A decade of reform inertia; a decade of crisis?

The Refugee/Migration Crisis in the EU

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THE REFUGEE/MIGRATION CRISIS IN THE EU

A BACKGROUND

AIMS – BREAKDOWN OF THE PROJECT

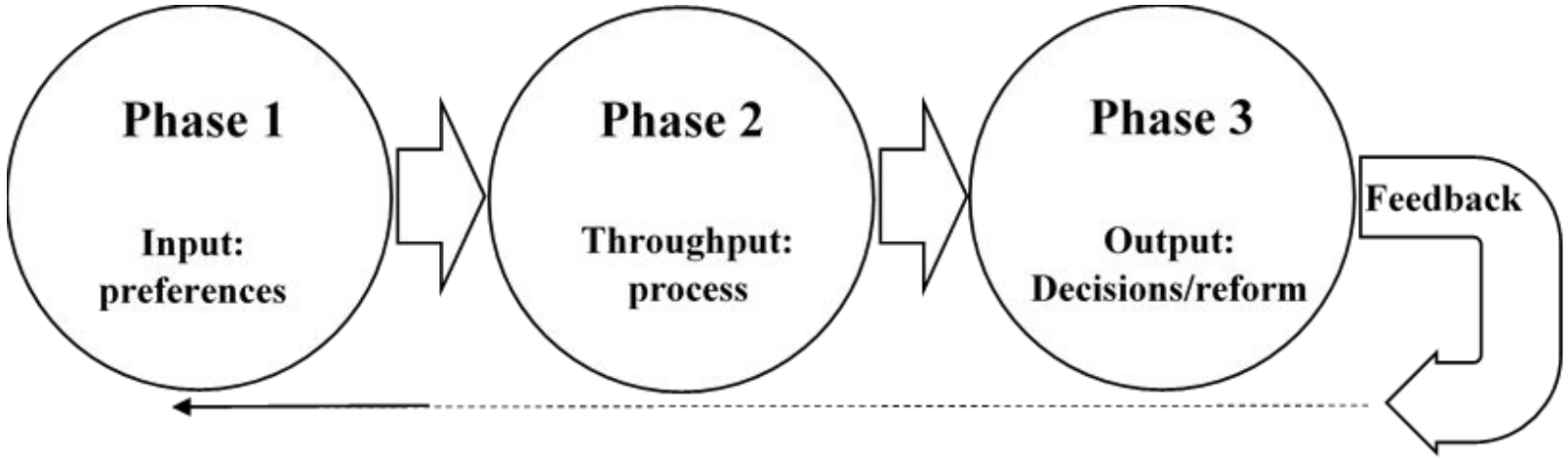
- Refugee/migration crisis as *Chefsache*
  - Biggest crisis within ‘polycrisis’?
    - Threat to Schengen; fundamental aspect of EU (Schinas)
    - Legal trust breakdown (Xanthopoulou, 2018)
  - High political & human cost
  - Does not rhyme with decade(s) of policy inertia?

  ! Contested crisis

- Break reform process down into bite-sized chunks
- Track dossier *as it happens*
- Integrated feedback into theoretical discourse *at each phase*

SET-UP

- Understanding the CEAS / New Pact reform process



1: Dimensionality of preferences

2: Managing the refugee/migration crisis as a *Chefsache* process: EUCou environment

3: Output/effectivity of policy; legal/moral dimension

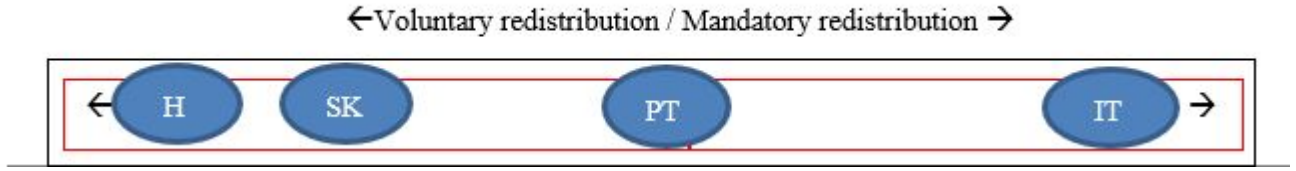
4: Comparing to another *Chefsache* (Green Deal, Brexit, Eurozone crisis, Covid-19)

PAPER 1 – ECPR SGEU ROME JUNE '22

- **Preferences**: under-theorised (Kassim *et al*., 2020; Moravcsik, 2018); under-tested?
- *Assumed* roles: arrival states (Greece), destination states (Germany), transit states (Hungary), free-riders/bystanders (Poland, until recently)
- Confrontational Method (Louwerse & Pellikaan, 2018) / ordinal 5-pt scoring per item

Item (i.e. Commission quota key for redistribution)					
Score	-2	-1	0	+1	+2
State	States	States	States	States	States

- Issue dimensions; multiple items (theory; scalability)



PAPER 1 - OUTPUT

- Issue space; convergence?

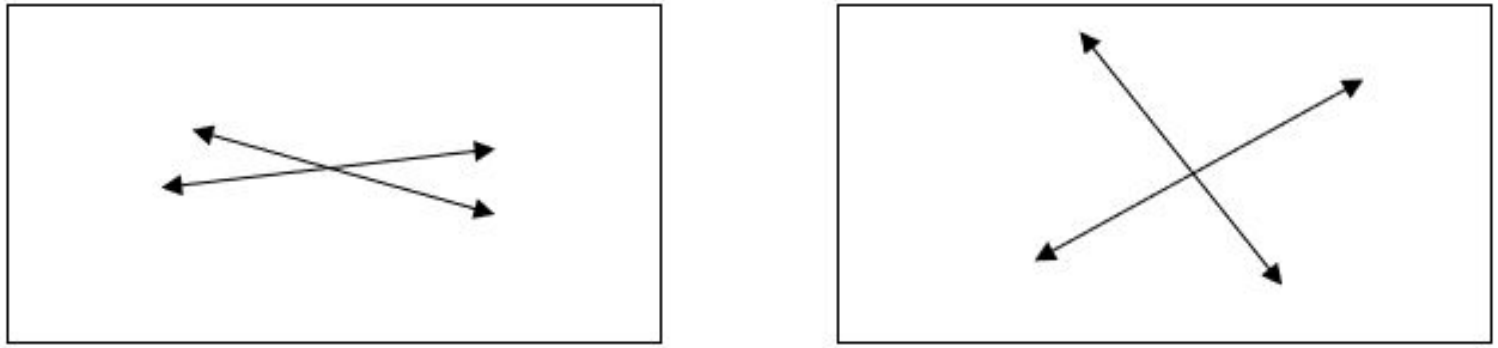


Figure 3: Issue spaces with low (left) or high (right) issue divergence on separate substantive dimensions

- 3 hypotheses from literature:

  1: All ultimately revolves around redistribution (Core State Powers)

  2: Rigidity in roles? □ Failing Forward/Post-Functionalism (domestic pressure)

  3: Rigidity in dimensions? □ Inertia = imbalance between Solidarity and Responsibility (int. gov.)

PRELIMINARY RESULTS

- Exploration of proximity to ideal-types (transit, arrival, destination, bystander)
- Arrival **furthest** from all ideal-types
- Consistent with **known** arrival-states
- **Transit**, **bystander**, **destination** remarkably close

[ideal-A]	[ideal-T]	[ideal-D]	[ideal-B]
0	39	49	51
39	0	24	12
49	24	0	30
51	12	30	0

item	mlt	ita	fra	ger	grc	pol	hun	svk	nl	bel	aut	dk	se	fin	lux	est	lit	lat	spa	slv	cz	cro	prt	irl	cyp	bul	rou	
ASSUMED	A	A	D	D	A	B	T	B	D	D	D/T	D	D	D/B	D/B	B	B	B	A	T	B	T	B	B	A	T	B	
distance-TOTALS																												*avg*
dist[ideal-A]	21	10	35	37	9	30	42	35	37	36	37	44	40	36	30	33	33	33	12	30	35	25	28	33	19	30	23	30,11111
dist[ideal-T]	34	37	16	16	38	18	16	17	18	17	16	19	19	18	15	17	17	17	32	17	14	18	17	16	26	23	22	20,37037
dist[ideal-D]	40	41	20	20	42	30	27	32	20	18	22	21	15	19	26	27	27	27	43	27	32	30	29	32	38	35	34	28,66667
dist[ideal-B]	44	45	26	26	46	24	21	24	26	27	22	24	25	25	27	27	27	27	45	27	20	30	29	28	36	29	32	29,22222

PRELIMINARY RESULTS

- Exploratory PCA
- Specific items (unilateral internal rebordering yes/no; raising common standards) **mismatch** general dimensions (responsibility, solidarity)
- No clear **external** dimension;
- nor a separate **'miscellaneous'** dimension
- Sticking to Pact as a Package deal – 'weird' coalition of Arrival and Bystander/Transit states; also **mismatching** resp./sol.

Rotated Component Matrix[a]

	Component 1	2	3	4
bluecard402021	-,063	-,028	-,192	-,839
EASOfinalvote	-,059	,026	-,833	-,089
r_exDublin	-,045	-,595	-,027	-,008
r_exWavethrough	,344	,403	,454	-,202
resp_sol1121	,960	-,089	,029	,000
fencing1121	,056	-,081	,746	,517
hybrid1121	-,171	,798	-,255	-,005
sarexcep1121	,744	,579	,211	,028
package1121	-,911	-,120	,039	,252
resp_solbalance	,744	,579	,211	,028
legalfiction	,845	,290	,103	,124
unilat_rebord	-,704	,219	-,403	-,084
flexiblesol	,744	,579	,211	,028
borderproc0721	,830	,134	,180	,211
simulation0721	,645	-,117	-,051	,491
secondarymig0721	,807	,230	,134	,431
rebordering0721	-,895	,177	-,034	-,044

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 7 iterations.

THE REFUGEE/MIGRATION CRISIS IN THE EU

PAPER 2 – NIG FALL ‘22

- *Chefsache* dynamic: European Council
- EUCou – hyperactive principal with lack of administrative capacity?
- Embedded Process Tracing (Smeets & Beach, 2020; 2021)
- **Process** & hurdles *as it happens*

- Other levels: coping with attention
- Role of secretariat, rotating council presidencies
- Keep leaders away from technical / use for momentum
- Process-role of legal choices made
- Logrolling, (un)packaging, issue-linkage
- ‘Miscellaneous events’ intervening with progress of Pact at Council?

PAPER 3

- **Outcomes**
- Method: Embedded Process Tracing / legal text analysis
- Policy objectives met?
- Nature of institutional change?
- Moral/legal implications?

PAPER 4

- **Feedback** – compare to another crisis/*Chefsache* – (subset of) Eurozone, Green Deal, Brexit, Covid-19
  - Chefsache project lead dr. Smeets (EMU, MFF/Covid recovery fund); fellow PhD on Green Deal
- EPT in comparative case study
- Learning?
- Commonality in *Chefsache*?

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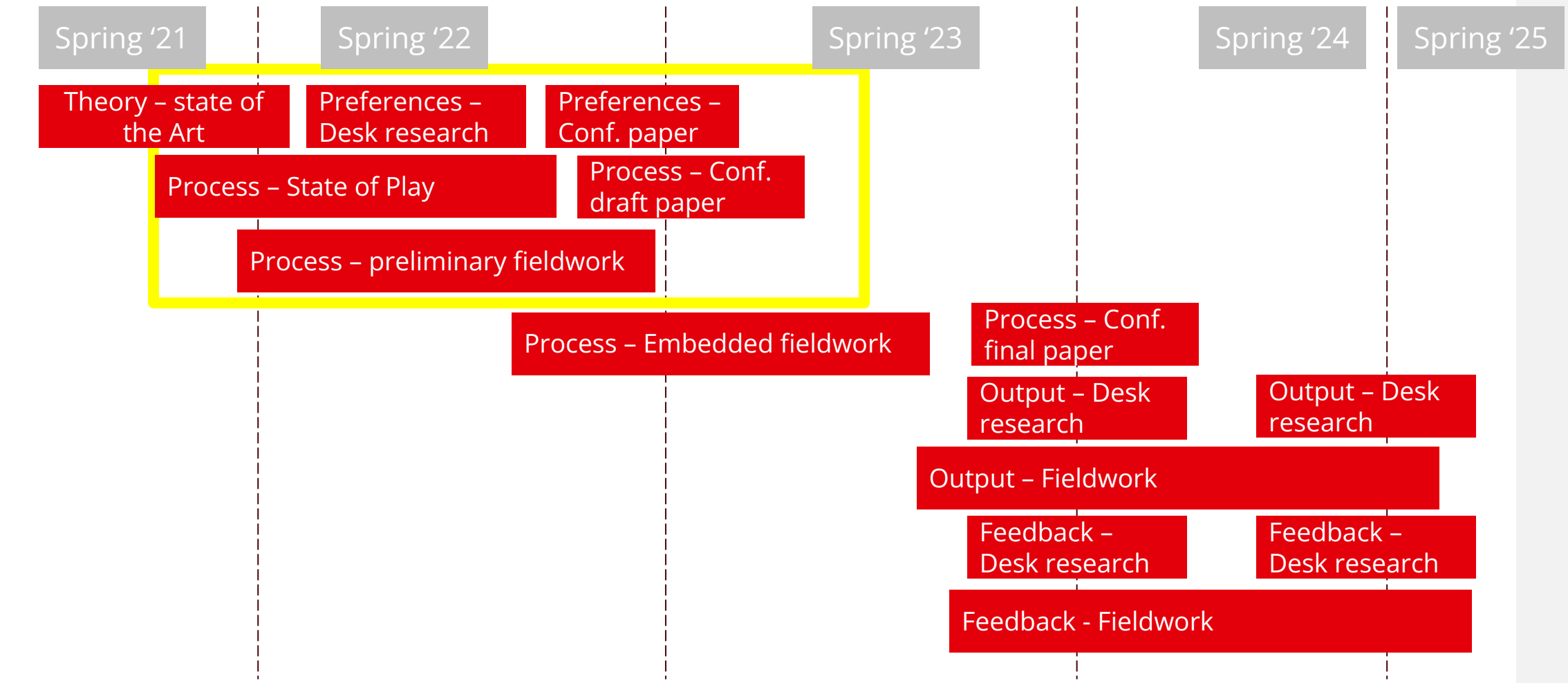
TIMELINE