2 Burden Sharing Regime

As Thielemann (2005, p. 15) argues, three different types of burden sharing mechanisms can be found. The first one is the policy of harmonisation which refers to "sharing (a) policy" (Thielemann, 2003b, p. 230). On the European level, there have been some initiatives regarding harmonising policies which were launched in the mid-1980s (Thielemann, 2005, p. 15). At that time, common provisions in order to regulate the movement of asylum seekers became important within the European Community, due to the introduction of the Single European Act which abolished internal borders (Fry, 2005, p. 99). Since then, the European Union pursues the target of standardising national legislation. Whilst in the 90s soft law, what is known as "non-binding" legislation, was introduced in order to standardise policies, the beginning of the 21st century was marked by major activities (Hatton, 2005, p. 6; Thielemann, 2005, p. 15). In this context, the treaty of Amsterdam represents a significant change (Fry, 2005). Due to the shift of the Immigration and Asylum Policy from the third to the first pillar, which consequently transferred more competences to the European Community for introducing binding measures, more harmonised policies in the asylum area were created (Hatton, 2005, p. 8; Fry, 2005). Furthermore, the Tampere Agreement was an important event which "envisaged building a Common European Asylum System" by standardising domestic asylum policies and integrating an asylum system on the European level (Hatton, 2005, p. 8).

The second type of possible burden sharing mechanisms is related to hard quotas. Within this system Thielemann differentiates between "sharing people" and "sharing money" (Thielemann, 2005, p. 15-17). The former is related to the "redistribution of protection seekers from one host territory to another" in the EU (Thielemann, 2005, p. 18). In this context, some resettlement policies made by the UNHCR pursued this type of strategy, for instance during the Kosovo Crisis. Even on the European Level the idea of a "physical burden sharing of people" (Thielemann, 2005, p. 17) has arisen. Whereas in the 90s the German presidency draft council proposed a compulsory resettlement mechanism which was not approved by the Council, the EU proposed similar initiatives by adopting this idea a decade later, an example being the "2001 Council Directive on Temporary Protection in the Case of Mass Influx" (Thielemann, 2005, p. 19). So while this instrument refers to the distribution of asylum seeker, the "sharing money" incentive refers to financial payment for the countries with the most refugees (Thielemann, 2005, p.15-16). That type of incentive is representative on the global level, through payments to the UNHCR, and on the European level, through the European Refugee Fund (ERF) (Thielemann, 2005, p.16). Introduced at the beginning of 20th century, the ERF aimed at "achieving a balance" among MSs by recognising the costs borne by those receiving disproportionate numbers of refugees (Thielemann, 2003a, p. 261).

The last type is the market mechanism, which outlines three different options to split burdens among MSs (Thielemann, 2005, p. 18). Here, the first burden sharing instrument is resettlement which is "based on non-binding 'pledging' mechanisms" (Thielemann, 2008, p. 3). This instrument leaves it up to the states to decide whether or not to accept asylum seekers. Thus, accepting protection seekers should be on a voluntary basis. This mechanism can be linked to the principle of solidarity, which should motivate states to offer support regarding asylum seekers. Based on this idea "the 2001 Council Directive on Temporary Protection in the Case of Mass Influx" was created (Thielemann, 2010, p. 5). Different to hard quotas, the explicit trading mechanism is based on a traditional quota system. Here states have the opportunity, in the case of a quota system, which assigns states a certain amount of asylum seekers, to "trade their quota by paying others to fulfill their obligations" (Thielemann, 2005, p. 20).

The last method, comprehensive (implicit) trading, is based on a quota system, as well (Thielemann, 2005, p. 21). Unlike the others, this instrument allows states to decide how to contribute. This means that states could decide based on their preferences and are allowed to decide what type of involvement suits them best.

2.3 Concluding Remarks

This chapter provides insights and explanations of the relevant concepts, which are important in order to analyse how the debates on burden sharing have developed in the light of the refugee crisis. Since the refugee crisis is a key aspect in this research, a clear understanding of the refugee definition is provided. Unlike a migrant, refugees are individuals, which are forced to leave their home countries, due to wars or political persecution for example. With regard to the refugee crisis, civil wars and the spread of terrorism impede people from staying in their home countries and force them to flee to Europe. As the main purpose of the thesis is to analyse parliamentary debates on burden sharing, the concept of burden sharing has been examined and explained as well. Burden sharing is an instrument only possible by cooperation, which facilitates the splitting of costs and burden among different actors. In regard to this concept, this chapter gives a comprehensive overview of the different burden sharing approaches, which clarifies reasons motivating governments to participate in such measures, and it gives an overview of the different burden sharing mechanisms by explaining the various ways this measure can be carried out. Based on this the conceptual framework can be seen as a good basis for describing and analysing the debates on burden sharing in national parliaments. By taking the concept of burden sharing into account, analysing the legislative debates will reveal insights about, firstly, the government's perceptions and their reasons to participate in burden sharing actions and, secondly, the instruments governments approve and disapprove regarding this type of measure. Therefore as the following chapter will show, this conceptual framework will serve as a basis for the analysis and will be incorporated into the research strategy.

3. Methodology

The following chapter will familiarise the reader with the methodological approach. At first, it will clarify and explain the approach, which will be used to explain how burden sharing has been debated in national parliaments. In this case, this section will describe a case study in detail and will explain how this is the appropriate method to provide the answer to the research question. The next section of this chapter includes the explanation of the case selection, which is followed by the description of the data collection. Both sections are essential components in case study research by determining and explaining the cases and the data this research will focus upon during the analysis. The fourth section addresses the method of data analysis. This section explains how the derived data is going to be analysed. Therefore, the coding schemes, which are constructed based on the literature and the conceptual framework from the previous sections will be presented. At the end, a concluding section summarises the most important points.

3.1 Research Design

First of all, it is important to determine the best approach to answer the research question. In this thesis a qualitative content analysis will be conducted, the selection of this research technique will be justified and explained in more detail later. Since this thesis is aimed at understanding how parliamentary debates on burden sharing have developed in the light of the refugee crisis, a qualitative approach can be considered as the appropriate approach to achieve this purpose (Golafshani, 2003). Conducting qualitative research provides overall insights into the governments' perception on burden sharing measures by revealing their doubts, opinions and motivations regarding this measure. In this regard, numerical data or statistics would not be appropriate since the focus is not on evaluating or measuring burden sharing measures, but instead on the content of the debates. And that is exactly what a qualitative approach represents; a conduction of explorative research by providing an "understanding of underlying reasons, opinions, and motivations" (Monfared & Derakhshan, 2015, p. 1112). Furthermore, this approach allows scope for interpretation which is crucial for this research, since the content of the speeches has to be both described and interpreted. Based on this, the selected research strategy will be a (descriptive) case study. A case study represents "the desire to derive a close or in depth understanding of a single or small number of cases, set in their real world context" (Yin, 2012, p. 4) which can be applied in this context. Apart from gaining insights into the burden sharing discussions of governments, this research strategy allows the application of a theoretical phenomenon (burden sharing in this case) in a real world context. Thus, this type of research design would provide a better understanding of burden sharing, and it would extend the existing knowledge of this phenomenon (Soy, 1997). Through the "ordinary course of fieldwork", new aspects of this theory which have not been considered in the past can be discovered (Bennett, 2004, p. 35).

In order to prevent this research from becoming too broad which Baxter & Jack (2008) describe as one of the "pitfalls associated with case studies" (p. 546), the following section will address the case selection and will specify the timeframe in which the study will be conducted.

3.2 Case Selection

After having decided on a research strategy, it is important to decide on the cases this thesis will focus. As the objective of the thesis is to analyse the legislative debates on burden sharing, it is consequently about gaining insights about how this issue is discussed in different countries. Thus, national parliaments may be considered as the research object (unit of analysis) of this thesis (Soy, 1997). The focus of this research is on the whole parliament including all party representatives in order to get an overall view of the debates. Since negotiations and debates on a common asylum policy within the European Union can be characterised as an ongoing process, this research will reveal new insights in MSs' conception of burden sharing measures. Noting, however, that this thesis is limited which therefore restricts the scope of analysis, there is no possibility to analyse all 28 member states. In this regard, governments will be selected based on the following criteria/aspects:

Geographical Location: As the thesis' objective is to understand the perception of burden sharing in the light of the refugee crisis, it is important to eliminate all possibilities of bias. Thus in the first place, transition countries situated on the external borders of the EU, adjacent to the Mediterranean Sea will not be considered. Since this is the primary route of refugees to enter Europe, these states are affected and have to deal the most with the refugee inflow (Frontex, 2016). According to this, one assumes that transition countries are very enthusiastic about burden sharing initiatives, considering a non-existing debate on burden sharing in their parliaments. Thus, comparing parliamentary debates from a transition and a non-transition country would falsify the results. The Figure Appendix 1 shows the route refugees take to enter the European continent. As mentioned above, the countries refugees enter first will be omitted in order to prevent bias. In this regard, analysing for instance Italian speeches would not lead to reliable results since this thesis assumes that countries at the external borders are disposed towards burden sharing measures. Unlike this type of countries, Western and Eastern Europe can be taken into consideration for the analysis chapter.

Similar preconditions: In order to facilitate a comparison, the selected countries should have the same "preconditions". In other words, these countries should have the same (economic and political) capabilities in dealing with the refugee crisis. Having the same financial capacity means, consequently, having the same financial resources to be invested into burden sharing measures. In this research, the focus will lie on two economic and political powerful countries in the European Union.

As it is supposed that there are some countries having more influence than others, one may assume that the perception of these countries on this measure may have a significant effect on how Europe will proceed during the refugee crisis. According to Lehne (2012), Germany, France and the UK can be considered as the main influential MSs in the whole European Union, politically and economically.

Accessible data: Since this thesis wants to focus on national legislative speeches, such speeches are, as usual, held in their official languages. In order to gain a deep understanding of the legislative debates on burden sharing it is important that the researcher is sufficient qualified to understand this language, thus removing the language barriers causing misinterpretations. Furthermore, these speeches must be freely available to be eligible for this research. After having taken the data accessibility into consideration, without which a good and valuable analysis could be prevented from occurring, it has been decided that the following countries will be analysed: the UK and Germany. Both countries are economic and political powerful in the EU. Furthermore, both countries belong to Western Europe, therefore they are no transition countries. Besides the abovementioned criteria, one may say that analysing these two governments would be highly interesting. According to the media, how to handle the refugee crisis has been highly debated in both countries, regularly hitting the headlines this year. Despite this, both countries perform two different roles in the EU. While Germany can be described as the "powerhouse of Europe" (Lemke, 2013) and having the "role of the decisive political power in Europe" (Ulrich Beck, 2013), the UK assumes another role by questioning its membership, with the refugee crisis triggering the Brexit discussion. Therefore, it is relevant to analyse how burden sharing measures have been debated in the UK and in Germany in light of the refugee crisis. Apart from the fact that these countries can be considered as very influential in the EU, and hence their opinions could have a strong impact on future decisions, analysing their point of view regarding this measure can be usable and valuable for future policymaking.

By having clarified the cases this thesis will focus, it is important to determine the time span in which data will be obtained. First of all, it is important to understand when exactly the refugee crisis occurred. In general one may say that the amount of asylum seekers within the European Union has increased in the last years dramatically. However, in 2015 the amount of asylum seekers reached the largest increase in the 21th century. As UNHCR (2015b) counts, "the number of people forcibly displaced at the end of 2014 had risen to a staggering 59.5 million compared to 51.2 million a year earlier and 37.5 million a decade ago". Although the amount of refugee seekers was already high at the beginning of 2015, it is important to mention that the expression 'refugee crisis' arose at another time in that year. While such debates took place already in January 2015, the 'refugee crisis' broke out in September 2015 after the publication of the photograph of Aylan Kurdi, the Kurdish boy, who drowned in the Mediterranean Sea after trying to flee from Syria (Finch, 2015).

According to this, the 'refugee crisis' as a label attracted considerable media attention later that year. This picture, which the The Independent described as an "extraordinarily powerful image" (as cited in Courpasson, 2016, p. 1) could be understood as the onset of the label of the refugee crisis. As de Andrés, Nos-Aldás & García-Matill (2016) argued, this picture "was a determining factor in the taking of immediate decisions" (p. 32) by politicians. Therefore, governments' decision-making in the months after September can be described as highly affected by this event. Especially in Canada and Germany, decisions were made in response to this picture (de Andrés et al., 2015). Accordingly, this thesis will focus on all legislatives debates which were made in the UK and in Germany on burden sharing in 2015, however, its focus will lie at the begin of 2015 instead of the period after September.

3.3 Data Collection

As this section has already revealed, this paper will analyse how burden sharing in light of the refugee crisis has been discussed in the British and German parliament. Legislative speeches are the main tool of communication in parliaments, since it allows an exchange of opinions in which members of parliament communicate with each other by clarifying and defending their political positions, or even voicing their criticism. Therefore, this research will focus on unobtrusive data in which legislative speeches can be seen as appropriate data. First of all, it has to be considered that this thesis focuses on two different national governments in which both legislative branches (the parliaments) are composed in a different way. In order to adjust the research, this focus will lie on the House of Commons and the debates in the Bundestag. In order to gather accurate data, this paper will only use the original legislative speeches. Table 1 provides an overview of the websites from which the reports will be retrieved.

Table 1: Overview of the websites

British legislative speeches	Parliament	http://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/hansard/commons/
	Hansard	https://hansard.parliament.uk
German legislative speeches	Bundestag	http://www.bundestag.de/dokumente/protokolle/amtlicheprotokolle/2015
	DIP's	http://dipbt.bundestag.de/dip21.web/bt.

In order to obtain the British legislative speeches, the official website provided by the national government will be used. Hansard Online is a further website which publishes British reports on parliamentary debates. The German reports can be found at the website from the Bundestag. Transcripts are also provided by the document and information system for parliamentary procedures (DIP's).

The main step regarding gathering appropriate data is to see which parliamentary debates occurred during the selected timeframe. In this regard, it is important to mention that during the selected timeframe there are some recess periods. Apart from short recess periods as Easter, the recess in the summer is the longest time without sessions, hence, there are no parliamentary debates around July until September. After having gathered all possible reports on the German and British parliamentary debates, it is essential to see which debates address the topic of this paper in order to narrow down the amount of data. For this purpose, the purposive judgemental sampling will be used as a method to select useful data from the total amount of debates. It is important to keep in mind that a parliamentary debate does not only address one topic, but instead various topics. Mostly, it is not possible based on the main topic of a debate to understand what issues have been discussed in a certain meeting. The agenda topics of the debates are very broad and not clearly defined. Consequently, it is not directly clear whether these data might be useful or not, so it would not be possible to gather appropriate data by only having a look at these topics. Therefore, it is crucial to apply different methods to gather data. The following steps will explain the way this paper selected the most useful parliamentary debates for the analysis. The website of the DIP (the document and information system for parliamentary procedures) provides the option to sort all legislative speeches by topic areas (Figure 2 in the Appendix). In order to standardize the way British and German data are gathered, the first step is to check the legislative reports based on these selected areas. For this purpose, the topic areas, which can be linked to the refugee crisis have to be selected. Figure 2 in the Appendix presents the selected subject areas in which one may assume the refugee crisis have been discussed. Further explanation is provided by Table 3 to be found in the Appendix. Based on these policy areas, all legislative speeches at the DIP and Hansard online website will be checked. Besides from selecting data according to a timeframe and certain subject areas, it is also possible to sort data according to keywords. For this purpose, the abovementioned websites provide an extended search function. Keywords which can be related to the topic of this paper have to be elaborated. As the next section will construct a coding scheme for the analysis, some keywords can be obtained from those schemes. Since this is a very interpretative way to gather data, this can be considered as an extension to the former method of selecting the appropriate debates. The next step will consider a selection according to the agenda topics indicated in the protocols. As the former methods are very interpretative, the last step will re-check all debates, which have been made in the timeframe in order to prevent data from getting lost. Therefore, the website provided by the Bundestag, the British parliament and Hansard online will be used for the last step of gathering data.

The Tables 4 and 5 in the Appendix present the German and British data which can be used. As both tables show the size of these data varies. As a result, it might happen that a small citation mentioned once during a parliamentary debate can be found in this list, or a whole debate up to 50 pages.

For the analysis it is not important whether a data is long or short. Indeed, since this paper focuses on how debates on burden sharing have developed, long data reflects the discussions made on this topic. However, even small citations might provide evidence for a debate on burden sharing in the context of the refugee crisis, or it might provide information and understanding for an aspect mentioned before.

3.4 Method of Data Analysis

As the thesis' main objective is to analyse the legislative speeches, in the context of burden sharing with regard to the current refugee crisis, a qualitative content analysis is the appropriate research technique (Krippendorff, 1989). Different to a qualitative approach, which is focused on numerical data, this research "focuses on the characteristics of language as communication with attention to the content or contextual meaning of the text" (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1278). Characterised as one of the indispensable methods of analysis in social science, qualitative content analysis is the ideal way to describe governments' opinion on burden sharing measures (Krippendorff, 1989, p. 404). This research technique implies the construction of a coding scheme in order to analyse text data. According to Babbie (2004), "coding is the process of transforming raw data into a standardized form" (p. 338). Since the thesis' objective lies in describing and understanding the debate on burden sharing which "involves an interpretation of the underlying meaning of the text" (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004, p. 106), this research focuses on latent coding. As the previous sections show diverse legislative speeches have to be analysed in order to answer the research question. Therefore, a coding scheme, capturing the most important aspects related to the conceptual framework, will serve as orientation while analysing the textual data. Such schemes can be understood as a help to remain focused in order to provide an accurate and precise analysis. Therefore, it is important to choose how the coding scheme will be constructed. Since the conceptual framework outlined in Chapter 2 can be used in order to analyse the data, a directed content analysis is going to be conducted. As Hsieh & Shannon (2005) claim, the advantage of this approach is that "existing theory or research can help focus the research question" (p. 1281). Furthermore, the findings based on this approach may "extend conceptually a theoretical framework or theory" (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1281). Based on these arguments, the coding scheme will be constructed in a deductive way "in which initial coding starts with a theory or relevant research findings" (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2005, p. 2).

In order to obtain a coding scheme, it is important that the literature has been concentrated to their essentials. However, that type of reduction "refers to a process of shortening while still preserving the core" (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004, p. 106) content by attaining the quality of the literature. Hereby, creating codes, themes and categorisations are the main instrument. According to this, the first step deals with the initial coding in which codes are formulated. Such codes can be understood as "first impression-

phrases" (Saldana, 2009, p. 4), which means that sections of the literature are provided with a heading. By having done so, it is important to find repetitive codes and correlations in order to provide a better overview. Due to this, "coding is the only initial step toward an even more rigorous and evocative analysis and interpretation for a report" (Saldana, 2009, p. 8). Supplementary, coding provides the opportunity to find linkages among codes due to similarities. Based on this, codes sharing the same commonality can be put in a categorisation (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004, p. 107). It is important to mention that categories have to be "internally homogeneous and externally heterogeneous" (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004, p. 107). The last step includes the examination whether categories can be linked together or are interrelated. This step allows a more generalised view of the whole construct by assigning categories to concepts. Put simply it is important to keep in mind that recoding and recategorising is a significant component during the coding process (Saldana, 2009, p. 10). Since this type of research technique is dependent on interpretation and analysis, changing the codes or categorisation is a common practice.
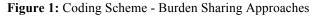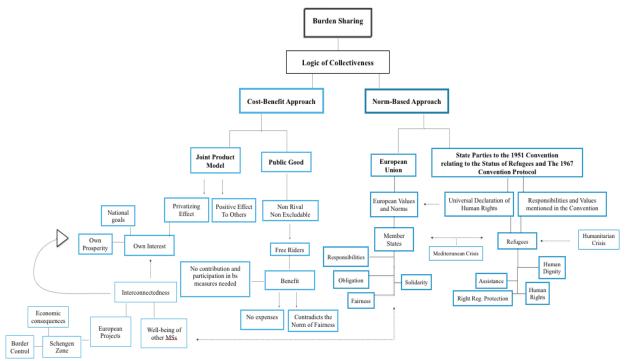
3.4.1 Coding Scheme

In order to analyse the burden sharing debates in the light of the refugee crisis, a coding scheme will be constructed. As mentioned above, it will be constructed in a deductive way, which means the construction will be based on the conceptual framework outlined in the second section. As this section has shown, there are two different aspects how burden sharing can be discussed. The first aspect is related to the different burden sharing approaches, which outline reasons initiating states to participate in burden sharing measures. By outlining the important keywords related to the different approaches, this coding scheme facilitates the description of the motives and reasoning of the national governments regarding burden sharing measures. The second coding scheme refers to the three different types of burden sharing mechanism Eiko R. Thielemann (2005, 2008) mentions. Since there are different instruments of introducing burden sharing, there will be three different coding schemes. By having constructed these schemes, which comprise all important keywords in regard to the different instrument types, this thesis is capable of describing the instruments governments are in favour or against. As the purpose of this thesis is to reconstruct the parliamentary debates on burden sharing, the legislative speeches can be analysed on behalf of these two different aspects. At first, the governments' perceptions and their reasons regarding burden sharing measures will be revealed, and secondly, the types of instruments governments propose or oppose will be elaborated. This provides an overall description and analysis of the burden sharing debate among national governments. Before constructing and explaining the coding scheme it is important to mention that as Thielemann explains, burden sharing related to refugees and asylum policies (and hence in the context of the refugee crisis) is very delicate.

According to Thielemann, the expression "burden" which normally implies a negative meaning should not be related to protection seekers, since refugees should not be considered as "burden".

Burden Sharing Approaches

The main thought of burden sharing is to distribute burden among several actors, possible only through collaboration. According to this, burden should not be concentrated only on one actor, but instead divided in order to prevent an imbalanced accumulation of burden.

Figure 1: Coding Scheme - Burden Sharing Approaches

There are two burden sharing theories illustrating reasons for participating at such burden sharing measures: the cost-benefit and norm-based approach. As the main idea of this thesis is to find an answer based on this scheme, it is necessary to code some keywords. Although both theories emphasise the importance of collaboration and cooperation among actors, the main intention for participation in burden sharing measures differs. As Thielemann (2003a, 2005, 2006) describes, there are two different concepts used by different researchers within this approach. Therefore, coding keywords must be done separately. Since the cost-benefit approach emphasises making decisions rationally, actors are focused in extracting advantages through collaboration. Therefore, pursuing their own interest is ranked first. The public good theory states that protection of refugees is described as non-rival and non-excludable (Thielemann, 2006).

Since in this theory the problem of free riders is an important element, which states that due to its attributes, states are not motivated to be involved in burden sharing since they benefit from actions other states do, the following words are important: "benefit", "no expenses". Unlike this theory, the joint product model says that burden sharing has, indeed, a positive effect to others, but the privatising effect which only contributing states enjoy, encourage them to participate. This means that benefits states could attain are bigger by initiating compared to those obtained by free riding. So according to that type of effect, goals MSs want to achieve motivate them to participate. Therefore, the following words are important: "own interest", "national goals" and "own prosperity". As in this case, both countries are members of the European Union, and countries in this union can be described as highly interconnected, for instance due to the European integration projects in the economic and political sector, the well-being of all members can be considered as highly important in order to achieve one's own (country's) prosperity. This type of interconnectedness mostly means that one country's misery affect other countries' welfare. So according to this theory, the participation at burden sharing measures would be a decision to support those countries affected the most by the refugee crisis which cannot handle this situation, and consequently retain their own prosperity. Regarding this current situation some MSs have been affected more than others by the refugee crisis, which made it difficult for them to deal appropriately with this situation. Related to this, one of the biggest European projects, the Schengen Agreement, has been a highly discussed topic and has been placed at risk during the refugee crisis (Traynor, 2016). Since this project is of particular importance allowing "more than 400 million EU citizens" (European Commission, 2017b) free movement in the EU and creates a "Europe without internal borders" which "brings huge benefits to the economy as well" (European Commission, n.d., p. 3), participating in burden sharing measures can lead to managing the refugee crisis and to the continued existence of the Schengen Zone from which MSs would profit a lot. Unlike this, the introduction of "border control" and "fences" at borders can be understood as negative effects.
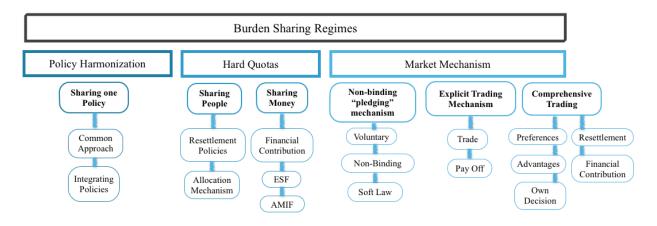
Different than the latter, the norm-based approach emphasises norm guided behaviour created, as Thielemann (2003a, p. 254) argues, by institutions. In this context the European Union can be seen as the "institution" on which the governments' identities are built. As the European Union can be described as a union of countries coming together by sharing the same values and norms, one may say that the UK and Germany are shaped and attached by/to them. As "asylum and the provision of refugee protection should be adopted on the basis of 'solidarity' and 'the fair sharing of responsibility' between the Member States of the European Union" (Gray, 2013, p. 176) these two principles can be understood as the most important codes of this approach. Furthermore, it is important to mention that in contrast to the codes of the cost-benefit approach, codes of the second one can be seen as highly related. As Goldner Lang (2013) argue "responsibility sharing can be seen as one of the manifestations of the principle of solidarity" (p. 7).

As Thielemann (2005, p. 10) outlines, solidarity can refer to a member of a common institution and to other persons, therefore solidarity is an important keyword in the next category as well. Besides these national governments' identity that are attached to the European Union, these states are parties to the "1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees" and "the 1967 Convention Protocol" (United Nations, 1948; UNHCR, n.d.). Since joining the European Union implies simultaneously being bound to these Conventions, both identities are related in this coding scheme. Here, the keywords are related to the obligations and responsibilities set out in this Convention and it was "Grounded in Article 14 of the Universal Declaration of human rights 1948" (UNHCR, n.d., p. 2) some are related to the norms and values mentioned there. Since the identities based on "the EU" and on "the Convention relating to the Status of Refugee" are both related, some keywords can be the same.

Burden Sharing Mechanisms

After having coded the legislative speeches based on the different burden sharing approaches in order to analyse government's reasons to participate at burden sharing measures, a second coding scheme will be constructed in order to analyse the government's opinion regarding the different instruments of introducing burden sharing.

Figure 2: Coding Scheme - Burden Sharing Regimes

As Thielemann (2005) argues, there are three different instruments in order to share burden. Since the first instrument relates to harmonising policy, all keywords refer to the existence of only on policy within the European Union. Therefore, the following keywords are important: "sharing policy", "common approach" and "integration". As the instrument Hard Quotas is divided in two categories, the keywords differ. While "sharing people" relates to the "physical burden sharing of people" (Thielemann, 2005, p. 17), keywords as "resettlement policies" and "relocation schemes" are important. Unlike this, the second category refers to "sharing money", thus everything related to financial contribution is relevant.

Since there are already some funds in order to provide states with money in such situations, the ERF and the Asylum, Migration and integration Fund (AMIF) are crucial (Thielemann, 2003b, p. 232; European Commission, 2017a). In regard to the last instrument, which are described as market mechanism, three different types can be found. While the first one refers to an involvement of member states on a voluntary basis, keywords such as "voluntary", "free choice" and "non-binding/soft law" are essential. The second instrument is only possible through the existence of a quota system. Here options as "trade" and "pay off".

The last instrument claims that states have the right to decide how they want to contribute. Unlike the first one, here states are obliged to participate in burden sharing, but they can decide in what ways they want to contribute. Thus the keywords refer to all types of contribution ("financial contribution" "resettlement policies" "relocation schemes" "financial contribution") and to issues influencing their decisions ("preferences", "advantages").

3.5 Concluding Remarks

This chapter provides an overview of the methodological approach of this thesis. In order to reconstruct the parliamentary debates on burden sharing, conducting a case study is considered as the appropriate research strategy. This strategy allows the focus to be on the content of the legislative debates, in order to gain insights into governments' perception on burden sharing measures. Besides, deciding on the research design, this chapter provides explanation about the cases and the data that will be selected and collected. In regard to the abovementioned criteria, Germany and the UK can be considered as the most relevant cases to analyse in this context. As one of the most influential countries in the EU, their perception on burden sharing may have a strong impact on how this crisis will proceed and will have an impact on future political decisions. In order to reconstruct both parliamentary debates, their legislative speeches, which reflect the content of these debates, can be considered as appropriate data source by providing all important information needed for this research. During the analysis, the selected legislative speeches will be analysed based on the coding scheme. The use of a coding scheme as an analytical tool ensures a precise and detailed examination of the burden sharing debate. The first step is to analyse the legislative debates in regard to the two burden sharing approaches: norm-based and cost-benefit approach. This will reveal the government's motivation toward that kind of measure. In the next step, their preferences regarding how burden sharing should be acquired in the light of the refugee crisis will be examined. For this purpose, the speeches will be analysed in regard to Thielemann's (2005) framework of the burden sharing regime which presents different approaches to achieve a distribution of burden. After having described and analysed these debates, the findings will be presented which will provide the answer to the research question.

4. Analysis

After having provided the theoretical framework and outlined the methodological approach, this chapter is focused on the analysis of the 2015 parliamentary debates regarding burden sharing in Germany and the UK. Parliaments provide a stage for debates on important issues. Here, members of parliament can seize the opportunity, through their legislative speeches to discuss important topics, and bring them to the public's attention. Hence, in order to reconstruct the debates on burden sharing in the light of the refugee crisis, these legislative speeches will be analysed based on the coding scheme constructed in the previous chapter. As the conceptualisation chapter has demonstrated, burden sharing debates in regard to refugee protection can be analysed based on two different aspects: burden sharing approach and regimes (mechanisms). As Thielemann (2003a, 2005) explains, the first refers to the motivations of a government to participate in such measures, while the latter refers to the way governments want to share the burden. In order to gain an overall view on how these debates have developed, both legislative speeches will be analysed based on this distinction. Hence, the analysis of the British and German speeches is divided in two parts. At first, this analysis will reveal the government's perspective on burden sharing measures. Since national interests and concerns vary widely from country to country due to its economic, political and historical background, this part will not only uncover the perceptions and opinions regarding burden sharing measures, but it will also provide explanations of their point of view. Furthermore, a national government's preferences regarding how burden sharing should be acquired in the light of the refugee crisis will be examined. This section will address the government's opinion on the different burden sharing measures. By doing so, the types of instruments and mechanisms they propose or oppose will be explored. In order to proceed in a structured manner, the most significant and expressive citations in regard to the particular aspect will be presented in the analysis. Based on these, the debates on the particular aspect are described. This provides a good basis in order to analyse and interpret the debates. For this purpose, further citations, which can be found in the Tables 6 - 15 in the Appendix, provide additional information. Finally, the most important findings of both parliamentary debates will be summarized.

4.1 Parliamentary debates in the UK on burden sharing in light of the refugee crisis

At first, this chapter will focus on the legislative speeches held in the British parliament in the light of the refugee crisis in 2015. As already expected, the speeches show evidence that the word and expression 'burden sharing' has been used little during these debates. However, the theoretical framework of burden sharing, provided in the second chapter, allows for the determination of measures which can be classified as being burden sharing oriented while analysing the speeches. In order to reconstruct the burden sharing debates in the UK, this section will analyse the government's burden sharing approach, and then its perspective on the various burden sharing mechanisms.

4.1.2 Burden sharing approach

As researchers such as Thielemann (2003a, 2005, 2006), Sandler (1990) and others explain, two burden sharing approaches can be analysed which illustrate a government's motivation toward that kind of measure. Based on this, the following part will analyse the legislative debates in regard to the norm-based and cost-benefit approach. At first, the most important citations will be presented in order to describe the British burden sharing debates. In addition to this, further citations (which can be found in the Tables 6 and 7 in the Appendix) will complete the description of the parliamentary debates. In the next step, the description of the observations, which are made based on these citations, will be interpreted and analysed in regard to the abovementioned approaches.

- Norm-based approach -

According to the norm-based approach, norms and values encourage a government to participate in burden sharing measures. In order to analyse the legislative speeches in regard to this approach, the following citations have been selected:

Table 2: UK Burden sharing approach **–** Citations

"(…) the Italians are bearing the brunt of this problem. More than 250.000 people travel across the Mediterranean every year; 3.200 have died (…) It is not just Italy, though. In the past five years, the Committee has also visited the border between Greece and Turkey. We know what pressure the Greeks are under, because of their economic situation, and people are flooding into Turkey from Iraq and Syria, despite the efforts of the Turkish Government." (Vaz, 9 March 2015, p. 92)
"This Minister will be aware that migration is an issue of huge concern for the Government of Italy, given the steady flow of boats from the desperate situation in Libya. The Italian Government feel, with some justification, that they are dealing with a situation that affects all of Europe." (McFadden, 9 March 2015, p. 85)
"(...) Gentleman is right to draw our attention to the serious migrant issues in Greece. I think we all remember seeing the television images a few weeks ago of the boat crashing into the rocks off the beaches in Greece. I know that the Home Secretary and other European Interior Ministers have spoken to the Greek Government about the direct assistance we can provide to help them police their borders and deal with what is, of course, a common challenge." (Osborne, 6 July 2015, p. 46)

As the citations of the parliamentarians Vaz (9 March 2015, p. 92) and Osborne (6 July 2015, p. 46) show, the focus during the debates turned to Greece and Italy which have witnessed a massive inflow of illegal migrants entering their territory. Besides from intensively discussing how to manage the refugee crisis on a European level, both describe the situation in which asylum seekers cross the Mediterranean by boats. This is a trend, which according to McFadden (9 March 2015, p. 85) is expected to continue. In this context, Osbourne (9 March 2015, p. 92) points to the Greek economy which he states is making it much harder for this government to deal with the refugee crisis. Further politicians, stress that since the entire European Union can be understood as the refugees' desired destination, the responsibility in dealing and managing this crisis lie with all Member States, rather than with just two countries (Vaz, 23 February 2015, p. 39; Robertson, 8 September 2015, p. 413; Robertson, 9 September 2015, p. 417).

Based on these observations one may say that, the British government sees burden sharing as a measure to support the Member States most affected by the crisis. The most striking evidence is that dealing with the refugee crisis is described as a "common challenge" and as a "situation (that) affects all of Europe" which reflects that assisting those countries is regarded as a collective responsibility. Thus, the refugee crisis is regarded as a European problem. As the norm-based approach, this justifies a government's participation with burden sharing measures as originated in their identities created through institutions, and consequently by a norm-guided behaviour. These citations demonstrate that the British government's motivation for burden sharing measures can be linked to this approach. However in regard to Thielemann's (2003a) explanation of the norm-based approach, a government's participation in burden sharing measures is not only a consequence of pursuing the well-being of other member states, but it is also out of compassion and sympathy for the refugees. While the abovementioned description provides evidence for the former, it is crucial to see if the latter can be applied as well. Hence, the following citations have been selected:

Table 3: UK Burden sharing approach – Citations

"Yes, I do, and that is why Britain fulfills its obligations in taking asylum seekers from all over the world and having a system that many other countries see is robust and fair. It is also why we are playing our role in the Mediterranean - first with HMS Bulwark, now with HMS Enterprise - rescuing people who are desperately in need. It is also why, uniquely among the large, rich countries, we have kept our promise about funding overseas aid and are investing in the north African countries from which these people are coming. I am quite convinced that we are doing what we should to fulfill our moral obligations as a nation." (Cameron, 24 June 2015, p. 883)
"The whole country has been deeply moved by the heart-breaking images that we have seen over the past few days. It is absolutely right that Britain should fulfill its moral responsibility to help the refugees, just as we have done so proudly throughout our history." (Cameron, 7 September 2015, p. 23)

In response to Alison McGovern's (24 June 2015, p. 883) question of whether the citation of the great Englishman John Donne: "No man is an Island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the Continent, a part of the main" could be applied to the situation of minor refugees, the then Prime Minister David Cameron (24 June 2015, p. 883) explains that this is precisely the reason for the British involvement in asylum politics. In this regard, Cameron lists all actions the British government is adopting in this policy sector. According to him, the country is doing everything in its power in order to comply with their moral obligations and commitments. Almost three months later, the British idea of assuming its moral duties in regard to asylum seekers was raised again by Cameron (7 September 2015, p. 23). In this context, other politicians stressed that people traffickers and smugglers pose a particular threat to individuals by offering dangerous journeys to Europe (Benn, 1 June 2015, p. 332). Furthermore, it is argued that such criminals are focused on making profit out of desperate people while also putting their lives at risk.

Based on these observations, one may say that British motives for burden sharing measures also stem from their compassion towards protection seekers, the second component of the norm-based approach. The citations show that supporting refugees is considered as a moral responsibility (16 June 2015, p. 291). In this regard, more politicians give emphasis to the rights of refugees, and all in all, one may say that the UK acknowledges its own governmental humanitarian responsibility. Hence, the provision of (humanitarian) aid is considered as crucial (Lidington, 12 February 2015). In particular, Cameron's comments about the poem show that the idea that every human being (the whole world) is connected and that everyone is part of something bigger, demonstrates the feeling of responsibility towards other individuals. One may say that finding a European solution in order to share the burden of the refugee crisis is considered by the British government as an opportunity to help refugees, and at the same time to provide live-saving measures (Cameron, 7 September 2015, p. 23). In this regard, combating smugglers and their illegal activities is regarded as the main solution in saving those individuals crossing the Mediterranean on dangerous boat journeys. To prevent such occurrences, the British government emphasizes a European approach, which implies the cooperation of every Member State in addressing the challenges of this crisis.

- Cost-benefit approach -

The following section focused on the second burden sharing approach: the cost-benefit approach. While the prior approach stressed a norm guided behaviour as the motivator for government's decision to take part in burden sharing measures, the second approach assumed that if a government benefits from a burden sharing measure or if it brings them closer to their goals it automatically provides an incentive for governments to participate in such measures.

Table 4: UK Burden sharing approach - Citations

"However, Greece provides a vital service to the rest of the EU because it polices the external borders of the EU. Every month 7.000 illegal migrants cross the border between Turkey and Greece, and if we do not support Greece, that becomes our problem in the future." (Vaz, 23 February 2015, p. 39)
"They end up in Athens, but their destination of choice is the UK and western Europe (...) Illegal migration is the No. 1 issue facing the EU (...) As I have said, once the migrants have reached Calais, it is far too late (...)" (Vaz, 9 March 2015, p. 92)
"The Human Rights Act has become a charter for illegal immigrants to avoid deportation, for criminals to avoid what was the will of this House when laws were set, and to allow prisoners to pursue vexatious complaints completely needlessly and at taxpayers' expense. That is really what the Human Rights Act has delivered. (...) The Human Rights Act has been abused by people whom it was never intended to support in the first place. We cannot just sit idly by and allow that to continue. When we have seen that happen, it is quite right that this Parliament should act to make sure that the laws are in place as we intended and that we do not have those unintended consequences and unintended abuses going unchecked. (...) The Government need to do something about that and not just allow it continue - hopefully, by seeing through the repeal of the Human Rights Act." (Davies, 28 May 2015, pp. 273 - 274)

At the beginning of 2015, Vaz (23 February 2015, p. 39) underlines the importance of the actions the Greek government took in response to the mass influx of people. The reason for this is, in particular its geographic location and the fact that a high amount of illegal migrants were crossing the Greek and Turkish borders. In regard to this, the parliamentarian emphasized that lack of support from the British government could turn this crisis into a British problem. One Month later, Vaz (9 March 2015, p. 92) explains that the objective of illegal migrants are to arrive at the UK and other Western countries, and from this Greece can be considered merely as a transit nation (Vaz, 24 June 2015, p. 894). In this context, illegal migration was described as the main problem for the whole EU. During the refugee crisis parliamentarians such as Philip Davies (28 May 2015, pp. 273 - 274) raised the concern of the Human Rights Act. As he stated, this act will be used as excuse for migrants who reach the UK illegally to not be deported. In this regard, an problem mentioned often during parliamentary debates is that foreign nationals who committed crimes take advantage of the rights enshrined in this convention so they are able to stay in the country. Hence, Davies and other parliamentarians pressed for the abolition of this act.

The description of these citations show, that in particular the fear of illegal migrants stimulates the British government's willingness to tackle the refugee crisis (Vaz, 9 March 2015, p. 92). Hence, one may say that the cost-benefit approach can be applied as well in illustrating motives for the British government to participate in burden sharing measures. In this regard, the British government's motives to participate in burden sharing measures are that a lack of assistance for Greece and Italy would not only abandon these countries, it would in fact increase the risk of illegal migrants entering its own territory (Vaz, 23 February 2015, p. 19; Cooper, 8 September 2015, p. 246). In this regard, it is not surprisingly that some politicians consider the borderless Schengen zone as a huge problem regarding illegal migration (May, 19 March 2015, 71 WS).

The French city of Calais in particular acts as the main entrance for refugees to the UK, and is perceived as the major concern (Vaz, 9 March 2015, p. 91-92; Brokenshire, 16 June 2015, p. 297). Based on the description of the citations, one may assume that people traffickers and smugglers can be considered as the main problematic aspect. They are considered as a threat to both, the refugees and the EU, since they help refugees (illegal migrants) to enter Europe illegally. In this context, illegal migrants are not only regarded as a challenge to the security of British and European borders, but also as a threat to the British welfare system by exposing the risk of abuse of the asylum system. This topic, however, already attracted a lot attention in the UK before this crisis. The recent immigration bill, The Immigration Act 2016, was presented in order to control and reduce illegal migration (Davies, 2016), on the grounds that this migration type puts "uncontrolled pressure on public service" and "damage (the) labour market" (Wintour, 2015). A further incentive was the "British Bill of Rights" proposed by the Conservative Party to gain more control over illegal migration (the Conservative Party, 2014, p. 5). This includes a reform by replacing the Human Rights Act in the UK in order to "tackle the misuse of the rights contained in the Convention" (the Conservative Party, 2014, p. 5). As this shows, the fight against illegal migration has been an important issue in British parliamentary debates before the refugee crisis, and consistently during this event (Cameron, 24 June 2015, p. 877). This provides evidence that besides from pursuing the well-being of the external EU border countries and refugees, one may also see that these motives are closely intertwined with pursuing their own goals. While the British government guarantees MSs and refugees assistance during this crisis, such behaviour is not only driven by selfless motives, and not only for reasons of solidarity and fairness. Instead, solving this crisis is also regarded as a matter of self-protection. Hence, in addition to the norm-based approach, the cost-benefit approach can be applied to illustrate the motives of the British government in participating in burden sharing measures.

As the analysis will show, there has been later that year discussions on the British refusal to relocate refugees on European level. Hence, the UK was considered by some parliamentarians as a free rider. Instead of refusing relocation programs, the British government should take a more active role, and in addition to that, they should convince other free riders as Eastern European countries to join. However in general one may say that free riders were discussed during legislative speeches, in which the whole parliament sees to agree on describing especially the Eastern European countries as free riders (Robertson, 3 June 2015, p. 583). Besides this, the Joint Product Model which extended Olson's public good theory (Thielemann, 2003a, p. 256) could be also applied in this context as well. While in 2015 the European Commission tries to encourage MSs to participate in resettlement schemes, the British government stressed that support involve more other options than only such relocation plans, as for instance providing support in securing borders. After having analysed the motives for the British government, there seems to be some ambiguity within the content of their speeches.

The way the British government refers to refugees may seem paradoxical within their debates. Whereas the British government recognizes that refugees are in a particularly precarious position, they are, on the other hand, associated with "being dangerous". In this regard, it seems that the idea of providing asylum seekers protection has been abandoned and have little value when it comes to protecting the country from illegal migration.

4.1.2. Burden Sharing Regime

After having analysed the parliamentary speeches in regard to the burden sharing approaches, the following section will analyse how the government intended to share the burden resulting from the refugee crisis. As the conceptualization illustrates, Thielemann's (2005) framework of the burden sharing regime presents different approaches to achieve a distribution of burden. Considering this, the legislative speeches will be analysed based on the three different types of burden sharing mechanisms. Hence, this section will firstly, describe and then analyse the government's opinions and debates on policy harmonization, hard quotas and market mechanisms.

- Policy Harmonization -

At first, this section will analyze the British legislative debates in regard to the burden sharing mechanism policy harmonization. Therefore, the following main citations have been selected:

Table 5: UK Burden sharing regime - Citations

"Dealing with illegal migration requires an EU approach; it is not just a matter for the United Kingdom." (Vaz, 9 March 2015, p. 92)
"We believe that the EU must continue to address the root causes of refugees and economic migrants crossing the Mediterranean and identify comprehensive solutions in those countries from which migrants originate and transit that will reduce the push factors, build stability, create livelihoods, and tackle the criminal gangs and smuggling networks. The UK is leading the way through alleviating poverty and working to stabilize countries of origin and transit. We are disrupting smuggling networks. We are tackling the perception that getting on a boat will lead to automatic entry into the EU. And we continue to work closely with EU and African partners ." (Lidington, 16 July 2015, 45 WS)

In March 2015, Vaz (9 March 2015, p. 92) and other British politicians (Gethins, 27 May 2015, pp. 143-144) stressed the importance of a European approach in order to manage the refugee crisis. As the next citation explains, a part of the European approach should be to deal with the refugees that cross the Mediterranean in order to reach the EU. In this regard, Lidington (16 July 2015, 45 WS) argued further that the British government had to focus on eliminating the perception that crossing the Mediterranean illegally would automatically lead to permission to stay. This is is linked to the idea of securing European borders to stop the huge influx, and was also embraced by other parliamentarians.

As others argued, this measure is considered as important since assuring protection of the borders at the Mediterranean would permit control of migration and, thus, would impede illegal migrants from entering the EU. In order to guarantee control of the external borders, the British government underlined its support for the European operations, for instance with CEASO, Frontex, the Triton operation which replaced the operation Mare Nostrum, and other European actions in this field. Furthermore, the UK stressed its support for the external border countries by providing their own maritime instruments, and by helping improve techniques, which simplify the handling of the refugee inflow (Hammond, 9 June 2015, p. 1039). Whereas European actions were regarded as important, those are simultaneously criticized for not been implemented inadequately yet and for lack of support by some MSs. During the debates, the UK keeps on stressing the importance of such projects as the main measure to stop illegal and irregular migration. And calls for more joint action in this field. Apart from securing the external borders, the legislative speeches show that in addition to that border controls, controls among MSs' borders and in particular the British border, are considered as extremely important (Brokenshire, 8 June 2015, p. 906). In this context the main concern is the Schengen zone, which was highly criticized since it makes it possible for illegal migrants to cross European borders, thereby posing a danger for the UK. In this regard, the British government stresses the importance of the command Border Force as a key aspect of securing its own borders, and hopes that the Schengen zone closes its borders. Furthermore, the legislative speeches show that securing European borders was strongly criticized by some members of the British parliament. At the beginning of February, accusations were already being made that the EU's focus during the refugee crisis, lay more with the protection of its borders than in saving lives in the Mediterranean. This issue has continued to be criticized throughout the year 2015, hereby leading to increased calls to adopt a more humanitarian approach.

Coming back to Lidington's citation, sharing one approach should also involve the combating of the root causes of the refugee inflow. This means that governments should address the push factors, which force people to leave their home countries. As other citations show (Table 8 in the Appendix), this should comprise stabilizing origin and transit countries, and striving for cooperation with African countries. The former strategy focusing on the countries of origin and third countries (transit- and neighbour countries) by Lidington (16 July 2015, 45 WS) has received considerable support by other politicians. Such proactive measures are proposed in order to stabilize the home countries of refugees, in other words to address the root causes. By improving the living conditions in those countries, it makes it possible for individuals to stay in their countries of origin, instead of embarking on the dangerous road to Europe. Hence, the British government called for European actions regarding the stabilization of those countries (May, 5 March 2015, p. 81 WS). Furthermore, stabilizing home countries is considered as the only solution providing a long-term effect (Greening, 3 June 2015, p. 573).

By ensuring that these countries are rebuilt and living conditions are improved, people have no further incentive to travel to Europe and may stay in their country of origin. To achieve this, the UK emphasizes its leading role on international level regarding development aid by in particular emphasizing its generous aid budget of 0.7 % GDP (Cameron, 3 June 2015, p. 583; Cameron, 7 September 2015, p. 23). Besides stabilizing the countries of origin, the British government stressed the importance of stabilizing transit countries as well. In this regard, striving for cooperation and stabilizing African countries are also considered as incentives in creating new opportunities to deal with this migration inflow, as for instance to stop human traffickers in order to prevent people from coming to Europe. In this regard, the British government stresses the importance of Libya as cooperation partner in order to control and prevent (illegal) migration flow (Cameron, 25 February 2015, pp. 318-319; Ellwood, 9 June 2015, p. 1029). Using Libya as an example, the British government called upon the EU to introduce more measures with the objective to improve the economic and governmental situation in third countries. Furthermore, the British government stresses its participation in various programs as for instance the Middle East program, Khartoum process, EU regional development and protection plan (Vaz, 1 June 2015, p. 332; Brokenshire, 16 June 2015, p. 298). All in all, the British government assumes that cooperation with African countries allows the controlling and eventually stopping of the illegal migration inflow by impeding refugees beginning their journey to the EU illegally. This should help in achieving the objective of making illegal migration less attractive for the next individuals (Lidington, 16 July 2015, 45 WS). Furthermore, it would put an end to the criminal activities by smugglers. According to the British government, such a type of cooperation, with for instance the Maghreb countries could have prevented the refugee inflow on the islands of Kos. Therefore, incentives pursuing closer partnership with African (third) countries, such as the Khartoum process, are considered as essential approaches. In this context the British government exemplifies the approach adopted by Spain, which should be used as a model for similar future events. As a response to the high inflow of migrants, Spain accomplished on the basis of a cooperative approach with African countries (Senegal and Morocco) to tackle "the pressure on the route towards the Canary Islands and south of Spain" (Frontex, 2015, p. 6). As the next section will explain more in detail, the British government is not a supporter of relocating refugees from Greece and Italy (Vaz, 28 May 2015, p. 229). As a result, the UK agreed on the Syrian vulnerable persons resettlement programme in which refugees will be resettled directly from African countries instead from other MSs. To achieve this, stabilizing African governments by facilitating cooperation is fundamental in order to implement this resettlement plan.

Unlike academic literature expected, the British parliament did not pay attention to harmonization of policies during their debates. Consequently, there have been no debates about standardizing or regulating as such. Instead, the British government emphasised an EU-wide solution to relieve the external border countries by focusing on *sharing one strategy* on the EU level. Based on these citations, one may say that the UK is pursuing two main strategies: securing European borders and, stabilizing and collaborating with third countries. It is important to mention that the UK stresses the importance of sharing a common approach in regard to reactive measures. However this will be analysed in detail later in this section. In regard to the former strategy, the borders at the external MSs, across the MSs and their own British borders should to be secured. This should help achieve the following goals in a couple of key ways: Firstly, securing the external borders should stop illegal migration in general, hence it would relieve the MSs at the external borders from the pressure. Besides, securing their own borders and the borders of MSs should prevent illegal migrants from reaching the UK. As a non-member of the Schengen Agreement, it was not particularly surprising that this European project was intensively criticized since it makes it possible for refugees to cross the EU (illegally). Secondly, this strategy should combat the humanitarian problem, thereby saving people from drowning in the Mediterranean, which demonstrates a change in the government's perspective on this measure. Unlike previous years in which the British government disapproved the plan of rescuing people in the Mediterranean in order to discourage refugees from coming to the EU illegally (Travis, 2014), in 2015 securing borders was seen as a supplementary measure to stop the deaths in the Mediterranean (Benn, 17 June 2015, p. 312). In comparison, controlling European borders has been, especially due to the establishment of the Schengen zone, an important aspect in refugee protection on European level (Carrera, 2007).

Furthermore, one could conclude that sharing one approach should also involve the combating of the root causes of the refugee inflow. According to the UK, this strategy is regarded as the only one providing a long-term effect since it addresses the main causes of the refugee crisis. Besides, stabilizing and striving for cooperation with African countries should provide better opportunities to cooperate in order to stop illegal migrants from entering the EU. Proactive measures are mentioned in academic literature in regard to refugee protection (Thielemann & Armstrong, 2013). However, it has not been included in any burden sharing approach and is not considered as such a measure. As the citations demonstrate, it becomes clear that the UK considers financial assistance to projects aiming at stabilizing and reconstructing third countries as crucial (May, 14 July 2015, p. 733). In this regard, the government underlines the high sums that have been invested in reconstruction and assistance programs. In particular, the government emphasized its role as second largest donor to areas of conflict, which plays a big part in dealing with the main causes of the refugee crisis. And as the OECD (2016) shows, it proves to be true that the British government is one of the few countries, which sticks to the UN Target of 0.7% of GDP.

Furthermore, it shows that the UK is one of the "largest donor countries by volume" (OECD, 2016). With regard to the disastrous situation in Syria, the British government has provided as second largest donor more than USD 700 million in humanitarian assistance (Ostrand, 2015, p. 266). Hence, one may say that reactive measures could also play an important role in burden sharing.

As the UK explains, stabilizing neighbour countries would in particular facilitate the British own resettlement plan, which will be elaborated more in detail in the next section. A further measure was the idea to force illegal migrants to return back (Cameron, 3 June 2015, p. 583). In this regard, cooperating with third countries could facilitate the construction of migration centres to which refugees can return in case of migrating illegally to Europe. However, considering the huge influx of refugees it is not quite clear how the British government wants to proceed with refugees, which are already in the EU. One may say that the legislative speeches make it clear why stabilizing origin and transit countries are important measures. But considering the high amount of people, which are already in the EU, and the fact that an immediate action is essential, the desired effect of this strategy would probably occur too late in order to support the external border countries. Furthermore, although it is argued that securing European borders and cooperating with third countries would discourage people to migrate illegally to Europe, it is uncertain if this measure will have the intended effect since people are leaving their home countries due to life-threatening conditions (Cooper, 7 September 2015, p. 66).

- Hard Quotas -

Besides the parliamentary debates on harmonizing policies, hard quotas as a mechanism to achieve a fair distribution of burden and costs will be analysed. As the conceptualization section has shown, hard quotas are divided into "sharing people" and "sharing money."

Table 6: UK Burden sharing regime - Citations

"I think that the only difference between us is this. We are drawing a distinction between resettling the most vulnerable refugees who are outside the European Union (...) this is where I think the European Union is potentially heading down the wrong track, a relocation program for migrants who are already within the European Union. I worry that such a program would be counterproductive, and that, as I said earlier, it would reinforce the smugglers' model of getting people here in the first place. There is a disagreement with others in Europe about that. They will be going ahead with their plans, but I think that what we should be doing is helping with the resettlement, and also pointing out that our asylum system has already given asylum to many people from the most vulnerable areas of the world, and continues to do so." (Cameron, 29 June 2015, p. p. 1180)

Sharing people: This section will focus first on the former. This means that the British legislative debates will be analysed in regard to "sharing people". The following observations can be made: In his legislative speech Cameron (29 June 2015, p. p. 1180) explains that the UK will keep supporting southern European countries during the refugee crisis, and will accept refugees. But as Cameron emphasizes, unlike other Member States refugees should be relocated from outside the EU, instead of taking refugees, which already reached the Union. As prime minister at that time, he argues that this measure can be seen as counterproductive since it encourages smugglers to proceed with their criminal activities by smuggling refugees into the EU. Further citations show that, such relocation schemes and taking refugees from European countries are considered as a short-term solution since it does not stop the main reasons for people fleeing (Grayling, 18 June 2015, p. 481). Instead of protecting people from the potential danger arising from travelling to the EU, relocating refugees, which already arrived in the EU illegally would encourage other individuals to travel the dangerous road to the EU (May, 16 September 2015, p. 105). It is argued that, resettling refugees from within the EU gives a signal to others that illegally migrating to the continent involves a guarantee of asylum. This measure is perceived by the British government as counterproductive since it encourages people to migrate illegally to the EU (Jenkin, 14 July 2015, p. 741; Cameron, 29 June 2015, p. 1180). However as some citations in the Appendix show, some politicians do not share that point of view. As the debates show, a petition on accepting more refugees was initiated (UK Debates, 8 September 2015, p. 245). As the citations show criticisms have focused on two aspects: The British point of view on the European relocation plan, and in addition to that, the British Syrian vulnerable persons resettlement programme. While some members stress the benefits of the UK's involvement in burden sharing measures, by providing assistance to Member States and refugees, others criticize the lack of commitment during the refugee crisis. According to some members of the parliament, the UK should take a leading role in relocation plans and encourage other MSs which are less enthusiastic, such as Eastern Europe, to do more (Cooper, 8 September 2015, p. 255). In particular, after some MSs had accepted the proposed relocation scheme on a European level, comparisons about the amount of accepted refugees between the UK and other European states such as Sweden and Germany have often been made (Debbonaire, 16 June 2015, p. 295). Consequently, various members of the parliament perceived the refusal of a refugee quota system as not understandable, and demand more involvement in distribution mechanisms of refugees. Besides this, the British Syrian vulnerable persons relocation program has been intensively criticized, and created heated discussions within parliament. In particular the agreed amount has been sharply criticized, triggering discussions about how refugees should be resettled (Burrowes, 29 June 2015, pp. 1203-1204; Benn, 9 September 2015, p. 427). Many critics stressed that the resettlement scheme and support efforts are directed and limited mostly to Syrian refugees, while ignoring refugees from countries as for instance Eritrea.

Apart from this, there is also criticism about the way people are going to be resettled. Unlike other states, the UK will accept 20.000 in his own resettlement program, but instead of applying for the refugee status these Syrians will be categorized as a person with "humanitarian protection" (Gardiner, 7 September 2015, p. 44).

As these observations show, the idea to "share people" (relocation and resettling plans) has been a subject of much debate during British legislative debates in 2015. Whilst at the beginning of 2015 it seemed that the British parliament shared the same point of view regarding this mechanism, later that year this strategy is approached differently among the members of parliament. It can be said that such reactive measures are not considered as the main strategy by the British government. On the contrary, it is considered as a short-term solution, which could in fact encourage other refugees to come illegally to the EU. By keeping in mind that illegal migration is a major concern in the UK, preventing people from feeling motivated to come to the EU illegally can be regarded as an important objective. Furthermore, the idea of resettling refugees from outside the EU arises. Comparing this with previous academic literature, it became clear that such a differentiation between resettling refugees from within and outside the EU has not been considered before. However, this finding provides a new perspective on this measure. As acknowledged before, refugees can be resettled from the countries, which are experiencing the highest influx refugees. In addition to that, they could also be resettled from the countries of origin or transit countries. This can be perceived as an indirect way to share the burden borne by other MSs, as in this way other countries can take the refugees before they arrive themselves at external border countries. The reason to initiate this strategy can be seen from two different perspectives. Since the UK emphasizes the concerns and responsibilities of other MSs, and the dangerous situation of refugees, resettling refugees from outside the EU can be considered as a way to support both of them. However, this can be seen from another perspective. As some citations have shown, rejecting reactive measures from within the EU could also be described as shifting the burden to the external border countries. Particularly, the very low amount of refugees the UK is willing to accept are seen as anything but supportive by other politicians. Based on these findings, it can be said that opinions regarding resettling refugees within EU are very different. This can also be reflected by the petition, which was initiated during the refugee crisis. However, it can be concluded that in regard to the introduction of compulsory and mandatory quotas, the whole parliament seems to reject this. Moreover, special attention has to be paid to Table 9 in the Appendix. As the literature predicted, the word "burden sharing" has not been often mentioned during the debates, especially since asylum seekers should not be described in such a negative manner and should not be considered by governments as burdens. As the table illustrates burden sharing has been mentioned several times. But as this shows, this is often linked to the idea of resettling refugees. The analysis has shown the British government is not a supporter of this measure and this is reflected in the citations.

The theoretical literature has shown that there are several ways in order to distribute the refugees among actors, and the fact that burden sharing as such was not often mentioned does not declare that the UK is against the distribution of burdens.

Sharing money: In order to complete the analysis on the burden sharing mechanism hard quotas, the British legislative debates have been analysed in regard to "sharing money." Therefore, the following main citations have been selected:

Table 7: UK Burden sharing regime - Citations

"In addition, we are providing practical and financial support to other EU countries, including help to process newly arrived illegal immigrants and distinguish between economic migrants and genuine refugees. (…) We must also work to stop this problem at source. The UK has a proud record of providing aid to alleviate poverty and suffering overseas. We have committed £900 million to help people displaced by the Syrian crisis, making us the second largest bilateral donor in the world in response to that humanitarian crisis." (May, 14 July 2015, p. 733)
"We are using our aid budget to alleviate poverty and suffering in the countries from which these people are coming. We are the only major country in the world that has kept the promise to spend 0.7% of our GDP on aid. We are already the second largest bilateral donor of aid to the Syrian conflict, including by providing more than 18 million food rations, giving 1.6 million people access to clean water and providing education to a quarter of a million children. Last week, we announced a further £100 million, taking our total contribution to over £1 billion. That is the UK's largest ever response to a humanitarian crisis. Some £60 million of the additional funding will help Syrians who are still in Syria. (...) Without Britain's aid to the camps, the numbers attempting the dangerous journey to Europe would be very much higher." (Cameron, 7 September 2015, p. 23)

As Theresa May (14 July 2015, p. 733) explains, the British government guarantees financial assistance and practical support to other MSs, as for instance providing goods, which should facilitate the managing of the refugee crisis. Further politicians (Table 10 in the Appendix) raise the awareness that the UK is besides from providing rescue facilities as the rescue facility at HMS Bulwark (Greening, 3 June 2015, p. 574; Hammond, 1 June 2015, p. 320), is also providing the external governments with expertise, including improving "capacity in terms of fingerprinting and sorting people" (Cameron, 7 September 2015, p. 61; Brokenshire, 16 June 2015, p. 296). Furthermore, May (14 July 2015, p. 733) stresses the major and decisive financial contribution of the UK by describing the country as the second largest bilateral donor. This is also emphasized by Cameron four months later. He argued that their aid budget, which represented 0.7% of their GDP is used to combat poverty. In addition to that, the UK is providing financial support to the humanitarian crisis by the way of food, refugee camps, etc. According to him, these financial contributions have a strong impact on the amount of people coming to the EU, since it makes possible for people to stay there.

Unlike the theoretical framework expected, quotas on financial contribution have not been discussed during the British legislative debates. Nevertheless, the British government guaranteed to provide financial assistance to other MSs. In this regard, one may say that the government contributes primarily to strategies they are pursuing which is clearly reflected in Theresa May's citation.

Hence, financial assistance is granted to actions regarding the surveillance and protection of the European borders and missions in the Mediterranean. Furthermore, the legislative speeches demonstrate that financial support can be also seen in terms of practical support. In this context, practical support means supporting MSs by providing expertise, helicopters, sending HMS Bulwark and Merlin helicopters, etc. As the analysis has shown before, proactive measures such as stabilizing origin countries and cooperating with transit countries can be seen as an important part of the British strategy to share the burden on a European level. This is reinforced particularly by Cameron's citation of "Without Britain's aid to the camps, the numbers attempting the dangerous journey to Europe would be very much higher" (7 September 2015, p. 23). Hence, the UK emphasizes its financial contribution in this matter in which the government provides a concrete amount of money they are willing to spending, in contrast to other measures. In order to address the root causes of this crisis, the British government highlights this line of thinking with its generous budget of 0.7 % GDP for development aid. These findings provide a new perspective on the burden sharing measure of "sharing money."

- Market Mechanisms -

Apart from this, the British government did not discuss any market mechanisms as a way to share the burdens caused by the refugee crisis. However, the UK made it clear that it will only support non-binding measures. Although a non-binding pledged mechanism would allow governments to decide whether to take refugees or not, one may assume that the British government is not in favour of such measures since such have been considered as counterproductive during legislative debates.

4.2 Parliamentary debates in Germany on burden sharing in light of the refugee crisis

After having concentrated on the British government, the following section will focus on the legislative speeches held in the German parliament, in light of the refugee crisis in 2015. Similar to the UK, the speeches illustrate that the term and expression 'burden sharing' has been used sparingly. Nevertheless, the theoretical framework of burden sharing described in a previous chapter makes it possible to analyse the legislative debates. In order to reconstruct the burden sharing debates in Germany, this section will analyse the government's burden sharing approach, and subsequently its perspective on the various burden sharing mechanisms.

4.2.1. Burden sharing approach

In order to describe in what ways the German parliamentary debates on burden sharing have developed, the first step is to analyse them in regard to the two burden sharing approaches: norm-based and cost-benefit approach. As explained before, these approaches illustrate a government's motivation toward burden sharing measures. For this purpose the most important citations will be presented and described. Further citations (which can be found in Appendix 11 - 12) will be used in order to provide an even more detailed overview. Based on this, the description of the debates will be interpreted and analysed in regard to the above-mentioned approaches.

- Norm-based approach -

The norm-based approach portrays norms and values as motives encouraging a government to participate in burden sharing measures. Based on this approach, the German legislative speeches will be analysed. Therefore, the following citations have been selected:

Table 8: German Burden sharing approach – Citations

"In Europe we all share responsibility for refugees. We cannot abandon the external border member states. We have to guarantee that refugees all over Europe, also in Greece and Italy, are registered. Germany is ready. And I am ready, as well, to support Italy with the reception of refugees. If necessary, the commission and all the rest of the member states have to guarantee support (…)" (de Maizière, 22. April 2015, p. 9449)
"We are a community of humanity, peace and solidarity. If we do not want to lose this, we have to take joint responsibility; otherwise we betray our values, and the reasons which make us a unique continent." (Göring-Eckardt, 22. April 2015, p. 9452)

In April, Thomas de Maizière stressed that dealing with refugees should be considered as a European responsibility. As the citations demonstrate, all MSs of the European Union should work together. Cooperation and joint actions are considered as the only solution to deal with this mass inflow. In this context, the German parliament recognizes that the external border countries find themselves in a difficult situation due to the refugee crisis. Thus, this process of dealing with the problems caused by the refugee crisis is described as a responsibility for the entire European Union (Lindholz, 22. April 2015, p. 9453). As Göring-Eckardt explained (22. April 2015, p. 9452), the EU is a community based on certain values and norms, hence, every MS should feel responsible to assist these countries and refugees. Doing otherwise would be a betrayal of European values. According to the German government, it would be wrong to assume that this crisis could be solved by particular states. Instead, collaboration and cooperation within the EU is essential to overcome this crisis.

Besides from recognizing that countries as Italy and Greece are in need of assistance, which should not be abandoned, it is important to support refugees during this crisis (Gysi 15. Januar 2015, p. 7480). In this context, Thomas de Maizière (22. April 2015, p. 9449) explained the difficult situation of refugees. According to him, refugees are facing tragedies and disasters, and thus, are seen as victims in need of assistance

Based on these observations, one may say that finding a solution on a European level, in order to distribute the burden of the refugee crisis is considered by Germany as an opportunity to help both the external border countries and refugees. The legislative speeches show that Germany endeavors to assume a moral and humanitarian responsibility during this crisis by supporting refugees (Steinmeier, 22. April 2015, p. 9449). Furthermore, the German government pursues the well-being of the external border countries. This demonstrates that Germany's motivation for burden sharing measures can be linked to the norm-based approach.

- Cost-benefit approach -

The second step is to analyse the German legislative speeches in regard to the cost-benefit approach. This second burden sharing approach assumed that if a government benefits from a burden sharing measure, it is encouraged to take part in such measures.

Table 9: German Burden sharing approach - Citations

"Germany is an immigration country. We are the third most active immigration country. (...) Without these immigrants and the taxes they pay, we would not have a balanced budget. Especially in such an ageing society, we are in need of these people in order to finance pensions." (Oppermann, 15. January 2015, p. 7482)
"Due to labour shortage, refugees should be seen as an opportunity. Hence, the president of the German Employers' Associations welcomes the refugee influx. Especially since every year the number of deaths increasingly exceed the number of births (...)" (Gysi, 9. September 2015, p. 11605)

As Oppermann (15. January 2015, p. 7482) explains, Germany can be described as "Einwanderungsland" (Country of Immigration). Furthermore, he states that migration promotes economic development. In this context, it is emphasized that Germany will continue to benefit from migration. Therefore, as Gregor Gysi (9. September 2015, p. 11605) explains, sharing the burden of this crisis by accepting refugees would present simultaneously a solution for labour market issues, such as the shortage of labour and detrimental demographic changes (Göring-Eckardt, 5. Februar 2015, p. 8030; Gysi, September 2015, p. 11605). Furthermore, Germany is described as an open society and as a country, which has had positive experiences with migrants (Oppermann, 15. Januar 2015, p. 7482). In this regard, the expression of a "Wilkommenskultur" has been raised several times. This expression has been mentioned in the context of Germany's prior positive experience of migration, and hence welcoming refugees.

Moreover, as Oppermann (9 September 2015, p. 11619) mentions, burden sharing is acknowledged as a way to prevent other MSs from closing their borders. Like other politicians, sharing the burden on a European level would be the appropriate measure to maintain the Schengen zone.

As these observations show, this government acknowledges that burden sharing not only allows for the opportunity to support refugees and MSs, but also as a governmental opportunity to address national issues. Consequently, this provides evidence that the cost-benefit approach can be applied in this context as well. In this regard, the notion of a "Wilkommenskultur" (Welcoming Culture) stimulates the government to be involved in burden sharing actions during the refugee crisis (Beck, 19. March 2015, p. 8937). This "new buzz word often used in public debates on migration and integration", as the authors Kober & Süssmuth (2012, p. 13) researched on behalf of the Bertelsmann Foundation, attracted a lot of attention during the parliamentary debates. The self-perception of being a country with a "Wilkommenskultur", one that has experienced migration in a positive way in the past, and the fact that refugees are seen as an economic boost to national economic problems, are the main foundations for the willingness of Germany to receive refugees. Besides as the citations show, the maintenance of the Schengen Area (from which Germany benefits greatly) is an important aspect in the government's motivation towards burden sharing measures. The fear that the high amount of refugees would overstrain the MSs at the external borders, and other states would in response close their borders, caused fear and insecurity. However, it was expected to be more present in the debates. As in the British debates, free riders were discussed in the German parliament as well. Although, the German government considers different approaches as crucial in order to deal with the refugee crisis, MSs which refuse to participate in resettling plans (such as Eastern European countries and the UK) are regarded as such. According to the German parliament, this policy approach contradicts and undermines the European values and in addition to that, it could put important European achievements at stake. However, since the German government limits its support to forced migrants, this type of commitment seems controversial. For that matter, one should assume that moral and human responsibility should not be limited and restricted to only one type of migration and/or nationalities.

4.2.2. Burden sharing regime

After having analysed the German speeches in regard to the burden sharing approaches, it is important to understand how the government intended to share the burden resulting from the refugee crisis. The legislative speeches will be analysed based on the three different types of burden sharing mechanisms, which were explained in a previous chapter. For this purpose, this section will describe and then analyse the government's opinions and debates on policy harmonization, hard quotas and market mechanisms.

- Policy Harmonization -

To start with, the German legislative debates in regard to the burden sharing mechanism policy harmonization will be analysed. Therefore, the following main citations have been selected:

Table 10: German Burden sharing regime – Citations

"There are some questions regarding the refugee crisis. The ten point action plan is primarily focused on combating people smugglers and traffickers. In this regard, crucial questions are: Are you ensuring that refugees are saved from drowning in the Mediterranean Sea? Are you ensuring that more vessels are provided for lifesaving measures ? Or in contrast to that, are you focused on the defense and on combating human traffickers ?" (Hänsel, 22. April 2015, p. 9426)
"During this crisis it is not the Mediterranean which is horrible, but instead it is Europeans isolationist policy." (Göring-Eckardt, 22. April 2015, p. 9451)
"It is crucial to combat the root causes of the refugee crisis, this means stopping wars, hunger, misery and racism. But on the other hand we are the world's third biggest weapons exporter. If we do not address global problems, this will only get worse." (Gysi, 19. August 2015, p. 11459)

As the legislative speeches demonstrate, the deaths in the Mediterranean Sea in 2015 have not been ignored by the German government. On the contrary, measures aimed at saving people from the Mediterranean have been discussed during the debates. While the members of the Bundestag agree on the importance of a coordinated European approach, the way this should be realized triggered a wide ranging discussion in the German parliament. In particular, the ten point action plan which was agreed on during the meeting of foreign and interior ministers in April 2015 was a critical issue. This consisted "of the immediate actions to be taken in response to the crisis situation in the Mediterranean" (European Commission, 2015a). The goals were improving the cooperation among MSs, assisting Greece and Italy with asylum applications and stopping smugglers (European Commission, 2015a). It focuses further on facilitating the cooperation between the EU and transit- and third countries, as well as facilitating the cooperation among the agencies. Last but not least, two additional points were "considering options for an emergency relocation mechanism" and "a EU wide voluntary pilot project on resettlement" (European Commission, 2015a). While supporters saw this plan as an initial step to compromise on a European approach, proponents criticized it for being more focused on securing its external borders instead of saving lives in the Mediterranean Sea (Pau, 22. April 2015, p. 9449).

As Göring-Eckardt (22. April 2015, p. 9451) described, the EU was engaging in a strategy, which was focused on isolating itself from the rest of the world. This was met with great approval. Furthermore, other politicians were critical, as securing European borders was considered as an isolationist policy to combat smugglers, and as an opportunity to prevent refugees from reaching Europe (Pau, 22. April 2015, p. 9449; Jelpke, 7. May 2015, p. 9821; Roth, 7. May 2015, p. 9830). In this context, some parliamentarians proposed the idea of providing refugees a safe and legal way to come to Europe (Ulla Jelpke, 22. April 2015, p. 9454). Consequently, the creation of such legal ways should stop people smugglers who pose a particular threat to these desperate individuals, by offering often dangerous journeys into Europe.

In addition to the latter strategy, Gysi (19. August 2015, p. 11459) and other politicians draw attention to the importance of addressing the main causes of the refugee crisis. Furthermore, several legislative speeches stressed proactive measures such as stabilizing countries of origin and striving for cooperation with African countries. In this regard, the German Bundestag pursued the stabilization of refugees' countries of origin by improving the living conditions, so that people are not forced to leave. Tackling the root causes of the refugee crisis would lead to a decrease in the amount of refugees fleeing to Europe. Hence, this would relieve external border countries. Therefore, as some politicians explained, it is crucial to pursue the objective of stabilizing these countries, and additionally, other African countries (neighbour- and transit countries). With regard to the latter, political stability in these countries would facilitate cooperation. In this context, the German government welcomed further cooperation activities with third countries, such as the Khartoum and Rabat process. While stabilizing origin- and transit countries are regarded as important measures, some parliamentarians had some concerns. In particular, members of the left wing party ('Die Linken') such as Gysi (19. August 2015, p. 11459) accused the German government of being the main cause for the increasing amount of refugees by selling its weapons directly to dictators. In this regard, it seems paradoxical that while Germany tries to stabilize such countries, the German government is at the same time one of the world's biggest weapons exporter (Gysi, 9. September 2015, p. 11603). Besides from exporting weapons, European free trade and fisheries policies prevent Africa's development (Hänsel 20. Mai 2015, p. 10007). In this context, military actions in African countries are highly debated as well. While opponents claimed that German military actions have been essential components of peacekeeping missions, others argued that these missions have been the main causes for refugees in the first place. As these observations show, the Bundestag agreed that the refugees put an enormous pressure on the authorities in the external border countries. Hence, the German government stressed the need of an EU-wide solution in order to assist these countries. Like the British parliament, the German parliament did not pay attention to harmonization of policies during their debates.

Instead, Germany emphasized the importance of sharing one strategy on a European level. The main citations and the citations in Table 13 in the Appendix, show that Germany pursued two strategies: securing European borders and, stabilizing and collaborating with third countries. However, these strategies created a lot of discussion during parliamentary debates. Besides, the German government supported reactive measures such as resettling refugees, but this will be analysed in detail later in this section. In regard to the former strategy, the ten points plan was highly debated in particular. There were allegations, that this policy is more concerned with securing European borders than in saving people from drowning in the Mediterranean Sea. Consequently, discussing how the European (and thus German) approach should be changed was a predominant issue in German parliament. Furthermore, the citations show that stabilizing countries of origin and other African countries are regarded as important aspects in dealing with the refugee influx. However as the debates stressed, there is an ambiguity of being one of the biggest weapon exporters and at the same time trying to stabilize African countries. According to NGOs such as Amnesty International (2004), arms policies at the European level have to be reconsidered since arms exported by MSs are often misused, frequently leading often to human rights violations. With regard to the thesis, the UK and Germany in particular are among the top five MS arms dealers, presiding over one-third of the global export of arms. Although the MSs adopted the Common Position 2008/944/CFSP (CP) (the successor of Code of Conduct on arms exports) setting out rules regarding "control of exports of military technology and equipment" (the European Union, 2008), there is still a lot of criticism regarding arms sales on European level. In regard to the Arab Spring, researchers such as Bromley (2012, p. 13) argue that governments should had considered their arms export licenses. Whether the fish trade has a negative or positive impact on developing countries is highly debated (Béné, Lawton & Allison, 2010). While proponents such as the EU emphasizes the growth that participating countries benefit from, others such as Kaczynski & Fluharty (2002), Slocum-Bradley & Bradley (2010) and Alder & Sumaila (2004) show that the EU–West African fishery cooperation agreements with African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) have an immensely (negative) impact on African countries. Instead of tackling poverty and promoting regional and sustainable development, it is argued that the European Union's focus is on promoting own economy, by simultaneously increasing risk in food security and deteriorating the "local economy" (Alder, & Sumaila, 2004; Khalilian, Froese, Proelss & Requate, 2010). In this regard, Bordignon et al. (2017) advise that "short-term gains of certain economic and trade policies need to be replaced by a more long-term and holistic view of policy-making" (p. 46) on a European level.

As already mentioned, proactive measures have not attracted a lot of attention in burden sharing literature. As German legislative speeches demonstrated, proactive measures are also considered as a crucial way to share the burden on a European level. Furthermore, some parliamentarians raised awareness of providing legal routes for refugees, which would stop people traffickers and save refugees from drowning in the Mediterranean. For this purpose stabilizing African countries can be considered as essential. This has not been addressed heavily within academic literature.

- Hard Quotas -

The following section will analyse the parliamentary debates on hard quotas. As the conceptualization chapter has shown, this burden sharing mechanism is divided into "sharing people" and "sharing money."

Sharing Money: To begin with, this section will focus on the "*sharing people*" incentive. For this purpose, the following observations can be made:

Table 11: German Burden sharing regime – Citations

"The responsibility in dealing with the refugee crisis lie with all member states, rather than with just Germany. We need a fair distribution of refugees in Europe." (Oppermann, 19. March 2015, p. 8892)
"We have to treat refugees as human beings. Therefore, I refuse to accept quotas." (Gysi, 9. September 2015, p. 11606)

According to the legislative speeches, a main component of Germany's strategy is to resettle refugees who have arrived in Italy and Greece (Hahn, 21. Mai 2015, p. 1054). This reactive measure aims to distribute refugees across Europe by relieving the pressure on external border MSs (Oppermann, 19. March 2015, p. 8892). With respect to Merkel (18. Juni 2015, p. 10688) and other German politicians, it should be understood that dealing with the refugee crisis is a matter for the whole European Union, in which the use of relocation schemes should be part of the solution (Warken, 12. Juni 2015, p. 10636). As refugees are seen by the German government as an economic boost, the German parliament debates on how the internal framework conditions can be improved in order to benefit from this type of migration. This raises the question of how to integrate and provide adequate accommodation for refugees (Karawanskij, 5. Februar 2015, p. 8077). Since in Germany the local communities are responsible to deal with refugees (for instance providing accommodation), the increasing inflow simultaneously means more responsibility. Consequently, in addition to the discussions on how burden can be shared on the European level, the German parliament discussed how the burden can be distributed more fairly on a national level as well. With regard to the discussions on how to facilitate the integration of refugees, particularly the "temporary suspension of deportation status" was emphasized as a barrier to integration and a highly debated issue (BAMF, n.d.). Although this status should only be short-term, the rising inflow of refugees had prolonged the proceeding of the applications.

Furthermore, in order to integrate people and profit from their skills, debates about facilitating access to the labour market and how to improve the system for qualification recognitions of refugees were subjects of discussion. While in the beginning of the year the debates focused on how to improve the necessary frameworks for refugees, some months later members of the German parliament emphasized the need to encourage other MSs to accept more refugees. According to the German parliament, this country reached their maximum capacity in mid-2015. And by then, a common European plan was still missing putting it's "asylum system and its Wilkommenskultur" at risk.

As the academic literature expected, the observations demonstrate that the German government considered relocation schemes as an important part of their strategy. However, it became clear that according to the German government, not every MS was contributing to this crisis. Refusing to participate in such relocation schemes is considered as shifting the burden not only to the external border countries but also to Germany. Therefore as the year progressed, the German government endeavoured to take the lead on the refugee crisis. Furthermore, the German parliament agreed that other types of cooperation on a European level were necessary to handle the refugee crisis in order to ease the pressure from external border countries. Whereas the whole parliament supports the idea of relocating refugees from other MSs, there are some discrepancies regarding quotas on such measures. In this regard, opponents criticized the fact that refugees are treated as burden, and not as human beings. Hence, such individuals should not be distributed in an arbitrary manner across MSs (Gysi, 9. September 2015, p. 11606). According to them not refugees, but the costs caused by this crisis instead should be distributed (Gysi, 9. September 2015, p. 11606). This problem has also been mentioned in academic literature before. As Thielemann (2003b, p. 225) argues, hard quotas on such reactive measures are considered an effective way to distribute refugees among states, but also by doing so refugees are not treated as human beings.

Sharing Money: In the next step, the German legislative debates will be analysed in regard to "sharing money". Therefore, the following main citations have been selected:

Table 12: German Burden sharing regime - Citations

"We are talking about our European borders, hence, it is a European responsibility. And the responsibility lie with all member states. (…) Every member state has its own obligation. Germany is providing frigates, tender and combat support ships. And that is a good thing!" (Königs, 12. June 2015, p. 10628)
"The most important task is to improve sea rescue operations. In this regard, we made an important contribution. We increased the financial support for Frontex. We provided emergency services and task forces." (Merkel, 18. June 2015, p. 10688)
"The focus of our draft budget is on increasing the financial resources for humanitarian assistance. This budget should be used to address the root causes of the refugee crisis. Besides, we are increasing the financial assistance by €400 million. for refugee camps and to stabilize origin- and transit countries." (Schäuble, 8. September 2015, p. 11515)

As the citations demonstrate, Germany guarantees financial and practical support to the external border countries. As Chancellor Angel Merkel (18. June 2015, p. 10688) stressed, the German government increased its financial budget to enhance sea rescue operations. According to Ole Schröder, Germany has tripled the amount for Frontex operations. Furthermore, the German parliament also guaranteed practical support to the MSs at the external borders. In this regard, Germany granted support by providing rescue facilities such as the navy vessels: Hessen and Berlin (Schröder, 12. June 2015, p. 10630; Koenigs, 12. June 2015, p. 10628). Like the UK, the German government granted financial contributions to the strategies they are pursuing. Besides from providing navy vessels in order to control European borders, Germany provided financial resources in order to stabilize origin and transit countries. As the Federal Minister of Finance Mr. Schäuble (8. September 2015, p. 11515) explained, the German government increased the budget for humanitarian aid as a result of the refugee crisis. In this regard, Germany as "one of the biggest donors" will spend €8.3 million on humanitarian aid in the following years (Oppermann, 21. May 2015, p. 10043; Merkel, 18. June 2015, p. 10688). The government also guaranteed financial support for the construction of refugees camps and migration centers (Schäuble, 8. September 2015, p. 11515). Moreover, the debates on burden sharing involved discussions on how best to share the financial burden caused by the refugee crisis, on the European and national level. As Germany committed itself to accepting refugees from Greece and Italy, financial resources have to be reconsidered. Since the local communities are responsible for providing accommodation and are responsible for the financial matters, the huge inflow is putting increasing pressure on the local authorities. Hence, the parliament discussed how to support the local authorities. According to the German government, the problem on the European level was that, excluding the external border countries, few MSs were committed to relocation plans (Gysi, 19. August 2015, p. 11459). As a consequence, the parliament started to debate having quotas on financial contributions. This was supported by the opponents of quotas on resettlement programs. In this regard, proposals have been made that, in the instance that MSs disapprove to contribute financially, European subsidies in other sectors should be reduced (Gysi, 9. September 2015, p. 11606).

These observations show that Germany granted financial and practical support to the external border countries. In this regard, there are some parallels between the UK and Germany. Both emphasized their financial and practical support to border MSs. From their point of view, countries such as Italy and Greece were dealing with a European problem, hence, contributing financially was considered as inevitable. Furthermore, both emphasized its financial contribution in proactive measures such as stabilizing origin and transit countries. This provides a new perspective on the burden sharing measure of "sharing money". Since the academic literature was focused on reactive measures, or quotas on financial contribution, proactive measures received much less attention. Contrarily, hard quotas on sharing money have been discussed in the German parliament. However, this has not been discussed intensively.

In particular the politicians who were against quotas on resettling plans, were supporting the idea of such quotas.

- Market Mechanisms -

Market mechanisms, as described in the theoretical framework, have not been discussed in the German parliament. Regarding non-binding measures the parliament is not united on whether resettlement plans should be compulsory or not. Besides, the German parliament made it clear that all MSs have to be involved in sharing the burdens caused by the refugee crisis.

4.3 Concluding remarks

The legislative speeches show that burden sharing measures were intensely debated in the German and British parliament. This thesis provides insight into the motives that encourage both governments to participate in burden sharing incentives. In this regard, the analysis shows that such governmental motives can be linked to the burden sharing approaches, the norm-based and cost-benefit approach, mentioned in the theoretical framework. In regard to the government's motives to participate in burden sharing incentives, the thesis shows that there have been some similarities and differences. The analysis demonstrated that both European governments feel obliged and responsible to provide assistance to other MSs and refugees. Besides, it showed, further, that its governmental commitment to participate in burden sharing measures is not intended exclusively to support others, but also to accomplish own national objectives. It becomes clear that both governments have a different perspective on this. While the UK sees burden sharing as a way to stop illegal migration, for the German government refugees are considered as an economic boost. Furthermore, the analysis provides insights in both governments' perspective on the different burden sharing mechanisms. In this regard, this thesis has revealed that since national interests and objectives differ, so do their strategies. It can concluded that there are some parallels between both governments' strategies; both expressed the importance of sharing one approach including all MSs. It becomes clear that securing the European borders and striving for more cooperation with third countries are essential components in both strategies. Harmonizing policies, as suggested by the academic literature, have not been discussed in any debates. However, there are still some discrepancies regarding how a joint approach should be executed. Consequently, the debates on burden sharing measures in both parliaments have developed in a different way, which will be concluded in the next section. This final section is aimed at presenting the findings, and some theoretical considerations. Besides, some suggestions on how to find a compromise on EU level will presented.

5. Conclusion

In 2015 the EU faced the biggest refugee inflow since the World War II. This event triggered an intense debate on a European level and reopened the discussion on burden sharing measures. The refugee crisis will remain the year in which many thousands of individuals came to Europe in order to flee war and terror, but also as the year in which the EU's lack of coherence became clearer than ever. Burden sharing measures have been considered by scholars and some MSs as an effective measure to deal with the refugee crisis. Therefore, this thesis has reconstructed the parliamentary debates on burden sharing, developed in the light of the 2015 refugee crisis in Germany and the United Kingdom. For this purpose, a qualitative content analysis has been conducted which allowed for the analysis of the German and British legislative debates on burden sharing. The main findings will be presented in this chapter.

First of all, the analysis has shown that the refugee crisis and how it should be managed was intensively discussed in both the German and British parliament. However, before providing the findings, it is important to mention that within both legislative speeches, burden sharing as a term and expression (related to the refugee crisis) does not appear frequently. As the researcher Thielemann (2003b) indicates, the reason behind this is the fact that placing burden sharing in the context of those seeking protection is considered a very delicate topic. Since the expression "burden" normally implies a negative meaning, governments try to avoid the description of refugees as such.

Nevertheless, this thesis provides detailed findings on the burden sharing debates in Germany and in the UK. In regard to the academic literature (Thielemann, 2003a, 2005) there are two approaches illustrating a government's reasons to be involved in burden sharing measures, in regard to refugee protection: the cost-benefit and norm-based approach. Based on this, the legislative speeches on burden sharing measures have been analysed, with the conclusion that achieving one's own national goals, which can be related to the cost-benefit approach, seem to provide a better explanation for a government's motivation than the norm-based approach. As the latter approach suggests, both governments feel closely tied to values and norms when it comes to decide on supporting the external border countries and refugees during this crisis. Whereas Thielemann (2003a) proposes that norms and values are determining factors for a government to participate in burden sharing measures (the norm-based approach). At the same time however Thielemann (2003a) criticizes this as a less decisive explanation due to it being more regarded as "window dressing and cheap talk" (p. 259). In 2016 (one year later after the refugee crisis broke out) the UNHCR (2016c) stressed the need for more European action on the crisis, which is "as much a crisis of European solidarity as it is a refugee crisis". This thesis does not attempt to show the extent of which European solidarity existed during the crisis, but it does highlight that even two years after the refugee crisis a European response to fairly split the burdens was not reached in the slightest.

It certainly fits the abovementioned point of criticism from Thielemann. As Eva Alisic & Rianne M. Letschert (2016) argue, the refugee crisis "is rather one symbolizing a political debacle in which threats to the underlying value of solidarity are becoming more and more visible than merely or only a refugee crisis" (p. 1). Hence, European values such as solidarity and responsibility sharing, which are incorporated into the European treaties, clearly need to be reconsidered by some MSs, as well as the importance of the norm-based approach of burden sharing. In regard to the second approach, the analysis provides evidence that burden sharing is seen by both governments as a way to pursue their own national interests (cost-benefit approach). Unlike Thielemann (2003a) and Noll (2003), this thesis provides a detailed explanation on the government's reasoning for burden sharing. Hence, the findings show that there are a wide range of different motives for governments to be involved in burden sharing, and not only for the retention of European integration projects (Thielemann, 2003a). The fear of illegal migration, which could increase due to the chaos on the external border MSs, pushes the British government to participate in burden sharing incentives. Hence, supporting other MSs would prevent people from coming to the UK, and decrease the risk of illegal migrants entering their territory. However, it seems paradoxical that while on one side refugees are recognized as the victims in this situation, on the other refugees are regarded as illegal migrants posing a threat to national security and welfare. For the German government, refugees are considered as an economic boost, as they help solve labour market issues such as the shortage of labour and the ageing of the population. While the researcher Neumayer (2004) determined that existing communities in a country attract asylum seekers of the same nationality, this can also be applied to governments, which has not been considered by previous scholars. As an "Einwanderungsland" which experienced migration in a positive way in the past, Germany described itself as open-minded towards receiving refugees. This is a very recent expression which represents the transition from a country in the 50s where migrants were allowed to come to the country as guest workers and refused to call itself some years later a "Einwanderungsland", to a country in which those those are regarded as a contribution to German society in 2015 (Heckmann, 2016, p. 3-5).

Besides this, the thesis provides an insight into a national government's preferences regarding how burden sharing should be acquired, by considering the burden sharing regime constructed by Thielemann (2005) and illustrating the different ways burdens can be shared. In this regard, this thesis has clearly shown that since national interests and objectives differ, so do their strategies. Unlike the regime assumes, both parliaments do not discuss options about harmonizing policies, but instead both stress the importance of sharing one approach on an EU level.

As the analysis has shown, the German and British government recognize the importance of what Thielemann (2005, p. 15) describes as "sharing (a) policy". In this regard, one can conclude that there are certain parallels related to certain measures pursued by both governments: securing the external borders, pursuing proactive measures that stabilize the countries of origin, and cooperating with transit- and neighbor countries. The first initiative is aimed at controlling European borders in order to stop human traffickers and refugees (illegal migrants) entering the EU. Controlling European borders has been, especially due to the establishment of the Schengen zone, an important aspect in refugee protection on a European level (Carrera, 2007). Furthermore, sea rescue operations that are saving individuals from drowning in the Mediterranean can also be regarded as part of this approach. By having in mind that in previous years such rescuing operations have been considered as counterproductive by the British government, the perspective on that has changed (Travis, 2014). Furthermore, as Thielemann & Armstrong (2013) argue, governments can contribute to refugee protection proactively and reactively. In regard to the incentive of stabilizing African countries, this can be considered as a proactive measure. According to the governments, this should first tackle the root causes of the refugee crisis, and second should provide new opportunities for cooperation with third countries. Although such proactive measures have been mentioned in burden sharing literature (Thielemann & Dewan, 2004), this has not received much attention. However, such proactive measures are considered by the German and British parliament as an important initiative in supporting border MSs and refugees. In this context, some concerns have been expressed during the parliamentary debates. Particularly during the German debates, concerns were raised that all efforts to stabilize third countries would be simultaneously destroyed and undermined by German (and European) attitudes in regard to arms exports, fisheries and trade policies. Those topics have attracted a lot of attention in the past. As scientific literature shows, Germany and the United Kingdom are among the top five MSs in regard to the global arms trade (European Parliament, 2015). As researchers such as Bromley (2012) argue, regarding EU's arms export control policies, there is considerable room for improvement. Other scientific literature, for instance by Slocum-Bradley & Bradley (2010), argue that the EU benefits the most from European free-trade agreements and fisheries policies with African countries. In this context further scientific literature accuses the EU of destabilizing (to some extent) African countries and call for some rethinking in this area (Khalilian et al., 2010).

Considering further mechanisms, the analysis provides findings on hard quotas within the burden sharing mechanisms. Unlike expectations, such quotas on financial contribution had been addressed only by the German parliament, which was not a main topic of discussion in 2015. However, the analysis made clear that both governments are willing to provide financial and practical support in light of the refugee crisis. Both governments emphasize their budgets for border controls and humanitarian/development aid. In contrast to this, reactive measures ('sharing people') were intensely debated mechanisms.

As Thielemann and Armstrong (2013) explain, such measures are aimed at "providing protection for displaced persons" (p. 158). In this regard, the question whether refugees should be resettled from "outside or within the EU" was raised during debates, which was not considered (and were not described in detail) by previous researchers as Thielemann (2005) and Noll (2003) before. Furthermore, although Thielemann (2003b, p. 225) points out the advantages of redistributing refugees ('sharing people') on a European level, at the same time he describes this as the most controversial approach to handle such a crisis. In this regard, Germany as a country portrayed a "welcoming culture" which supported the idea of relocating refugees from other MSs, however, quotas regarding resettlement plans were considered by some parliamentarians as "inhuman" by treating refugees not as human beings. For the British government, the relocation schemes proposed by the European Commission were interpreted as an incentive for people to migrate illegally to Europe, hence, these measures did not receive considerable support. In order to hamper this counterproductive effect, the UK agreed on relocating Syrians directly from the African continent.

Unlike other scholars, this thesis provides an insight into how burden sharing measures have been discussed in two powerful MSs of the EU: the UK and Germany. Hence, it provides a broad picture on a government's perspective on burden sharing by revealing insights about their motives and how burden sharing should be acquired. Refugee protection is an important topic on the EU's agenda and finding a compromise on how to manage this type of migration is more important than ever. This thesis can be seen as a starting point towards finding a fair resolution for a European approach in this policy field. However, since this thesis focuses only on parliamentary debates, there is some room for further research. Based on the abovementioned findings some recommendations for future research are made. As the findings of this paper show, a consensus on securing European borders and proactive measures as a way to share the burden caused by the refugee crisis can be found. Proactive measures have been addressed by some existing literature (Thielemann & Dewan, 2004), however, in regard to burden sharing this needs further consideration, in particular since governments consider this as an integral part of their strategies. In this regard, the analysis makes clear that reconsidering EU policies and cooperation with African countries is essential, since some intervene with the goal of stabilizing the home countries of refugees. Hence, further research on how such policies (as for instance the EU Common Position 2008/944/CFSP) can be improved is essential. Furthermore, the analysis demonstrates that based on the parliamentary debate finding a compromise on reactive measures is as expected, rather complicated. However, looking at both countries the British government is the one opposing reactive measures. But in regard to this, the UK proposes that refugees should be resettled from outside the EU in order to discourage refugees to illegally migrate to the EU. Scientific literature does not differentiate between resettling refugees from outside and within the EU, and it may seem that the UK is willing to compromise on resettling from outside the EU.

Further research on this point is crucial. During the debates some parliamentarians raise awareness of providing safe and legal routes for refugees. This is not only aimed at stopping people traffickers and smugglers which Morrison (2000) describes as the "'the dark side' of globalization" (p. 5), but in addition to that saving refugees from the perilous (and sometimes fatal) journey to the EU. This would result in the creation of legal ways for refugees to come to the EU instead of doing it illegally. However, this has not been addressed heavily within academic literature, hence further research on this is essential.

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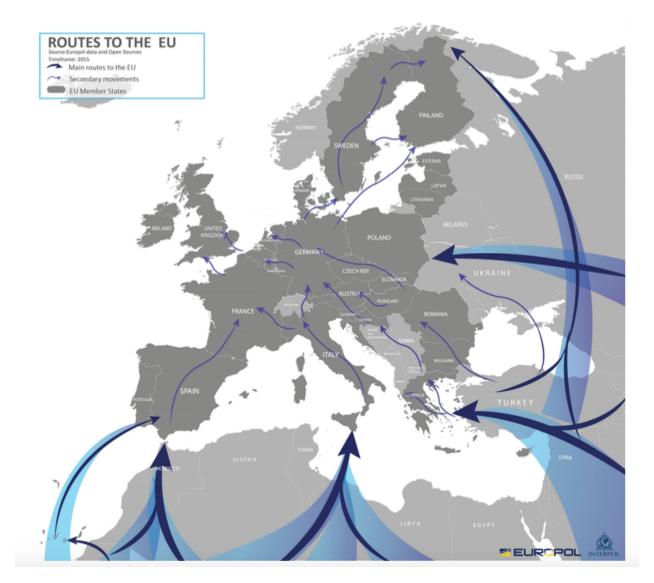
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7. Appendix

Appendix 1: Refugee Crisis - Migratory Route (Europol, 2016)

Appendix 2: Data Collection - Policy areas

Willkommen in DIP

DIP (Dokumentations- und Informationssystem für Parlamentarische Vorgänge) ist das gemeinsame Informationssystem von Bundestag und Bundesrat.

DIP dokumentiert das parlamentarische Geschehen in Bundestag und Bundesrat - wie es in Drucksachen und Stenografischen Berichten festgehalten ist. Umfangreiche Recherchangebote ermöglichen einen Überblick über die gesamten parlamentarischen Beratungen beider Verfassungsorgane.

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→ Europapolitik und Europäische Union

→ Gesundheit

→ Kultur

→ Medien, Kommunikation und Informationstechnik

→ Öffentliche Finanzen, Steuern und Abgaben

→ Raumordnung, Bau- und Wohnungswesen

→ Soziale Sicherung

→ Staat und Verwaltung

→ Verkehr

→ Wirtschaft

→ Ausländerpolitik, Zuwanderung

→ Außenwirtschaft

→ Bundestag

→ Entwicklungspolitik

→ Gesellschaftspolitik, soziale Gruppen

→ Innere Sicherheit

→ Landwirtschaft und Ernährung

→ Neue Bundesländer

→ Politisches Leben, Parteien

→ Recht

→ Sport, Freizeit und Tourismus

→ Umwelt

→ Verteidigung

→ Wissenschaft, Forschung und Technologie

Source: Bundestag. Retrieved from http://dipbt.bundestag.de/dip21.web/bt

Appendix 3: Data Collection - Explanation of the policy areas

Policy areas	Explanation
Foreign Affairs and International Relations	As mentioned before, collective actions are essential in order to provide a fair and even distribution of responsibility and burden. Since governments can collaborate on European but also on international level, parliamentary debates on this policy area may reveal insights on collaborations with foreign states on how to deal with the refugee crisis. Since International Relations are the relations between states, this policy area will reveal insights about a government's burden sharing strategy.
European policy and European Union	The Common European Asylum System (CEAS) determines the standards and procedures on which Member States agreed on how to deal with asylum claims. Therefore, refugee protection (thus dealing with the refugee crisis) can be considered as a European matter. Based on this, this thesis assumes that debates in this policy areas could address the refugee crisis.
Public finances, taxes and economy	As the conceptualization of burden sharing shows, government's financial support does contribute to a fair and even distribution of burdens. Hence, all sectors which can be linked to this issue are important.
State and administration	Since the EU was confronted with the question of how to manage this massive influx, this thesis assumes that governments are also preoccupied on how to cope on national level with the high amount of refugees. Consequently, administrative procedures which are not suited to deal with this have to be modified in order to adapt to the circumstances. Hence, this thesis assumes that debates on this policy area may reveal insights about a government intends to deal with the refugee crisis.
Immigration policy	As the definition of the term migration shows, migration is an umbrella term for all individuals which leave their home countries and decide to go to another place. Since this also comprises the term refugee, this thesis assumes that measures on how to deal with the refugee inflow will be discussed during the parliamentary debates on immigration policy.
Development policy	As the conceptualization of burden sharing shows, proactive measures (such as peacekeeping missions) can be seen as an activity pursuing a fair distribution of costs among MSs. Hence, this thesis expects that the legislative speeches on development policy will reveal the government's point of view on such measures, and hence on burden sharing.
Social policy, social groups	Since this policy area comprises other policy sectors such as health care and labour policies, parliamentary discussions on this matter can provide further information.

Appendix 4: Data Collection: British legislative debates

Date	Volume	Agenda topics	Pages
5 Januar 2015	Volume 590 No. 84	Syrian Refugees (Vulnerable Persons Relocation Scheme)	pp. 11-12
		Oral Answers - Border Security (Calais)	pp. 12-14
9 Januar 2015	Volume 590 No. 88	UK Borders Control Bill	pp. 554-555
12 Februar 2015	Volume 592 No. 110	Destruction of Historic Sites (Syria and Iraq)	pp. 1017-1020
23 Februar 2015	Volume 593 No. 111	European Council	p. 39
25 Februar 2015	Volume 593 No. 113	Oral Answers	pp. 318-319
5 März 2015	Volume 593 No. 119	HOME DEPARTMENT	p. 80-81 WS
9 März 2015	Volume 594 No. 121	Commission Work Programme 2015	p. 85, p. 91-95
19 März 2015	Volume 594 No. 128	BUSINESS, INNOVATION AND SKILLS	pp. 71-72 WS
23 März 2015	Volume 594 No. 130	European Council	p. 1130
27 Mai 2015	Volume 596 No. 6	Debate on the Address	pp. 46-47, p. 77, p. 119, pp. 143-144
		Business of the House	p. 182, pp. 217-219, p. 229
3 Juni 2015	Volume 596 No. 10	Oral Answers - Illegal Migrants	pp. 573 - 590
4 Juni 2015	Volume 596 No. 11	Business of the House	p. 771
8 Juni 2015	Volume 596 No. 12	Oral Answers defence	p. 887, p. 893
		Clandestine Migrants (Harwich)	pp. 905-915
9 Juni 2015	Volume 596 No. 13	Oral Answers - Economic Migrants: North Africa	pp. 1029-1030
		Topical Questions	pp. 1038-1039

Date	Volume	Topic	Page
10 Juni 2015	Volume 596 No. 14	Oral Questions	p. 1184
		G7	pp. 1194-1197
11 Juni 2015	Volume 596 No. 15	Business of the House	p. 1336
16 Juni 2015	Volume 597 No. 17	Refugee Situation in the Mediterranean	pp. 291-298
		Sustainable Development Goals	p. 72 WH
17 Juni 2015	Volume 597 No. 18	HOME DEPARTMENT	p. 49 WS
18 Juni 2015	Volume 597 No. 19	Business of the House	p. 481
		European Union Referendum Bill	p. 497
24 Juni 2015	Volume 597 No. 22	Border Management (Calais)	pp. 889-902
		Oral Answers The Prime Minister was asked - Engagements	p. 878
29 Juni 2015	Volume 597 No. 24	Tunisia, and European Council	p. 1176-1203
1 Juli 2015	Volume 597 No. 26	Foreign Affairs Council and General Affairs Council	p. 46 WS
6 Juli 2015	Volume 598 No. 28	Oral Answers - Asylum Seekers (Syria)	pp. 10-11
		Topical Questions	pp. 18-19
8 Juli 2015	Volume 598 No. 30	Oral Answers - Mediterranean Migration	pp. 304-309
9 Juli 2015	Volume 598 No. 31	Immigration	pp. 194-197 WH
		Immigration	pp. 204-207 WH
14 Juli 2015	Volume 598 No. 33	Oral Answers - Syrian Refugees	p. 723
		Calais	pp. 731-744
16 Juli 2015	Volume 598 No. 35	Written Statements	p. 45 WS

7 September 2015	Volume 599 No. 38	Oral answers	p. 18
		Syria: Refugees and Counter-terrorism	pp. 23-65
		Refugee Crisis in Europe	pp. 66-67
8 September 2015	Volume 599 No. 39	Oral Answers - Bill of Rights	pp. 211-212
		Refugee Crisis in Europe	pp. 245-296
10 September 2015	Volume 599 No. 41	Topical Questions	p. 531
		Business of the House	pp. 548-553
		Immigration Detention	pp. 593-594
		Sustainable Development Goals	pp. 603-606, pp. 625-626
16 September 2015	Volume 599 No. 45	Migration	pp. 1049-1070

Source: British Parliament. Retrieved from http://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/hansard/commons/
Source: Hansard. Retrieved from https://hansard.parliament.uk

Appendix 5: Data Collection: German legislative debates

Date	Volume	Agenda topic	Politicians	Pages
15. Januar 2015	79	Greece	Dr. Gregor Gysi, Sylvia Kotting-Uhl, Thomas Oppermann	pp. 7480-7482
29. Januar 2015	82	-	Sylvia Jörrißen, Kerstin Kassner, Sören Bartol	pp. 7790-7794
			Klaus Mindrup	p. 7798
			Ulli Nissen	pp. 7802-7803
5. February 2015	85	-	Katrin Göring-Eckardt	p. 8029-8030
			Susanna Karawanskij	p. 8077
			Sabine Zimmermann, Aydan Özoğuz	pp. 8039-8041
			Volker Beck, Sabine Zimmermann,	pp. 8042-8044
			Josip Juratovic	pp. 8047
			Norbert Spinrath	pp. 8052-8053
6. February 2015	86	European Union	Thorsten Frei, Josip Juratovic, Dagmar G. Wöhrl, Marieluise Beck	pp. 8152-8155
5. March 2015	91	Labour and Home Affairs	Norbert Müller, Marcus Weinberg, Beate Walter-Rosenheimer, Gülistan Yüksel, Andrea Lindholz	pp. 8714-8719
19. März 2015	94	Social Affairs	Thomas Oppermann, Katrin Göring-Eckardt	pp. 8891-8892
			Volker Beck, Sven Schulz	pp. 8937-8938
22. April 2015	99	-	Britta Haßelmann, Dr. Gerd Müller, Volker Beck, Sibylle Pfeiffer, Niema Movassat, Hans-Christian Ströbele	pp. 9425 - 9431
			Dr. Thomas de Maizière, Petra Pau, Dr. Frank-Walter Steinmeier, Katrin Göring-Eckardt, Andrea Lindholz, Ulla Jelpke, Dr. Lars Castellucci, Luise Amtsberg, Erika Steinbach, Rüdiger Veit, Dr. Hans-Peter Friedrich	pp. 9447- 9460
7. May 2015	103	Frackingtechnology	Ulla Jelpke, Andrea Lindholz, Britta Haßelmann, Charles M. Huber, Lars Castellucci, Barbara Woltmann. Britta Haßelmann, Barbara Woltmann, Claudia Roth, Matthias Schmidt, Dagmar G. Wöhrl, Rüdiger Veit	pp. 9820-9833

Date	No.	Topic	Speakers	Pages
20. May 2015	105	International Monetary Fund	Sevim Dağdelen, Maria Böhmer, Staatsministerin, Ulla Jelpke, Maria Böhmer, Ole Schröder, Andrej Hunko	p. 10029
				p. 10030
21. May 2015	106	USA	Thomas Oppermann, Anton Hofreiter	pp. 10042 - 1044
			Volker Kauder	p. 10047
			Florian Hahn, Klaus Barthel, Sibylle Pfeiffer	pp. 10053 - 10055
			Steffen Kampeter, , Roland Claus, Johannes Kahrs, Anja Hajduk, Norbert Brackmann, Jan Korte, Ulrike Gottschalck, Stephan Mayer	pp. 10113 - 10120
11. Juni 2015	109	Justice and Home Affairs	Katrin Göring-Eckardt, Sabine Weiss, Sabine Zimmermann, Daniela Kolbe, Brigitte Pothmer, Jutta Eckenbach, Sevim Dağdelen, Kerstin Griese, Andrea Lindholz, Ernst Dieter Rossmann, Andrea Lindholz, Matthias Bartke, Martin Pätzold, Karamba Diaby, Kai Whittaker, Brigitte Pothmer	pp. 10394 - 10415
			Julia Obermeier	p. 10512
			Julia Obermeier	p. 10522
12. June 2015	110	-	Tom Koenigs, Omid Nouripour, Jürgen Trittin, Ole Schröder, Ulla Jelpke, Christina Kampmann, Nina Warken, Lars Castellucci, Andrea Lindholz	pp. 10628-10638
18. June 2015	112	Highway toll	Angela Merkel	p. 10688
			Katrin Göring-Eckardt, Volker Kauder	pp. 10701-10702
			Norbert Spinrath, Gerda Hasselfeldt	pp. 10707-10708
			Michaela Engelmeier, Claudia Roth, Sibylle Pfeiffer	pp. 10789-10792
17. Juli 2015	117	-	Sigmar Gabriel	pp. 11360-11362
19. August 2015	118	-	Gregor Gysi	p. 11459

			Anton Hofreiter, Volker Kauder	pp. 11465-11467
8. September 2015	119	European Union	Nobert Lammert, Dr . Wolfgang Schäuble	pp. 11513-11515
			Dietmar Bartsch, Carsten Schneider, Sven-Christian Kindler	pp. 11520 -11524
9 . September 2015	120	-	Gregor Gysi, Angela Merkel, Katrin Göring-Eckardt, Thomas Oppermann, Volker Kauder, Heike Hänsel, Bettina Hagedorn, Gerda Hasselfeldt, Martin Gerster	pp. 11603-11630

Source: Bundestag. Retrieved from http://www.bundestag.de/dokumente/protokolle/amtlicheprotokolle/2015
Source: DIP. Retrieved from http://dipbt.bundestag.de/dip21.web/bt.

Appendix 6: British parliamentary debates on burden sharing - Burden sharing approach, norm-based approach

Topic of the parliamentary debates	Citation	Politician	Date	No	Page
Refugees	"When it comes to spending priorities, I think we are right to give priority to that humanitarian catastrophe and the millions of refugee - people who have been displaced within Iraq and Syria and those who fled to neighbouring states - over other forms of relief."	David Lidington	12 February 2015	Volume 592 No. 110	p. 1017
European Council	"However, Greece provides a vital service to the rest of the EU because it polices the external borders of the EU."	Keith Vaz	23 February 2015	Volume 593 No. 111	p. 39
Debate on the Address Britain in the World	"The movement of migrants across the Mediterranean has indeed reached crisis point. As we know, thousands of innocent people have died and hundreds of thousands of others have been put at risk. It is clear that the traffickers are to blame for the conditions in which people make that perilous journey (...)"	Hilary Benn:	1 June 2015	Volume 596 No. 8	p. 332
Refugee Situation in the Mediterranean	"Some 2,000 refugees have died trying to get across the Mediterranean in the past year, and that figure is 20 times higher than that in 2014."	Jim Shannon	16 June 2015	Volume 597 No. 17	p. 291
Humanitarian Crisis in the Mediterranean and Europe	"We are told that it is the time for bold action by EU member states and institutions. I note the words "EU member states"- not just some of them: all of us, and that includes the United Kingdom. For the world, it is a matter of humanity and human dignity. For Europe, it is a matter for historical fairness."	Angus Robertson	8 September 2015	Volume 599 No. 39	p. 413
Humanitarian Crisis in the Mediterranean and Europe	"The United Kingdom is part of Europe geographically and culturally. Regardless of our views on the European Union, we have responsibilities as Europeans and as human beings towards fellow human beings."	Angus Robertson	9 September 2015	Volume 599 No. 40	p. 417

Source: Parliament UK.

Appendix 7: British parliamentary debates on burden sharing - Burden sharing approach, cost-benefit approach

Topic of the parliamentary debates	Citation	Politician	Date	No	Page
Commission Work Programme 2015	"(...) but I want to concentrate on illegal migration (...) It is too late, once the illegal migrants get to Calais; this issue needs to be dealt with by the EU and the Commission at the point of departure from north Africa."	Keith Vaz	9 March 2015	Volume 594 No. 121	p. 91
Business, Innovation and Skills	"The UK highlighted the need to ensure that where there is free movement of people, there is also free movement of criminal conviction data."	Theresa May	19 March 2015	Volume 594 No. 128	71 WS
Refugee Situation in the Mediterranean	"Calais has become an obvious visible sign of migratory pressures close to the UK."	James Brokenshire	16 June 2015	Volume 597 No. 17	p. 297
Refugee Situation in the Mediterranean	"We recognise that the problem does not begin in Calais. That is why we are enhancing joint work with France and other European partners to clamp down on the organised crime groups behind people smuggling. We welcome some of the EU's proposals and we are working with other member states to deal with illegal migration."	James Brokenshire	16 June 2015	Volume 597 No. 17	p. 297
Border Management (Calais)	"The problem is the Mediterranean. Once people get to Calais, it is too late. Once people enter France, it is too late."	Keith Vaz	24 June 2015	Volume 597 No. 22	p. 894
Oral answers	"Thirdly, we must do more to ensure that Britain is a less easy place for illegal migrants to come to and work in, and that is what our Immigration Bill is all about."	David Cameron	24 June 2015	Volume 597 No. 22	p. 877
Refugee Crisis in Europe	"I agree that no country can do this alone. When we have a crisis that involves people fleeing across borders, of course no country can deal with it alone. I am like my hon. Friend in that the pressures in Greece are what I am most troubled about in Europe now."	Yvette Cooper	8 September 2015	Volume 599 No. 39	p. 246

Source: Parliament UK.

Appendix 8: British parliamentary debates on burden sharing - Burden sharing regime, Policy Harmonization

Topic of the parliamentary debates	Citation	Politician	Date	No	Page
Commission Work Programme 2015	"What we really need is a European border force to help out countries such as Greece and Italy, with its enormous sea border and islands close to the north African coast. If we are serious about the problem, those areas have to be helped by a border force that is European in scope."	Keith Vaz	9 March 2015	Volume 594 No. 121	p. 95
Debate on the Address	"The refugee crisis in the Mediterranean is an issue not just for Malta or Italy, or Libya or Syria for that matter; it is an issue for us all, and I am delighted that Members from every party across this House have mentioned that."	Stephen Gethins	27 May 2015	Volume 596 No. 6	pp. 143 - 144
Foreign and Commonwealth Office	"I emphasised the importance of a comprehensive approach to the Mediterranean migration situation including conclusions language on tackling the smugglers and the root causes of migration (...) and that the UK did not intend to participate in EU burden-sharing proposals."	David Lidington	1 July 2015	Volume 597 No. 26	46WS
Oral Answers Topical Questions	"First, let me join the right hon. Gentleman in recognising the heroic work that the crew of HMS Bulwark, in particular, are doing. They have just landed another 1,200 migrants, bringing to well over 2,000 the total number of people plucked from the sea by that one single vessel."	Philip Hammond	9 June 2015	Volume 596 No. 13	p. 1039
Occupied Palestinian Territories	"Having made a grave error last October in withdrawing support from the Mare Nostrum search and rescue operations (...)"	Hilary Benn	17 June 2015	Volume 597 No. 18	p. 312
Clandestine Migrants (Harwich)	"The important work that Border Force officers carry out, detecting and intercepting those who attempt to enter the UK illegally (...) is vital in the fight against organised criminal networks engaged in people smuggling. These gangs show a callous disregard for human life and seek to make a profit out of other people's misery."	James Brokenshire	8 June 2015	Volume 596 No. 12	p. 906
HOME DEPARTMENT Justice and Home Affairs: Pre-Council Statement	"The Government have offered their broad support for the Commission's intention to pursue a more coherent and coordinated approach to work with key countries of origin and transit, and to better linking action 'upstream' to migration and asylum policies within the EU."	Theresa May	5 March 2015	Volume 593 No. 119	81 WS
Debate on the Address Britain in the World	"The answer is not quotas. All quotas will do is play into the hands of those who exploit vulnerable refugees."	Keith Vaz	1 June 2015	Volume 596 No. 8	p. 332

Oral Answers Illegal Migration	"There are several steps, one being immediately to make sure that the Khartoum process does deliver. It is crucial because it brings together destination countries, transit countries and countries of origin to work more collaboratively. (...) In the long term, the only real solution is development."	Justine Greening	3 June 2015	Volume 596 No. 10	p. 573
Economic Migrants: North Africa	"We remain firm in our belief that a comprehensive plan is needed to tackle the problem of irregular migration. The most useful development towards stopping the flow of illegal migrants would be the formation of a unity government in Libya, and we are working with European Union partners to achieve that. "	Tobias Ellwood	9 June 2015	Volume 596 No. 13	p. 1029
Refugee Situation in the Mediterranean	"The UK is taking further action as part of a core group of EU member states and African partners, leading the EU Khartoum process (...) This horn of Africa initiative focuses on combating people smuggling and trafficking in the region."	James Brokenshire	16 June 2015	Volume 597 No. 17	p. 298
Syria: Refugees and Counter-terrorism	"(...) That means helping to stabilize the countries from which the refugees are coming, seeking a solution to the crisis in Syria, pushing for the formation of a new unity Government in Libya, busting the criminal gangs who are profiting from this human tragedy and playing our part in saving lives in the Mediterranean, where our Royal Navy has now rescued over 6,700 people."	David Cameron	7 September 2015	Volume 599 No. 38	p. 23
Oral Answers Illegal Migration	"Addressing the root causes, not just the symptoms, involves bringing peace and stability, good governance, development and jobs to their countries of origin."	Justine Greening	3 June 2015	Volume 596 No. 10	p. 573
Debate on the Address Home Affairs and Justice	"I do not believe that the solution offered by the European Union—a quota system—is the answer. To my mind, the answer is to give a huge amount of support to the countries of the Maghreb, because that is where the problem lies"	Keith Vaz	28 May 2015	Volume 596 No. 7	p. 229
Oral Answers The Prime Minister was asked - Engagements	"Our role should be going after those criminal gangs, sorting out the situation in Libya, turning back the boats where we can and using our generous aid budget—this Government achieved 0.7%—to mend the countries from which these people are coming. That is our moral responsibility and one that I am proud to fulfill."	David Cameron	3 June 2015	Volume 596 No. 10	p. 583
Calais	"We must also work to stop this problem at source. The UK has a proud record of providing aid to alleviate poverty and suffering overseas. We have committed £900 million to help people displaced by the Syrian crisis, making us the second largest bilateral donor in the world in response to that humanitarian crisis."	Theresa May	14 July 2015	Volume 598 No. 33	p. 733

Source: Parliament UK.

Appendix 9: British parliamentary debates on burden sharing - Burden sharing regime, Hard Quotas (a)

Topic of the parliamentary debates	Citation	Politician	Date	No	Page
Commission Work Programme 2015	"When the right hon. Gentleman said that Italy should not be expected to handle the problem of migrants to Italy on its own, is he recommending burden sharing? Is he saying that other member states should take a share of those migrants through a common policy?"	John Redwood	9 March 2015	Volume 594 No. 121	p. 86
Commission Work Programme 2015	"I am not talking about burden sharing in the sense that we all say that we are going to take a similar number of people, because I am not sure that that is what the British people want."	Keith Vaz	9 March 2015	Volume 594 No. 121	p.93
Business, Innovation and Skills	"Several member states called for enhanced resettlement from third countries to the EU, but the Commission suggested there was insufficient support from member states to implement this. There was only limited support for calls for greater solidarity and burden sharing. The UK expressed scepticism regarding proposals for the "upstream processing" of asylum seekers outside the EU and the consensus was that such proposals could only be developed if we were clear they would not represent a 'pull factor'."	Theresa May	19 March 2015	Volume 594 No. 128	72W
Refugee Situation in the Mediterranean	"I point out the fact that in the UK only 187 people have been resettled under the Syrian resettlement programme, compared with 30,000 in Germany and 8,000 in Norway. Whether or not there are mandatory quotas, we should be ashamed, as a country, of the fact that we have accepted only 187 people."	Thangam Debbonaire	16 June 2015	Volume 597 No. 17	p. 295
Business of the House	"We have a twin duty. One part is to ensure that the right humanitarian support is in place to prevent people from drowning in the Mediterranean but alongside that we need a long-term solution to the problem. (..) The Government will continue to seek to encourage EU partners to find a solution to the problem, but I am absolutely of the view that the solution is not about a large number of additional people coming to the UK."	Chris Grayling	18 June 2015	Volume 597 No. 19	p. 481
Tunisia and European Council	Mr David Burrowes: "Although I welcome the extension of the resettlement programme for Syrian refugees, are we not open to the criticism that it is too little, too late, particularly when compared with the more generous resettlement and refugee programmes that other countries have for those fleeing persecution?" The Prime Minister: "If one takes a five to 10-year view of the number of people we have given asylum to, we are consistently in the top five European countries. On that basis, I think we can say that we play our part."	-	29 June 2015	Volume 597 No. 24	pp. 1203-1204

Calais	"We now need a much more comprehensive response from responsible countries to deal with the issue. I commend her for insisting to our European partners that they should seek to return people to their home countries rather than accepting them into the European Union, and for questioning the borderless Schengen area in Europe that encourages large-scale migration across our continent"	Bernard Jenkin	14 July 2015	Volume 598 No. 33	p. 741
Syria: Refugees and Counter-terrorism	"Britain will take in 20,000 refugees over the next five years, but (...) they will not be given refugee status. He said they would be given status as being under humanitarian protection. As he knows, that is a discretionary leave to remain that does not entitle them to settlement. These are people who desperately need security and stability in their lives. How is he going to reconcile that with the status that he is proposing to give them?"	Barry Gardiner	7 September 2015	Volume 599 No. 38	p. 44
Refugee Crisis in Europe	"Accept more asylum seekers and increase support for refugee migrants in the UK", https://petition, parliament.uk/petitions/105991.]	-	8 September 2015	Volume 599 No. 39	p. 245
Refugee Crisis in Europe	"Why is Britain not leading the way in insisting on the scale of plan that we need? Why are we not demanding that Poland and other eastern European countries do their bit to help, backing up the calls from France and Germany for other nations to do more? (...) Yes, that does mean that we have to do our bit to show that we are prepared to help within Europe, too."	Yvette Cooper	8. September 2015	Volume 599 No. 39	p. 255
Humanitarian Crisis in the Mediterranean and Europe	"It is, after all, our moral obligation, especially when we know what others are doing; Germany and Sweden, in particular, have already been mentioned. (...) There are nearly 2 million refugees in Turkey. Jordan has seen its population increase by 650,000. Lebanon's population has increased by 1.2 million, or 25%. That is equivalent to the United Kingdom taking in 16 million people. Let us compare that with the number of refugees we have actually taken from Syria under the UN vulnerable persons relocation scheme thus far: 216."	Hilary Benn	9 September 2015	Volume 599 No. 40	p. 427
Migration	"I also made it clear that we do not support all of the Commission's recent proposals, which include the relocation of 120,000 people already in Europe. As I have said before, the UK believes that this approach risks encouraging even more people to risk their lives making the dangerous journey across the Mediterranean or into Europe."	Theresa May	16 September 2015	Volume 599 No. 45	p. 1050
Migration	"We should, as the UK is doing, be resettling people directly from the region (...) This is important for three particular reasons. First, it ensures that we are taking the most vulnerable people, not just those who are sufficiently fit or who have enough money to make the journey to Europe. Secondly, it deters people, of any age or wealth, from attempting the perilous journeys that have already led to so many tragic deaths. Thirdly, it helps to break the business model of the callous criminal gangs preying on human misery in this way."	Theresa May	16 September 2015	Volume 599 No. 45	p. 1050

Source: Parliament UK.

Appendix 10: British parliamentary debates on burden sharing - Burden sharing regime, Hard Quotas (b)

Topic of the parliamentary debates	Citation	Politician	Date	No	Page
Debate on the Address Britain in the World	"Yes, we do have a strategy, and we are deploying it. As the hon. Gentleman says, thousands have died in the Mediterranean, but well over 1,000 have been saved by HMS Bulwark since we deployed it to rescue people from those perilous seas."	Philip Hammond	1 June 2015	Volume 596 No. 8	p. 320
Oral Answers Illegal Migration	"(...) we sent HMS Bulwark and Merlin helicopters, so that this country can play our role in providing search and rescue services to help those people. They are literally putting their lives on the line to get a better life, and we should never forget the stories of the people behind those terrible numbers."	Justine Greening	3 June 2015	Volume 596 No. 10	p. 574
Refugee Situation in the Mediterranean	"The UK Government are clear that they will offer generous funding and practical support to help make that happen."	James Brokenshire	16 June 2015	Volume 597 No. 17	p. 297
Syria: Refugees and Counter-terrorism	"We help them with their capacity in terms of fingerprinting and sorting people. Part of the problem with the Schengen system is that people who come to Greece and Italy then transit onwards, rather than doing what they ought to do, which is to provide their details so that they can make their asylum applications in the first country they arrive in. We are helping with that, as it is part of the problem that Schengen is coping with at the moment."	David Cameron	7 September 2015	Volume 599 No. 38	p. 61
Refugee Crisis in Europe	"Our financial contribution of more than £1 billion is the largest we have ever made to a humanitarian crisis and makes us the second-biggest bilateral donor in the world. (...) The United Kingdom can be proud that we are the only major country in the world that has kept our promise to spend 0.7% of our national wealth on aid, and prouder still of the difference that that money is making. Our support has reached hundreds of thousands of vulnerable people across Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey, Egypt and Iraq. It has paid for more than 18 million food rations; it means that 1.6 million people have access to clean water; and it is providing education to a quarter of a million children. Last week, the Government announced an additional £100 million of aid spending. "	Theresa May	8 September 2015	Volume 599 No. 39	p. 258

Source: Parliament UK.

Appendix 11: German parliamentary debates on burden sharing - Burden sharing approach, norm-based approach

Topic of the parliamentary debates	Citation	Politician	Date	No	Page
Greece	"Menschen in Not brauchen Hilfe. Staat und Gesellschaft sind verpflichtet, ihnen zu helfen. Das gilt nicht nur für durch Krieg und Bürgerkrieg traumatisierte Flüchtlinge, sondern auch für alle Bürgerinnen und Bürger, die in große Not geraten sind (...) Aber ich füge hinzu: Die Demonstrantinnen und Demonstranten von Pegida würden, wenn sie in der gleichen Situation wären wie die Flüchtlinge, ebenso Hilfe verlangen und erwarten und wahrscheinlich auch bekommen."	Gregor Gysi	15. January 2015	79	p. 7480
-	"Das erschüttert uns in Wahrheit nicht nur als Mitmenschen – Gott sei Dank das auch –, sondern das muss uns in ganz besonderer Weise als Europäer erschüttern; denn diese Menschen waren nicht auf dem Weg irgendwohin, sie waren auf dem Weg nach Europa, mit vielen Hoffnungen auf dieses Europa. Deshalb trifft diese Tragödie, über die wir heute reden, eben nicht nur die Flüchtlinge, sondern sie betrifft auch Europa. Natürlich ist es unsere Verantwortung, Menschen vor dem sicheren Tod zu bewahren, selbst wenn sie von gewissenlosen Menschenhändlern auf eine Reise unter Todesgefahren geschickt werden. Deshalb sage ich zunächst einmal: Das ist Gegenstand der humanitären Verantwortung, und vor der dürfen wir nicht kneifen (..)"	Frank-Walter Steinmeier	22. April 2015	99	p. 9449
-	"(...) Europa muss konsequent, zügig und auch solidarisch handeln (...)"	Andrea Lindholz	22. April 2015	99	p. 9453
-	"Größer noch als die Bewährungsprobe in Griechenland ist die humane Bewältigung der Flüchtlingsströme zu uns. Da droht Europa etwas zu verlieren, was viel wichtiger ist als Geld, nämlich seine eigene humane Orientierung. Das ist von riesiger Bedeutung (...)"	Sigmar Gabriel	17. July 2015	117	p. 11361

Source: Bundestag.

Appendix 12: German parliamentary debates on burden sharing - Burden sharing approach, cost-benefit approach

Topic of the parliamentary debates	Citation	Politician	Date	No	Page
Greece	"(...) Deutschland verliert im kommenden Jahrzehnt in jedem Jahr 400.000 Menschen im erwerbsfähigen Alter, und diese Lücke lässt sich nicht allein durch eine Erhöhung der Erwerbsbeteiligung von Frauen oder durch die Qualifizierung von Arbeitslosen schließen. Dazu brauchen wir qualifizierte Einwanderer in großer Zahl, und darauf müssen wir alle vorbereiten (...)"	Thomas Oppermann	15. January 2015	79	p. 7482
-	"(...) Deutschland braucht pro Jahr 300.000 Einwanderer. Das sagen alle Experten übereinstimmend. (...)Wir müssen uns auf globale Beschäftigte einstellen, die dieses Jahr hier und nächstes Jahr in Australien arbeiten. Dem syrischen Arzt oder der eritreischen Pflegekraft, die als Flüchtlinge hierher kommen, muss nicht nur ermöglicht werden, hier zu arbeiten, sondern als echter Einwanderer und echte Einwanderer auch die deutsche Staatsbürgerschaft zu erhalten (...)"	Katrin Göring-Eckardt	5. February 2015	85	p. 8030
Social Affairs	"Es geht darum, dass wir schlichtweg alle Potenziale, die wir im Land haben, heben, dass wir die Menschen fördern. Das heißt für mich: Man muss auch bei den Flüchtlingen, die hierherkommen, von Anfang an mit Integrationskursen die Voraussetzungen dafür schaffen, dass sie hier, auf dem deutschen Arbeitsmarkt, ihren Qualifikationen entsprechend eine Chance bekommen und auch Qualifikationen erwerben können, und das nicht erst nach ein, zwei Jahren Asylverfahren, sondern vom ersten Tag an, wenn sie hier ankommen. Das heißt Willkommenskultur (...)"	Volker Beck	19. March 2015	94	p. 8937
-	"Wir wollen die offenen Grenzen verteidigen. Aber dafür brauchen wir eine gemeinsame europäische Flüchtlingspolitik, meine Damen und Herren (...)"	Thomas Oppermann	9. September 2015	120	p. 11619

Source: Bundestag.

Appendix 13: German parliamentary debates on burden sharing - Burden sharing regime, Policy Harmonization

Topic of the parliamentary debates	Citation	Politician	Date	No	Page
Frackingtechnology	"Und wo ist Europa? Am Tag nach der Debatte hier bei uns im Parlament hat der EU-Sondergipfel der Regierungschefs getagt. Was hat er beschlossen? Die Verstärkung der Grenzschutzmaßnahmen, die Bekämpfung der Schleuserkriminalität, die Zerstörung von Schleuserschiffen, die Eindämmung von sogenannten Migrationsströmen, die freiwillige Erklärung von EU-Mitgliedstaaten, Italien und Malta ein paar Flüchtlinge abzunehmen. Bekämpfung, Zerstörung, Abschottung, Zurückweisung, Eindämmung – das ist der eiskalte Sprech, der sich der Schutzverantwortung verweigert. So, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen, stirbt jeden Tag auch unsere Idee von Europa, die die Menschenwürde in den Mittelpunkt stellt."	Claudia Roth	7. May 2015	103	p. 9830
-	"Versagt hat die EU-Flüchtlingspolitik, also auch die deutsche. Sie ist auf Abwehr ausgerichtet statt auf Lösungen. Das muss sich ändern."	Petra Pau	22. April 2015	99	p. 9449
-	"Die Linke fordert stattdessen: Schicken Sie nicht Kriegsschiffe, sondern Fähren nach Nordafrika, die asylsuchende Flüchtlinge nach Europa bringen können. Hier können sie dann Asylanträge stellen, ohne dass ein Mensch sterben muss. (...) Aber die EU macht das Geschäft für die Schleuser doch erst möglich. Wenn man ihnen wirklich die Geschäftsgrundlage nehmen will, dann muss man Wege eröffnen, damit Flüchtlinge nach Europa kommen können. Das bedeutet zum Beispiel, eine Visapolitik einzuführen oder andere Möglichkeiten für legale Wege nach Europa zu suchen."	Ulla Jelpke	22. April 2015	99	p. 9454
Frackingtechnology	"Wir brauchen einen grundlegenden Paradigmenwechsel in der Asylpolitik: weg von der gescheiterten Politik der Abschreckung hin zur Integration von Flüchtlingen von Anfang an."	Ulla Jelpke	7. May 2015	103	p. 9821
-	"Deutschland ist aber der drittgrößte Waffenexporteur der Welt und verdient an jedem Krieg. Waffen werden auch an Diktaturen wie Saudi-Arabien und Katar verkauft . Saudi-Arabien führt einen Krieg gegen Jemen (...)"	Gregor Gysi	9. September 2015	120	p. 11603

Source: Bundestag.

Appendix 14: German parliamentary debates on burden sharing - Burden sharing regime, Hard Quotas (a)

Topic of the parliamentary debates	Citation	Politician	Date	No	Page
-	"Für mich ist es immer wieder erschreckend, wie viele Koalitionäre immer wieder die Wichtigkeit der Kommunen betonen, das allerdings nicht in praktische Politik umsetzen, sondern es bei Worten belassen. Da hilft es auch nicht, wie wir es in der Debatte zur Finanzierung der Flüchtlingsunterbringung vor zwei Wochen hier im Deutschen Bundestag gehört haben, aufzuzählen, was Sie alles für Gesetze auf den Weg gebracht haben. Entscheidend ist, was am Ende herauskommt, was tatsächlich bei den Kommunen ankommt. (...) Dann wäre auch genug Geld in den Kassen, um beispielsweise die Unterbringung von Flüchtlingen und Asylsuchenden menschenwürdig und sozial integrativ zu gestalten."	Susanna Karawanskij	5. February 2015	85	p. 8077
USA	"Ebenso entscheidend ist dabei, dass wir zu einer gerechteren Verteilung der Flüchtlinge kommen. Das vereinbarte Quotenmodell ist ein richtiger Schritt. Aber es kann nicht sein, dass Länder, die in den vergangenen Jahren immens von der europäischen Solidarität profitiert haben, sich jetzt einen schlanken Fuß machen. Solidarität ist keine Einbahnstraße, sondern eine gemeinsame Aufgabe für ganz Europa."	Florian Hahn	21. May 2015	106	p. 10054
-	"Die Vorschläge der EU-Kommission gehen insgesamt in die richtige Richtung. Es soll erstmals ein europäisches Aufnahmeprogramm geben, wodurch 20.000 besonders schutzbedürftige Flüchtlinge nach Europa gebracht und auf die Mitgliedstaaten verteilt werden."	Nina Warken	12. June 2015	110	p. 10636
-	"Auch der zeitlich befristete Notfallmechanismus zur Umsiedlung von Flüchtlingen aus Italien und Griechenland ist richtig. (...) Europa zeigt dadurch Handlungsfähigkeit, Solidarität und Verantwortung."	Nina Warken	12. June 2015	110	p. 10636
-	"Der langfristige Schlüssel zum Erfolg liegt aber in der Beseitigung der Fluchtursachen. Die Menschen brauchen in ihrer Heimat eine echte Zukunftsperspektive. Hier muss Europa gemeinsam weiter nachfassen."	Nina Warken	12. June 2015	110	p. 10636
Highway toll	"Doch die gesamteuropäische Verantwortung endet nicht bei der Seenotrettung. Auch bei der Aufnahme von Flüchtlingen sollte Solidarität zwischen den Mitgliedstaaten eine Selbstverständlichkeit sein. Es kann nicht sein, dass drei Viertel aller Asylbewerber von nur fünf Mitgliedstaaten der Europäischen Union aufgenommen werden."	Angela Merkel	18. June 2015	112	p. 10688

Source: Bundestag.

Appendix 15: German parliamentary debates on burden sharing - Burden sharing regime, Hard Quotas (b)

Topic of the parliamentary debates	Citation	Politician	Date	No	Page
USA	"Natürlich müssen wir Schlepperbanden gezielt bekämpfen. Aber am Wichtigsten ist es natürlich, daran zu arbeiten, dass die Fluchtursachen beseitigt werden. Lieber Herr Minister Müller, Sie sind einer der ganz wenigen, möglicherweise der einzige Minister für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit, der im Augenblick einen so kräftigen Zuwachs hat: 8,3 Milliarden Euro mehr bis 2019. Ich habe die klare Erwartung, dass wir diese Mittel schwerpunktmäßig zur Beseitigung der Ursachen der Flucht von Menschen einsetzen, die keine Arbeit, keine Perspektive und keinen Schutz haben. (...) Deshalb muss ein großer Teil dieser Mittel in Afrika eingesetzt werden. Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung, fairer Handel und sicherheitspolitische Zusammenarbeit, das gehört zusammen, und das sollte auch die Botschaft der G 7 sein."	Thomas Oppermann	21. May 2015	106	p. 10043
-	"Als Sofortmaßnahmen sind die finanziellen Mittel für die Frontex-Operationen Triton und Poseidon verdreifacht worden. Der Einsatzraum der Operation Triton ist bis an die libysche Küste herangeführt worden. Seit Anfang Mai sind zwei deutsche Marineschiffe, die Fregatte „Hessen" und der Einsatzgruppenversorger „Berlin", zur Seenotrettung im südlichen Mittelmeer vor Ort."	Ole Schröder	12. June 2015	110	p. 10630
-	"Drittens. Nicht die Flüchtlinge, aber die Kosten müssen innerhalb der Europäischen Union gerecht verteilt werden."	Gregor Gysi	19. August 2015	118	p. 11459
Highway toll	"Darüber hinaus müssen wir weiter die Ursachen von Flucht und Vertreibung bekämpfen, auch wenn dies, wie wir alle wissen, einen sehr langen Atem erfordert. Die Bundesregierung wird in den nächsten Jahren 8,3 Milliarden Euro mehr für Entwicklungshilfe ausgeben. Das ist ein Beitrag genau zur Bekämpfung von Fluchtursachen."	Angela Merkel	18. June 2015	112	p. 10688

Source: Bundestag.