

Member States contribution to refugee protection provision in the EU:

A public goods perspective

CEWSE PhD Workshop

“The current challenges, instabilities and opportunities for the EU

in a more connected, contested and complex world”

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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)

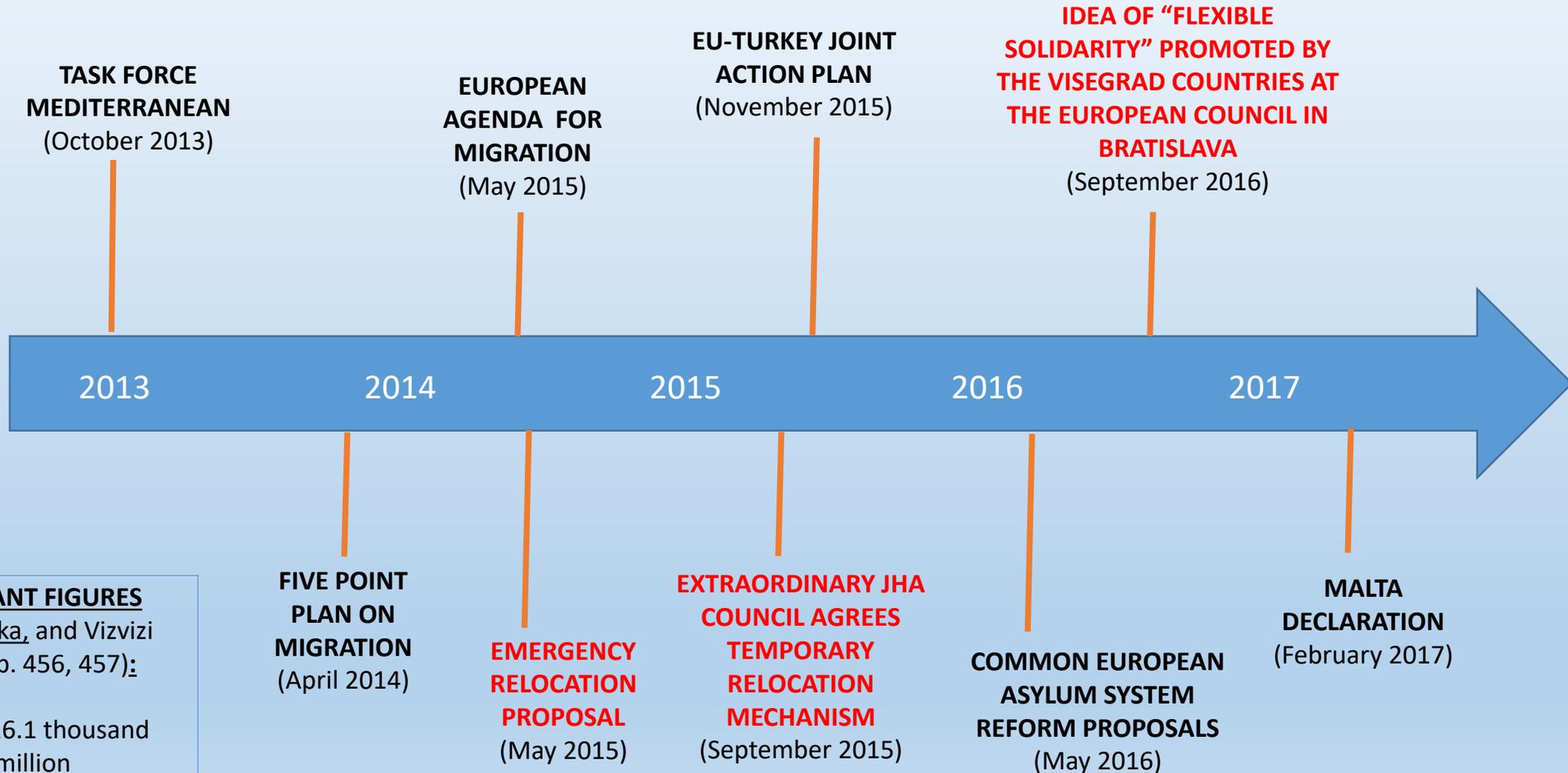
Why some Member States are reluctant to contribute to refugee provision in the EU in terms of burden-sharing?



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 refugee crisis in the EU.**
- 2) Multidisciplinary nature
 - Refugee and migration studies (topic)
 - 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 Provision of a public good 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 public goods (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 Refugee protection as a public good</p>	<p>Etc.</p>

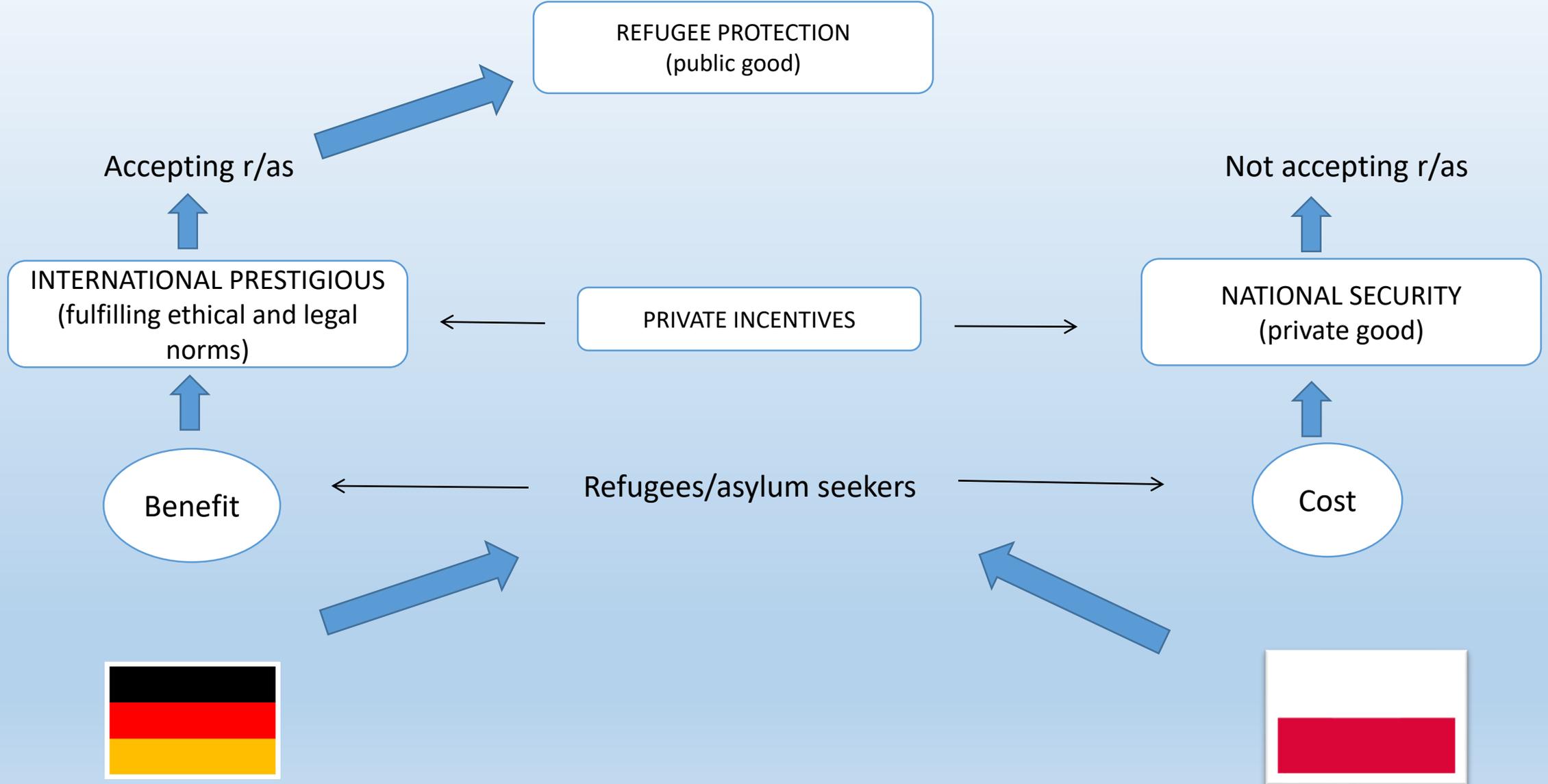
2.2. Goods definition (types)

One of the “core” elements behind public goods dynamics is the heterogeneity of actors’ preferences in public goods provision as public goods are social constructs determined by policies and collective human actions (Kaul and Mendoza, 2003).

PUBLIC GOODS (global, regional, national, local)		PRIVATE GOODS
Pure*	Impure (mixed)	
-Non-excludable	-Non-excludable	-Excludable
-Non-rivalrous	-Excludable	-Rivalrous
-Free-riding	-Non-rivalrous	--Rejectability
I.e. Peace, climate stability	- Rivalrous	I.e. health care assistance in the US, private education
	-Free-riding	
	I.e. Public roads	

* Few goods are purely public, most possess mixed benefits. Goods that only partly meet either or both of the defining criteria are called impure goods (...); as impure goods are more common than the pure type, the term *public good* is used to encompass both pure and impure public goods” (Kaul et al. 1999, pp. 3-4)

2.3. Conceptual diagram



2.3. Refugee protection as a public good/internal security as a private good

REFUGEE PROTECTION- <i>impure</i> PUBLIC GOOD (Thielemann, 2018)	NATIONAL SECURITY- PRIVATE GOOD
<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Non-excludable and non-rivalrous benefits:<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Increased political stability- Increased EU security2. Excludable benefits:<ul style="list-style-type: none">- International prestigious (indicator)3. Free-riding problem	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Excludable and rivalrous benefits:<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Internal security (indicator)3. No free-riding problem

3. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. Variables and measurement

A) VARIABLES

Independent variable

Governments' perception of refugee provision as a public good



Dependent variable

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

B) MEASUREMENT (QUALITATIVE) of the indicators

- **Frame analysis** of: 1) political parties' party manifesto;
- 2) official speeches of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Internal Affairs
- 3) parliamentary debates
- 4) migration policy strategy documents

3.2. Frame categories (Habermas Frame*)

CASES STUDY TYPES OF HABERMAS FRAME CATEGORIES	GERMANY			POLAND	
	Identity	Moral-universal	Utilitarian	Identity	Utilitarian
	<u>Multicultural</u>	<u>Moral-universal</u>	<u>Pragmatic</u>	<u>Nationalistic</u>	<u>Security</u>
	Integration through tolerance	Fairness	In our interest	Foreign infiltration	Terrorism
	Advantages of cultural diversities	Equality	Capacity to act	National identity	Youth criminality
	Tolerance between religious groups	Human rights	Legal security	Loss of traditions	Internal security
	European identity	Geneva convention	Globalisation	Avoid Islamisation	Political stability
		Rule of law (EU)	Reputation	Avoid flows of refugees	Organised crime
		Democracy	Legality	National sovereignty	

*Habermas' (1993) distinction of three general types of frames to media and elite discourses on European integration: identity-related, moral universal and utilitarian frames.

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 public good?

HYPOTHESIS

- **H1:** Member States' governments that see refugee protection as a (regional) 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 (regional) public good, are less willingness to cooperate at EU level for its provision.

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

A) TIMELINE

2015-2017: Refugee Emergency Relocation Scheme

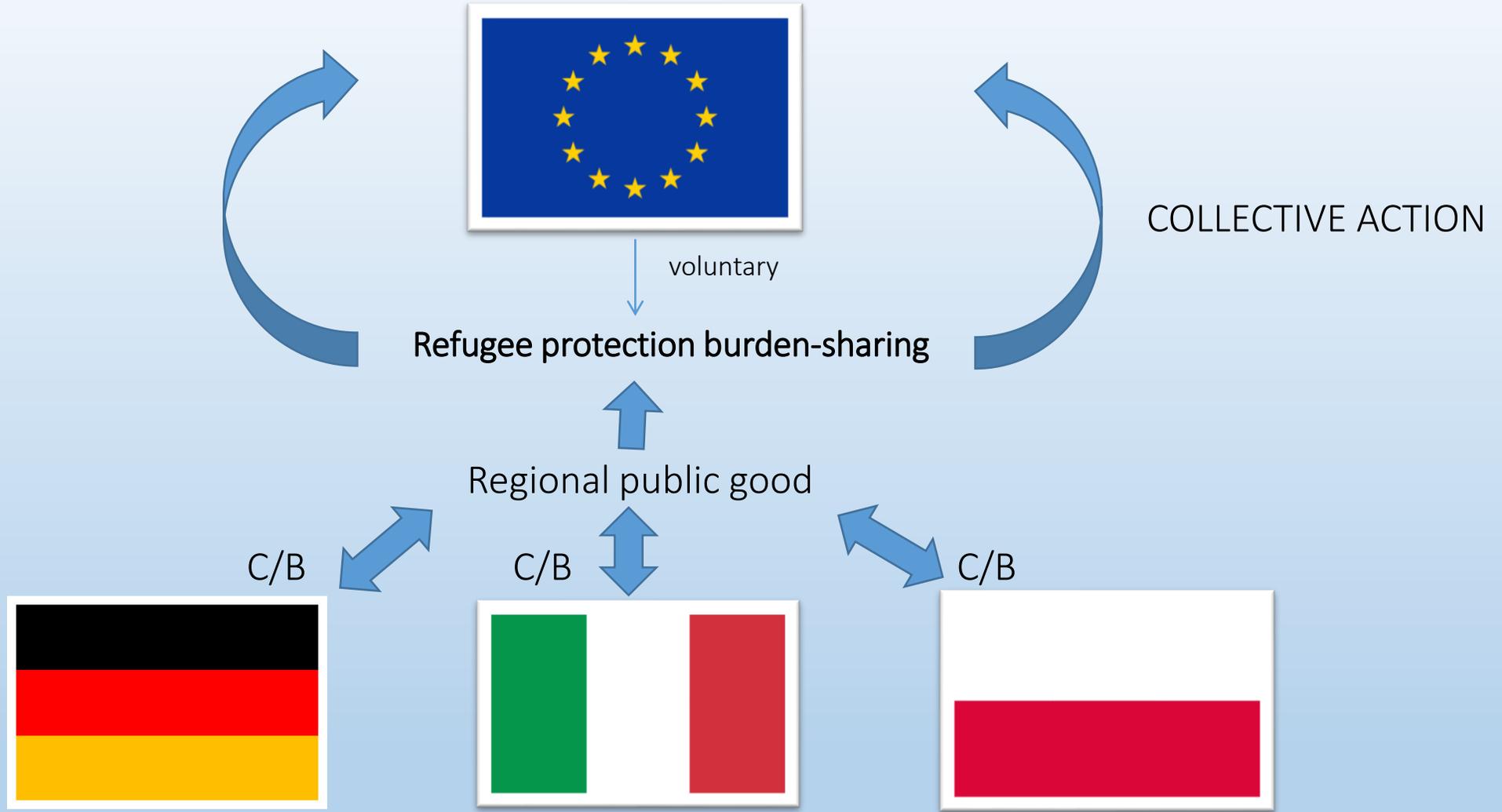
B) RATIONALE

- 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

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 governments and historically an exporting migrants country (exporting and importing migrants, depending on the historical period); new Member State.

4. CONCLUSIONS



2015-2017

THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION!