

Refugee protection in the EU:

German, Italian and Polish ruling political parties' perceptions of refugee protection as a global public good

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1. RESEARCH PUZZLE

1.1 Research aim

- To what extent Member States differ each other in cooperating at EU level in migration and asylum policy? (research on identity, security, political parties, etc.)
- Different areas in EU migration and asylum domain
 - Asylum policy
 - Illegal/legal immigration
 - Refugee protection**
 - Etc
- Types of burden-sharing in refugee protection (Noll, 2000)
 - a) Sharing money
 - b) Sharing people**
 - c) Sharing policy

REFUGEE PROTECTION (BURDEN-SHARING)

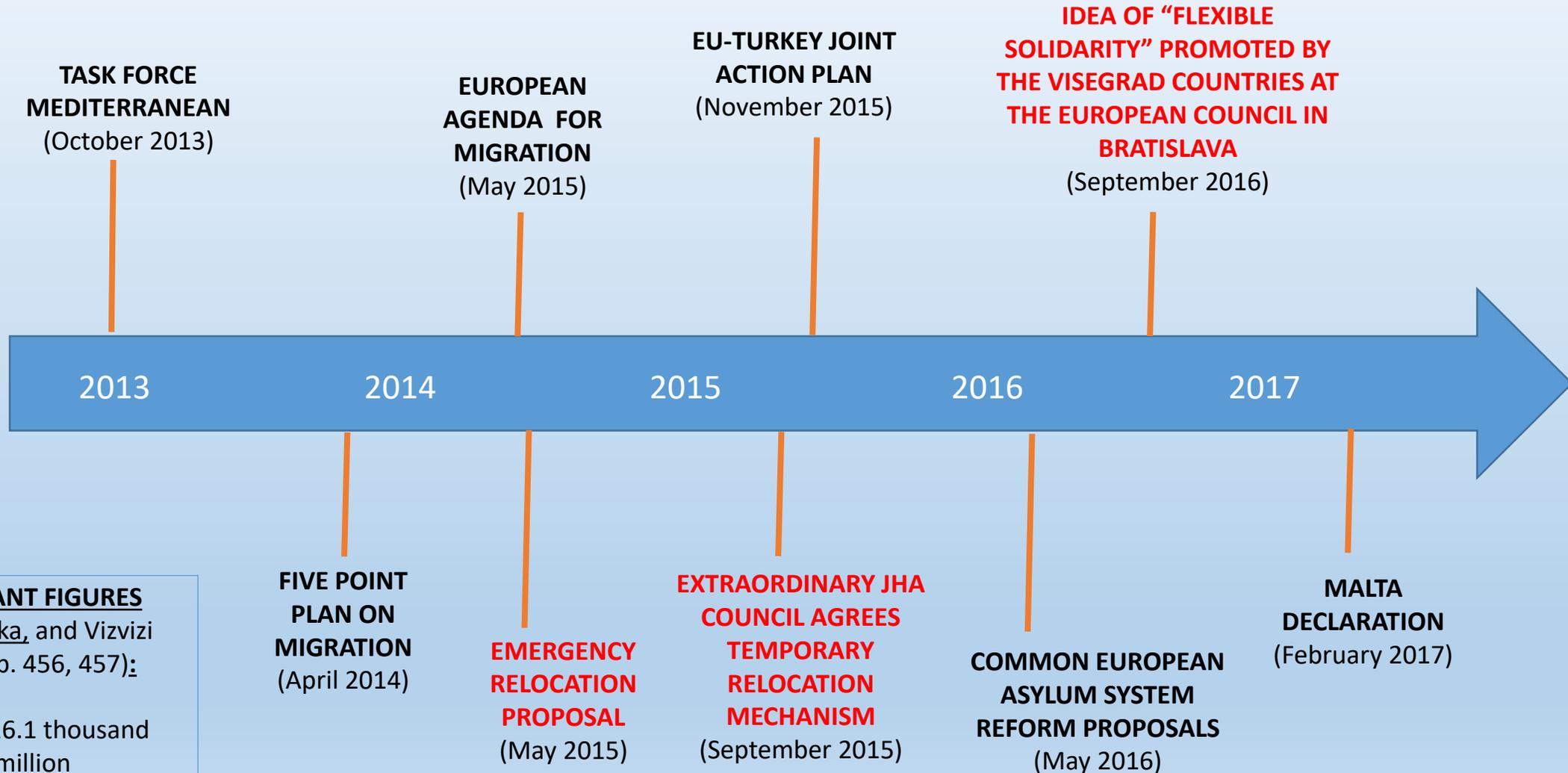
Why some Member States are reluctant to contribute to refugee provision in the EU in terms of burden-sharing?



This research seeks to assess why EU burden-sharing in refugee protection fails under the situation of the refugee crisis in some Member States

PUBLIC GOODS
AND
COLLECTIVE ACTION
PERSPECTIVE

1.2. Background



RELEVANT FIGURES
(Pachocka, and Vizvizi 2018, p. 456, 457):

- 2014: 216.1 thousand
- 2015: 1 million
- 2016: 362.8 thousand
- 2017: 172.3 thousand

1.3. Relevance of the project

A) WHAT IS LEFT IN THE LITERATURE:

*“Public goods and burden-sharing approaches have been applied to refugee studies, but without any attempt to identify explicitly the public goods inherent in refugee provision or **to test empirically** the often implicit assumption that it is a pure public good”*

(Betts 2003, p. 274)

B) CONTRIBUTION:

- 1) Empirical analysis of how public goods and collective action approaches can be used in analyzing and **interpreting the current refugee crisis in the EU.**
- 2) Multidisciplinary nature
 - Refugee and migration studies (topic)
 - Political parties/governments (indicators/variables)
 - EU studies (context)
 - IR/economics (research theories)

2. STATE OF ART IN LITERATURE AND RESEARCH THEORIES

2.1. Literature and conceptual review

CONCEPTUAL		VARIABLES	
REFUGEE PROTECTION AND BURDEN-SHARING	<p>A) Definition (UN Geneva Convention and EU)</p> <p>B) Definition of refuge protection burden-sharing -EU legal framework -Scholars (Zaun, 2018; Bauböc, Gottwald, etc.)</p>	<p>DEPENDENT VARIABLE</p> <p>Provision of a global public under collective action/cooperation</p>	<p>-Betts, 2003, 2010 -Thielemann, 2013, 2018, etc. -Suhrke, 1998 -Netts, 2009</p>
PUBLIC GOODS AND COLLECTIVE ACTION	<p>A) Definition and characteristics of (global) public good (Kaul et al., 1999)</p> <p>B) Collective action and EU Cooperation (Olson, 1965; Miller, 2013; Greenwood and Aspinwall, 1998, etc.)</p>	<p>INDEPENDENT VARIABLE</p> <p>Refugee protection as a global public good</p>	<p>Etc.</p>

2.2. Research theories

A) LIBERAL INSTITUTIONALISM

(International cooperation
and public goods)



Domestic and international institutions play central roles in facilitating cooperation



“Non-cooperation in the global order results from mistrust among states as well as “cheating” by some of them while being part of a cooperative arrangement”
(Nuruzamann 2008, p. 195)



**Liberal institutionalism approach link public goods economic-based concept
in order to explain cooperation in refugee protection**

B) LIBERAL INTERGOVERNMENTALISM

(EU-Member states relationship/
EU integration)

(Zaun 2017, p.3)



1) States' preferences are the result of a national preference formation process



2) Power differentials between Member States decide which preferences shape EU policy



3) The institutional framework that comes with the EU policy is an expression of Member States' (un)willingness to make credible commitments and ensure enforceability

3. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. Variables and measurement

A) VARIABLES

Independent variable

Governments' perception of refugee protection as a public good



Dependent variable

Increase/decrease efforts for refugee protection provision (as a global public good) and willingness to cooperate in burden-sharing terms

B) MEASUREMENT (MIXED)

- **Quantitative:** content analysis of official policy documents regarding to refugee protection and asylum
- **Qualitative:** In-depth individual interviews with politicians and experts on a) migration; b) EU affairs/relations and c) security

3.2. Hypothesis and outcomes

RESEARCH QUESTION:

What explains Member States governments' different positions in cooperation or not cooperation in refugee protection burden-sharing in the EU?

SUB-RESEARCH QUESTION:

Are Member States' governments more willingness to enhance collective action if they see refugee protection as a global public good?

HYPOTHESIS

- **H1:** Member States' governments that see refugee protection as a global public good, are more willingness to cooperate at EU level for its provision.
- **H2:** Member States' governments that do not see refugee protection as a global public good, are less willingness to to cooperate at EU level for its provision.

3.3. Germany, Italy and Poland as case studies (2013-2018)

A) TIMELINE

2013-2018: increase of the refugee crisis

B) RATIONALE

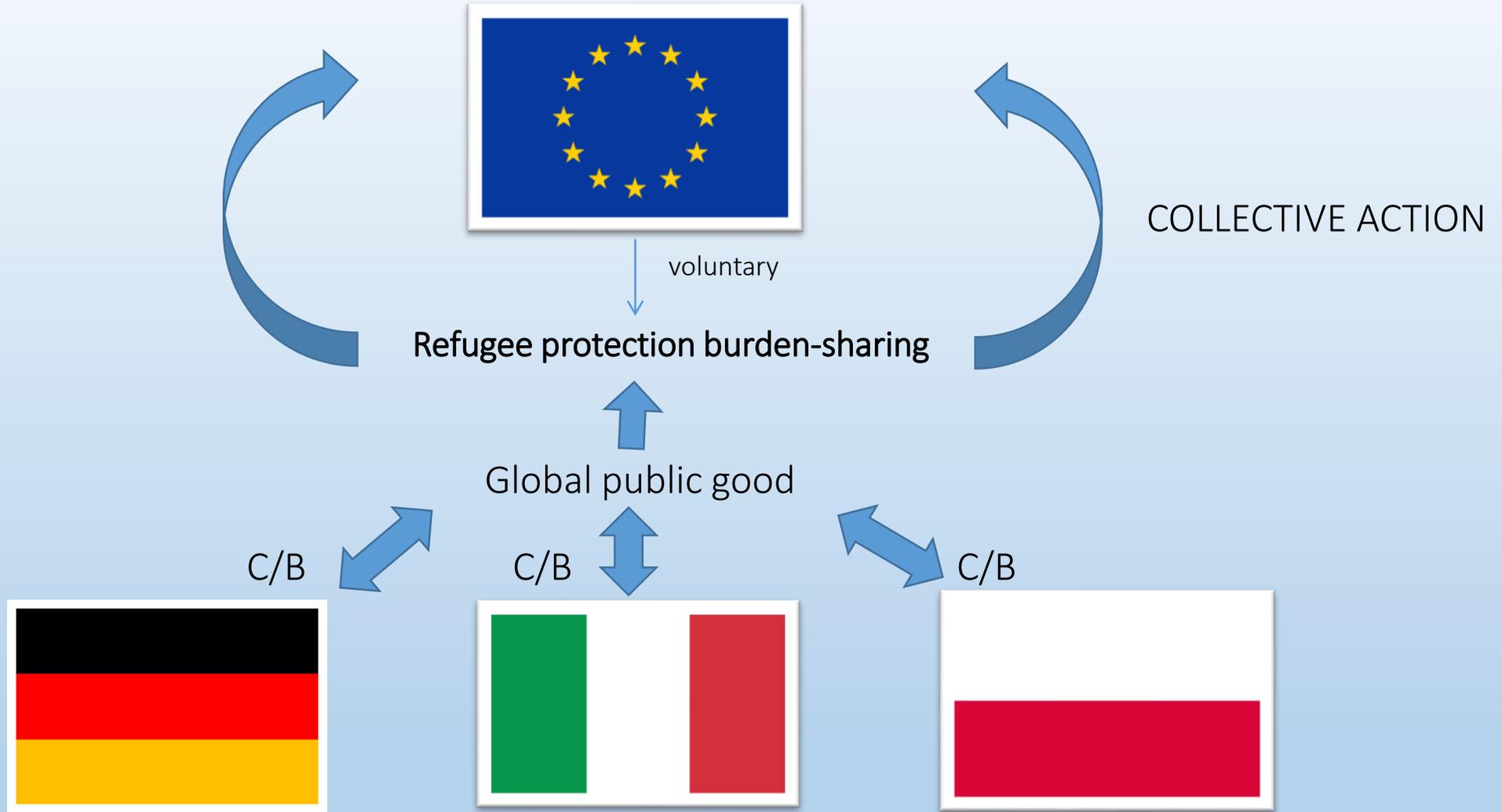
- Exporting/importing migrants in each state's history.
- New/old Member States (consequence of the EU enlargement process).
- Pro/anti European political parties in the period

It is interesting to see how Member States shift of governments change of perception of refugee protection. This analysis gets its importance when looking at these shifts of political parties in the governments through the criteria mentioned above.

C) CASE STUDIES

- **1) Germany:** Northern European Member State; pro European government; and historically importing migrants; old Member State
- **2) Italy:** Southern European Member State; pro European and anti European governments; historically an exporting migrants country (now is importing migrants as well); old MS
- **1) Poland:** Eastern European Member State; pro and anti-European government and historically an exporting migrants country (exporting and importing migrants, depending on the historical period); new Member State.

4. CONCLUSIONS



2013-2018

THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION!