

# Estimating the Residential Status of Europe's Refugee Surge

Phillip Connor  
Senior Researcher, Pew Research Center  
[pconnor@pewresearch.org](mailto:pconnor@pewresearch.org)  
Washington, D.C.

Conference Paper for Quetelet Conference on Demography of Displacement  
Université Catholique de Louvain, Belgium  
November 29-30, 2017

This paper is based on and include excerpts from the recent report,  
[\*Still in Limbo: About a Million Asylum Seekers Await Word on Whether They Can Call Europe Home\*](#)  
released by Pew Research Center on September 20, 2017.

A record number of asylum seekers arrived on Europe's shores in 2015 and 2016. In all, more than two million asylum seekers filed applications with EU countries, Norway and Switzerland during these two years, about one-fifth of applications these same countries received since 1985. The majority of applicants were from just three countries: Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq. But tens of thousands also came from several Eastern European countries such as Albania, Kosovo and Serbia. Thousands of people from sub-Saharan Africa as well as countries in South Asia (for example, Pakistan and Bangladesh) also made the journey to Europe and applied for asylum.

The next phase of Europe's refugee crisis is the review of applications, deciding whether the asylum seekers will be given refugee status and be permitted to reside in Europe. Person-level data tracking the pathway of asylum seekers from application through current residential status are unavailable. Consequently, there are no hard numbers on the current status of the refugee surge that occurred in 2015 and 2016. However, with the help of estimation techniques, estimates of various status levels can be assessed using aggregate data.

Using publicly-available, aggregate data from Eurostat, this study for the first time aims to estimate the status of asylum seekers applying in 2015 and 2016 as of the December 31, 2016. The methodological approach generally examines asylum application data alongside asylum decision data. The total number of applications for the two years is subdivided across three categories: 1) positive decisions, 2) negative decisions and 3) pending decisions (the residual category once the other two categories are estimated).

The study also examines past aggregate trends in appealing negative decisions as well as the return of those found who have had their applications rejected. These data are assessed both at the country of application and nationality levels of applicants to compute rates for rejected applicants across three subcategories: 1) those likely to be appealing their negative decision, 2) those likely to have left voluntarily or have been forcibly removed and 3) those who have likely remained in Europe, but are unauthorized to do so (the residual category once the first two categories are estimated).

## Background

A record number of asylum seekers arrived on Europe's shores in 2015 and 2016. Starting in the summer of 2015, [thousands of refugees](#), primarily from the Middle East, were arriving daily on Greece's shores from Turkey. Subsequently, hundreds of thousands traveled further into Europe during 2015 and 2016 to apply for asylum.<sup>1</sup>

In 2016, refugee arrivals continued but at a more measured pace. Migration along the Eastern Mediterranean route between Turkey and Greece stalled after [a deal between the EU and Turkey](#) was implemented in March 2016 to contain the flow. Thousands more migrants, however, crossed the Central Mediterranean from North Africa to Italy in a steady flow through most of 2016.

Some [1.3 million asylum applications](#) alone were filed in European Union countries, Norway and Switzerland in 2015 and an [additional 1.2 million](#) were filed in 2016. Together, these two years account for some 20% of all asylum applications received by Europe since the mid-1980s, making this current wave of asylum seekers the biggest the continent has seen since perhaps World War II.

Top countries of citizenship for asylum seekers during the record surge included Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq. These three countries account for more than half (53%) of all 2015-16 applicants.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, Germany received about half of Europe's asylum seekers, with hundreds of thousands also applying in Hungary, Italy and Sweden. For some European countries, the sudden movement of so many migrants changed the demographics of those countries noticeably: [immigrant shares increased](#) by more than 1 percentage point for total populations in Sweden, Hungary and Austria between 2015 and 2016.

All asylum seekers arriving in Europe, whether children or adults, must file individual applications with national authorities. After applying, applicants wait for their case to be reviewed by authorities in the country where they filed their application. Even though European Union countries, Norway and Switzerland have agreed to [common principles](#) in dealing with asylum seekers, including their registration, reception conditions and application procedures, timelines and specific steps can [vary considerably between countries](#).

---

<sup>1</sup> In 2015, Germany temporarily withdrew from the [Dublin Regulation](#) – the EU agreement that requires asylum seekers to apply for asylum in the first EU country they enter. This allowed for asylum seekers to move north and westward into Europe from Greece.

<sup>2</sup> This figure is calculated after withdrawn applications are removed from the totals of these countries.

Wait times, for example, can be a few months in some places or more than a year in others. These varying speeds are dependent on a number of factors, including bureaucratic capacity of the national government where the application has been submitted, the origins of the asylum seekers and political pressure from country populations. While their application is processed, many asylum seekers await decisions in [government-run facilities](#), such as [repurposed](#) schools, hotels or airports, where they are provided [food and medical care](#).

Some asylum seekers, especially those from Syria, have been fast tracked and only needed to wait a few months before receiving a decision on their application. Others have lived in refugee quarters for several months or longer, waiting for a decision on their application. While they wait, asylum seekers in most countries are [prohibited](#) from working, though they sometimes have access to the labor market, especially if the application process is particularly delayed.

If an asylum seeker's application is approved, they receive either a temporary or more permanent residency.<sup>3</sup> Along with that, they are permitted to work. If their application is rejected, they can file an appeal within a certain period of time and wait (again) as the appeal is processed. This can add several months, if not more, to an asylum seeker's wait time. Otherwise, asylum seekers can be returned to their home countries or some other non-EU country or remain in Europe in an unauthorized status.

## Data and Methods

The estimates in this study are based on data from [Eurostat](#), Europe's statistical agency. Eurostat provides nationality and country of application data on the number of asylum applications, withdrawn applications, application decisions (first-time and final decisions) and returns of those ordered to leave. Unfortunately, these publicly-available data are not linked together. Consequently, the Pew Research Center arranged these data in such a way to produce estimates for the status of Europe's asylum seekers applying in 2015 and 2016.

The method used to estimate each possible status of asylum seekers as of the end of 2016 is based on this formula:

---

<sup>3</sup> [Reports indicate](#) an increasing number of Syrian asylum seekers are receiving subsidiary status for a year or longer. This is a renewable permit to remain in Europe temporarily, but not official refugee status. In many countries, even asylum seekers who receive refugee status must not commit crimes and be gainfully employed over several years in order to stay in Europe for the long term.

<b>Total Asylum Seekers Applying in 2015-16</b>	=	<b>Asylum Seekers Approved to Stay in Europe</b>	+	<b>Asylum Seekers Rejected to Stay in Europe</b>	+	<b>Asylum Seekers Waiting for a First Decision</b>
<b>[TOTAL]</b>	=	<b>[Approved]</b>	+	<b>[Rejected]</b>	+	<b>[Waiting]</b>

Public data on Europe’s asylum seekers are anonymized, meaning that analysts cannot track individuals across various stages of their asylum application process. Such anonymization of the data does not allow analysts to quickly determine the legal status of asylum seekers in a specific migration wave.

Consequently, estimation methods must be used to calculate the number of people in each possible phase of the application process (approval, rejection and waiting for a decision as of the end of 2016).

The estimates in this study are based on calculations using both country of application and asylum seeker nationality information. In other words, the total number of Syrian asylum applicants across Europe are based on calculations for the number of Syrian applicants in Germany plus the number of Syrian applicants in France plus the number of Syrian applicants in Sweden and so on. In the same way, the total number of asylum applicants in Germany are based on individual estimates by nationality, or, for example, the number of Afghan asylum applicants in Germany plus the number of Iraqi asylum applicants in Germany and so on.

All estimates were rounded to the nearest 5,000 to indicate a level of caution in citing the estimates. Detailed estimates by nationality *and* country of application are provided for asylum seeker groups of only 20,000 or more.

Complete data from Eurostat were available through the end of 2016. Consequently, the figures in this study on the status of asylum seekers applying for refugee status in 2015 and 2016 are as of the end of 2016.

**Estimating the TOTAL number of asylum seekers in 2015 and 2016.** Eurostat provides [data on the annual number of asylum seeker applications](#). Across the European Union’s 28 member countries plus Norway and Switzerland, [some 2.5 million applications](#) were filed in 2015 and 2016. With the sudden movement of hundreds of thousands of asylum seekers into Europe during these years, however, it is

likely that this total for 2015 and 2016 includes applications filed by the same people in multiple countries. It is also possible that some asylum seekers returned to their home countries or were remaining in Europe in some other legal status (for example, international student, sponsored immigrant of a family member, work visa) before going further in the asylum seeker process. Consequently, it is important to obtain an estimate of the unique (or “net”) number of applicants across Europe during this time period.

Applications are not the same as arrivals. It can take [several months](#) for newly arrived asylum seekers to make formal applications for asylum and get included in monthly statistics. Applications do represent, however, individuals, not households. Regardless of age or family relationship, each person claiming refugee status must file an asylum application. It is possible, for people in refugee situations entering Europe to never submit an asylum application. This study does not include those people.

European Union countries as well as Norway and Switzerland lawfully agree to the [Dublin Regulation](#) which states that asylum seekers are to apply for refugee status in the first European country they enter. Germany [temporarily waived their participation](#) in the regulation during the refugee surge of late summer and early fall of 2015. Consequently, many refugees traveled through Greece, making their way north and west to Germany and other destinations using a route through several Balkan countries as well as European Union member countries like Hungary and Austria. Some asylum seekers applied for refugee status in transit countries before making it to their desired destination of Germany or other countries. Many asylum seekers that applied in Hungary and Austria, for example, later had their applications withdrawn.

The total number of asylum seekers used in this study is reduced by the [number of withdrawn applications](#) between April 2015 through March 2017 – a total of 344,000 applications. This adjustment allows for a three month buffer for earliest arriving applicants in early 2015 and the applicants arriving in late 2016 to reconsider their application country.<sup>4</sup> Withdrawn applications are either implicit (applicant did not appear for meetings with officials and thus had their application withdrawn by the country of application) or explicit (applicant requested their application be removed).

With these alterations to the total number of asylum seekers, a more technical definition of asylum applicants in this study is the net number of asylum seekers after withdrawals.

---

<sup>4</sup> Eurostat provides statistics on requests from a country of application to move applications to the first country asylum seekers entered. However, the number of transfer requests in 2015 and 2016 were far fewer than actual withdrawals stated by application countries. It is likely that Dublin procedures are ongoing and take additional time to process than actual withdrawals. In order to provide a more accurate number of total applications, removing withdrawn applications from the total number of asylum applications was a more favorable approach for this study.

**Estimating the number of APPROVED asylum seekers.** Once asylum seekers submit their applications, they are given food, medicine and shelter as they wait for their case to be reviewed for the first time by immigration personnel. This wait time can vary from a month to more than a year, depending on the nationality of the asylum seeker as well as the country of application.

Eurostat provides [quarterly decision data \(acceptance or rejection\)](#) for first-time asylum applications. These data were collected by researchers alongside separately [published estimates](#) of average wait times for asylum seekers in seeing their application be reviewed.<sup>5</sup> Only decision data expected to represent applications in 2015-2016 were used. For example, if a European country's average wait time for application review was 6 months, then decision data for quarters 3 and 4 of 2015 (allowing for six months for asylum seekers filing applications in early 2015) and all of 2016 were used.

All positive decisions were recorded as approvals, regardless of the kind or length of stay for refugee status granted to the applicant (e.g., Geneva Convention, humanitarian, subsidiary).<sup>6</sup> Number of approvals were recorded by country of application and nationality of the applicant and summed across countries of application.<sup>7</sup>

**Estimating the number of REJECTED asylum seekers.** Decision data from Eurostat also provides the number of asylum seekers whose applications were rejected. Published wait times in calculating the number of rejected applications were used in the same way as approved applications. As with approved applications, only data on applications yet to receive a first decision were used.

Once an application is rejected, there are three possible directions the applicant's status can take: (1) appeal the decision – a process that can take months or years to pursue while they remain in Europe on a temporary, yet legal basis, (2) be returned to their home country or some other non-EU country, or (3)

---

<sup>5</sup> Data on wait times were primarily collected using [AIDA \(Asylum Information Database\)](#), a database service that collects data on the asylum seeker process for most European countries. In some countries, wait times are specific to certain nationalities. These wait times were assigned to these nationalities within specific countries of application. For countries with no published wait times, the average wait time across all European countries was assigned. Most wait times are in months and the nearest quarter of asylum decision data from Eurostat (third quarter of 2015 for most countries of application) was assigned to the country of application.

<sup>6</sup> Number of approvals does not include rejected applicants applying in 2015-16 that may have gone through an appeal process and won that appeal before the end of 2016. Given the backlog in applications from the refugee surge, it is assumed this number of approved applicants after appeal is small.

<sup>7</sup> In some country of application and nationality pairings, the number of decisions was larger than the net number of applications. In these cases, the number of decisions was reduced by the relative breakdown of positive and negative decisions.

continue to reside in Europe, albeit unauthorized to do so. The Pew Research Center estimated the likely number of applicants in each category.

*Rejected asylum seekers that were likely appealing their first application decision.* Annual counts of rejected asylum seekers with appeal decisions are available from Eurostat. However, the submission date of their application appeal is unknown. Consequently, appeal data combines applicants with rejected, first-time applicants from as little as a month prior to several years before. An estimation procedure is needed to calculate the share of rejected, first-time applications during 2015 and 2016 that were likely in the appeal process as of the end of 2016.

Historical appeal *rates* were calculated using the number of applicants with an appeal decision (positive or negative) in 2016 divided by the number of rejected decisions a year earlier in 2015 for each country of application and nationality combination. The appeal rate expresses the likelihood that an asylum seeker of a given nationality group applying for asylum in a particular country of application would appeal a negative decision in their application. This appeal rate was applied to rejected applications for each country of application and nationality pair in 2015 and 2016.<sup>8</sup>

If the rate exceeded one (in other words, the number of appeals in 2016 for an application country and nationality pair was greater than the number of rejected first-time applications in 2015), then it is assumed that all applicants in that country of application/nationality pair appealed their negative, first-time decisions. A complete appeal rate was applied to 195,000 or 35% of all rejected applications.<sup>9</sup>

*Rejected number of asylum seekers that were likely returned to their home countries or other non-EU country.* A portion of asylum seekers each year are returned to their home countries or another non-EU country after having their application rejected. The [annual number of foreign nationals](#) who were ordered and have effectively left EU member countries, Norway and Switzerland is available from Eurostat. These data, however, are not specific to asylum seekers. The data represent any person (asylum seeker, migrant worker, visitor) found to be living illegally in Europe.

---

<sup>8</sup> For many countries, appeal decisions are generally granted within a year. Thus, this appeal rate is based on the assumption that all those applicants who had a first-time, rejected application in 2015 had a final appeal decision (positive or negative) the following year. This assumption may not always be true as some applicants may have been rejected at the end of 2015, but did not get an appeal hearing until early 2017, or later. Nonetheless, without monthly appeal data, this is the best rate measure that can be applied to the study. As a robustness test, combined appeal rates for all years combined between 2008 and 2016 as well as a 2015 appeal rate based on rejected, first-time applications in 2014 provide a similar result in the total number of likely appeals.

<sup>9</sup> Because of the high number of rejected application groups with appeal rates above 100%, these estimates do lean toward a greater number of rejected applicants filing for appeals than what could be occurring in reality. However, [court dockets](#), at least in Germany, suggests that the most common step among rejected, first-time applicants is to file an appeal, not wait for deportation or remain in Europe unauthorized. Thus, it makes sense for the appeal rates to first be applied to rejected, first-time applicants rather than data on returns.

Estimates for the number of rejected asylum seekers in 2015-16 who have been returned is based on the assumption that any returns in 2016 from a specific country of application and for a particular nationality group not first estimated to have been in the application appeal process are asylum seekers that have been returned to their home or other non-EU country.<sup>10</sup>

*Rejected number of asylum seekers that were likely unauthorized to live in Europe.* Remaining, rejected applicants not estimated to have appealed the rejection decision nor returned to their home or other non-EU country were deemed as asylum seekers who would be unauthorized to live in the EU, Norway or Switzerland. In some countries it is possible that a portion of this group may have some kind of temporary, legal status, such as humanitarian need, to temporarily remain in Europe. Others may not be in Europe and left before the end of 2016.

**Estimating the number of asylum seeker applications WAITING for a first decision.** The remaining number of asylum applications that have neither been approved nor rejected using the estimation techniques earlier explained, are considered to have been under review for the first time as of the end of 2016. In other words, these applicants are waiting for their initial application decision. This number of applications is calculated by subtracting the total number of decisions (approved and rejected) from the total number of applications (or “net” after the removal of withdrawn applications) received in 2015 and 2016.

Eurostat provides a monthly tally of the [number of pending applications](#) yet to be processed, but the actual submission date of these applications is unknown. Consequently, the total number of pending applications includes all previous submission dates, as little as a month prior to several years before. And, Eurostat’s number of pending applications can also include duplicate applications that would later be found to exist across two or more countries. Nonetheless, the Center’s estimates of net applications received in 2015 and 2016 still under review as of the end of 2016 were compared with Eurostat’s number of pending applications also at the end of 2016. In most countries of application, the number of pending applications reported by Eurostat was the same (after rounding) or higher than the number of pending applications estimated in this study.

For the purposes of results presented in this study, “waiting” applicants include those both waiting for a result in their initial application (the estimate calculated in this last step) as well as those waiting for an appeal decision (rejected applicants who were likely in the appeal process) explained earlier.

---

<sup>10</sup> It is likely that some of the rejected, first-time asylum seekers estimated to have returned to their home or another non-EU country might be foreign nationals that entered Europe before the recent refugee surge of 2015-16.

## Findings

The number of asylum applicants in European Union countries, Norway and Switzerland during 2015 and 2016 still waiting for a final word on their applications at the end of 2016 (1,145,000) outnumbered the number of asylum applicants approved to stay (885,000), according to the Pew Research Center estimates. In all, 52% faced an uncertain future on their residency in Europe on December 31, 2016.

For some nationalities of asylum seekers, the share waiting is much higher than the share that has been approved for residency in Europe, according to the new estimates. For example, an estimated 89% of Albanian applications were waiting to know their status in Europe at the end of 2016.

Also, about 77% of Afghan asylum applicants were waiting for first-time decisions or final decisions on appeals. This means that there were about 3 times more waiting Afghan applicants (240,000) than approved ones (75,000) as of the end of 2016. A large share (77%) of Iranian applicants and more than half of those from Iraq (62%) were also still waiting on decisions at 2016's end.

At the same time, about three-fourths of leading European nationalities of Europe's asylum seeker surge, such as those from Kosovo (77%), Serbia (74%) and Russia (72%) were waiting word on first-time or appeal decisions as of the end of 2016.

Between half and two-thirds of applicants from South Asia such as Pakistan (67%) and Bangladesh (55%) have an uncertain future in Europe and were waiting on application decisions as of the end of 2016. Meanwhile, about half of applicants from several leading African countries of the surge, such as Somalia (56%), Sudan (56%) and Nigeria (55%), were waiting on application decisions at the end of 2016.

Not all nationalities of asylum seekers follow the same pattern of more waiting than approved applicants. For example, the future for most Syrian applicants applying for asylum in 2015 and 2016 is largely certain in Europe, at least for the next several years. Only an estimated 130,000 of the 650,000 (20%) applications received by Syrians had not been decided, either for the first-time or because of an appeal.

Some European countries created a fast track processing for Syrian applicants, the largest nationality of asylum seekers during the 2015-16 surge. In [Germany](#), for example, Syrians often received first-time application decisions within three months of their application, with many being approved without an appeal.

Similarly, well less than half of applicants from Gambia (42%) and Eritrea (29%) were still awaiting a decision on their application at the end of 2016, according to the Pew Research Center estimates. In the case of Gambians an estimated 10,000 out of 25,000 applicants applying in 2015 and 2016 were still waiting to hear a result in their asylum application by the end of 2016. For Eritreans, approximately 25,000 out of the 80,000 applicants applying in 2015 and 2016 did not know their status. Asylum applicants from the Gambia are often granted refugee status because of ongoing [political strife](#), while Eritreans are largely escaping [forced military conscription](#).

Several European countries on the front lines of the refugee surge in 2015-2016 had high shares of asylum applicants waiting for a decision on their applications as of the end of 2016, according to Pew Research Center estimates. For example, it is estimated that about nine-in-ten applicants in Hungary (94%) and Greece (90%) were still waiting for decisions as of December 31, 2016.<sup>11</sup>

According to the new estimates, about two-thirds of applicants in Austria (66%) and more than half (59%) of those in France, other countries that received large flows of asylum seekers in 2015-16, were waiting for application decisions.

Germany received about half of Europe's asylum applicants in 2015 and 2016. Consequently, Germany also had about half (45%) of [Europe's waiting applicants](#) at the end of 2016, according to Pew Research Center estimates. However, it appears that Germany has been more efficient than many other countries in processing their asylum applicants. As of December 31, 2016, about 530,000 asylum applicants, or 49% of those arriving in 2015 and 2016, are estimated to be waiting for a decision as of December 31, 2016, lower than the 52% Europe wide.

Sweden, another top receiving country of asylum seekers, had a similar share (50%) as Germany of asylum applicants waiting for decisions at the end of 2016, or about 70,000 applicants.<sup>12</sup> Meanwhile, about the same number (75,000) of applications had been approved by Swedish authorities as of December 31, 2016.

---

<sup>11</sup> Withdrawn applications have been removed from the total asylum applications for 2015-16 in the Pew Research Center estimates, based on Eurostat data. For Hungary, the majority of applications (66%) during 2015-16 are estimated to have been removed, either by asylum seekers themselves or by officials after asylum seekers did not appear for a scheduled interview. By contrast, statistics provided by the Hungarian government for the number of withdrawn asylum applications show an even greater number than those reported in Eurostat. As a result, the Hungarian government reports fewer applicants waiting for a decision on their application. Many of these applicants may have migrated to other countries like Germany and Austria to apply for asylum there.

<sup>12</sup> Reports indicate Germany and Sweden [hired external consultants](#) to help advise them on their asylum seeker procedures in an effort to reduce the application backlog. Such assistance may explain why Germany and Sweden have seen a greater share of processed applications compared with many other European countries.

Some 75,000 asylum seekers, about 3% of all applicants from Europe's 2015 and 2016 surge, have been ordered returned to their home country or another non-EU country by the end of 2016, according to Pew Research Center estimates. Germany, the country receiving the most asylum seekers, also has returned the most asylum applicants.

The current location of an estimated 100,000 rejected asylum seekers that applied for asylum in 2015 or 2016 is unknown. These applicants could be living in or outside of European Union countries, Norway and Switzerland. This amounts to less than 5% of the total number of applicants that applied during 2015 and 2016, according to Pew Research Center estimates.

These asylum seekers had their applications rejected and are estimated to neither be in the appeal process or known to have been returned to their home countries by the end of 2016. If these individuals were still in Europe at the end of 2016, they would have been living in an unauthorized status and would be subject to deportation if found.

## Conclusion

This study provides the first-ever published estimates for the refugee status of asylum seekers entering Europe during the 2015-16 refugee surge. Anonymized data from Eurostat were linked together through an estimation technique that sought to avoid duplication of individuals, assign positive and negative decision rates, and estimate the number of appeals and returns based on previous trends.

The method has its limitations. Namely, the actual number of asylum seekers in each status category may vary from those estimated here since historical rates of appeals and returns may not be occurring in real time for the 2015-16 refugee surge. Also, the lack of micro-data doesn't permit researchers to see how changes in decision trends are changing over time. For these reasons, the estimates are just the first step to knowing how asylum seekers are faring in their integration into European society.

Findings showed that about half of asylum seekers were still waiting on first-time or appeal decisions for their future in Europe. About 40% of those applying in 2015 and 2016 had their applications approved, at least for a temporary stay in Europe. Meanwhile, less than 5% of applicants had returned to their home countries or another non-EU country. At the same time, less than another 5% have an unknown location after being rejected. These individuals could be living illegally in Europe.

It is difficult to know where the direction of asylum seeker decisions will go for the million-plus applicants estimated to not have received a decision at the end of 2016. Europe's national governments are working hard to wade through the backlog. But the number of appeals continues to grow, and a greater number of countries are requesting that applicants be shifted from one country to another because of Dublin regulations or agreements on sharing the burden of refugee resettlement. Finally, the challenge to deport rejected applicants quickly and efficiently is further exacerbating the process maze. Consequently, it is likely that thousands of asylum seekers entering Europe during the 2015-16 wave will continue to face an uncertain future in Europe.

Further research could continue to track this population and how their first step of integration – permission to remain in Europe. More complete administrative data from Eurostat or national governments would help in their regard. Among those who have been granted refugee status, further research should examine the integration of these refugees into national societies. Among those who are not granted refugee status, further estimation in knowing how many remain below the radar in an unauthorized status would be helpful to policy makers.

## References

- Asylum Information Database. 2017. "[Germany country report](#)." Brussels, Belgium: European Council of Refugees and Exiles, March.
- Asylum Information Database. 2017. "[Belgium country report](#)." Brussels, Belgium: European Council of Refugees and Exiles, February.
- Asylum Information Database. 2016. "[The length of asylum procedures in Europe](#)." Brussels, Belgium: European Council of Refugees and Exiles, October.
- Collins, Katie. 2016. "[Inside Germany's repurposed buildings that house refugees](#)." San Francisco, CA: CNET, October.
- Connor, Phillip. 2017. "[Digital footprints of Europe's refugees](#)." Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center, June.
- Connor, Phillip. 2017. "[European asylum applications remained near record levels in 2016](#)." Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center, March.
- Connor, Phillip. 2016. "[Number of refugees to Europe surges to record 1.3 million in 2015](#)." Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center, August.
- Connor, Phillip and Jens Manuel Krogstad. 2016. "[Immigrant share of population jumps in some European countries](#)." Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center, June.
- Deutsche Welle. 2015. "[Germany suspends 'Dublin rules' for Syrians](#)." Berlin, Germany: Deutsche Well, August.
- European Commission. 2017. "[Common European Asylum System](#)." Brussels, Belgium.
- European Commission. 2017. "[Country responsible for asylum application \(Dublin\)](#)." Brussels, Belgium.
- European Commission. 2017. "[Reception conditions](#)." Brussels, Belgium.
- European Council. 2016. "[Statement of the EU heads of state or government, 07/03/2016](#)." Brussels, Belgium: European Council, March.
- Eurostat Statistics Explained. 2017. "[Asylum statistics](#)." Luxembourg: Eurostat, May.
- Grunau, Andrea. 2016. "[Combating human traffickers – facts and questions](#)." Berlin, Germany: Deutsche Welle, June.
- Karakoulaki, Marianna and Dimitris Tosidis. 2017. "[Refugees on Greek islands face untenable conditions](#)." Berlin, Germany: Deutsche Welle, February.
- Krogstad, Jens Manuel. 2016. "[U.S. border apprehensions of families and unaccompanied children jump dramatically](#)." Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center, May.

Krogstad, Jens Manuel and Gustavo López. 2016. "[Venezuelan asylum applications to U.S. soar in 2016.](#)" Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center, August.

Nassif, Nora. 2017. "[Refugees find entering German job market tough, but not impossible.](#)" Berlin, Germany: Deutsche Welle, May.

Pelz, Daniel. 2016. "[Gambian refugees in Germany: will they have to return home?](#)" Berlin, Germany: Deutsche Welle, June.

Preston, Julia. 2017. "[Migrants in surge fare worse in immigration court than other groups.](#)" Washington, D.C.: Washington Post, August.

Stanley-Becker, Isaac. 2017. "[In Germany, Merkel welcomed hundreds of thousands of refugees. Now many are suing her government.](#)" Washington, D.C.: Washington Post, July.

Stanley-Becker, Isaac. 2017. "[How McKinsey quietly shaped Europe's response to the refugee crisis.](#)" Washington, D.C.: Washington Post, July.

Stavis, Matina and Joe Parkinson. 2016. "[Thousands flee isolated Eritrea to escape life of conscription and poverty.](#)" New York, NY: Wall Street Journal, February.

Stokes, Bruce, Richard Wike and Dorothy Manevich. 2017. "[Post-Brexit, Europeans More Favorable Toward EU.](#)" Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center, June.

Thomas, Andrea. 2017. "[Germany sees sharp fall in asylum seekers.](#)" New York, NY: Wall Street Journal, January.