### **REFUGEES WELCOME?**

## CONTESTATION OVER A EUROPEAN DISTRIBUTION MECHANISM

"Migration, Identity and Politics in Europe" Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario, 1 March 2019

### Johannes Müller Gómez

Université de Montréal & Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

#### Birte Windheuser

Universität zu Köln

# APPROACHES TO SOLVE THE "REFUGEE CRISIS"

#### **National**

- Border closures
- Introduction of daily limits

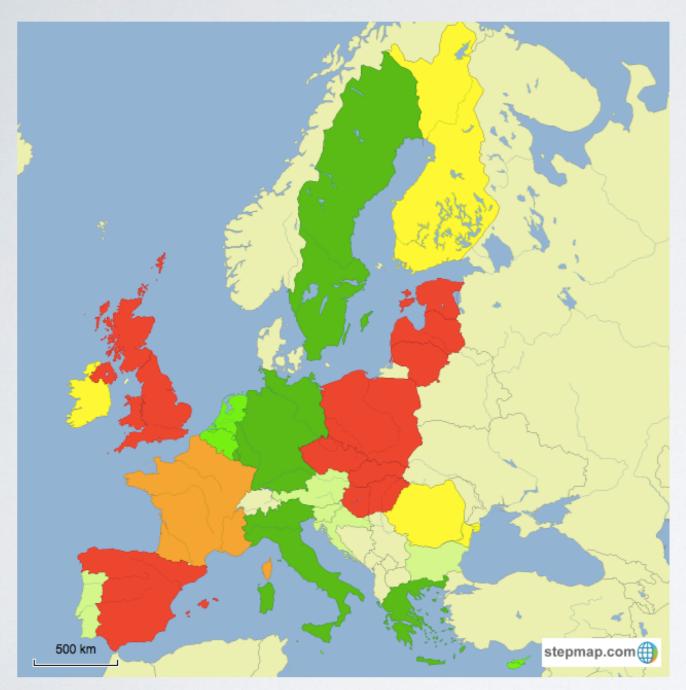
#### International

EU-Turkey agreement

### European

- Establishment of hotspots
- Decision on relocating 160,000 refugees
- Strengthening of FRONTEX
- Proposal for a permanent distribution mechanism

## MEMBER STATES' POSITIONS ON A PERMANENT REFUGEE DISTRIBUTION MECHANISM (RDM) 2015-2016



Map produced via stepmap.com 2017

In favour of an	
RDM	
Mostly but not	
fully in favour of	
an RDM	
Rather in favour	
of an RDM	
Rather against an	
RDM	
Mostly against an	
RDM	
Against an RDM	

## RESEARCH QUESTION

Why do member states reject the establishment of a permanent European refugee distribution mechanism (RDM)?

## **HYPOTHESES**

HI: Member states that are **not affected by the refugee crisis** reject a European distribution mechanism.

H2: Member states with a weak economy reject a European distribution mechanism.

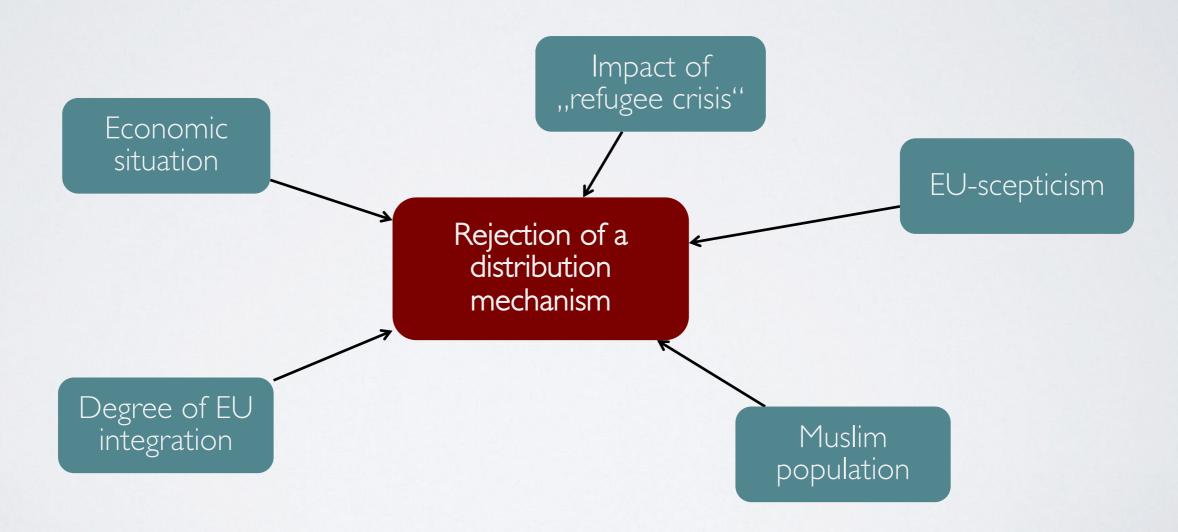
H3: Member states with a high degree of EU-scepticism reject a European distribution mechanism.

H4: Member states with a low share of Muslim population reject a European distribution mechanism.

H5: Member states with a low degree of EU integration reject a European distribution mechanism

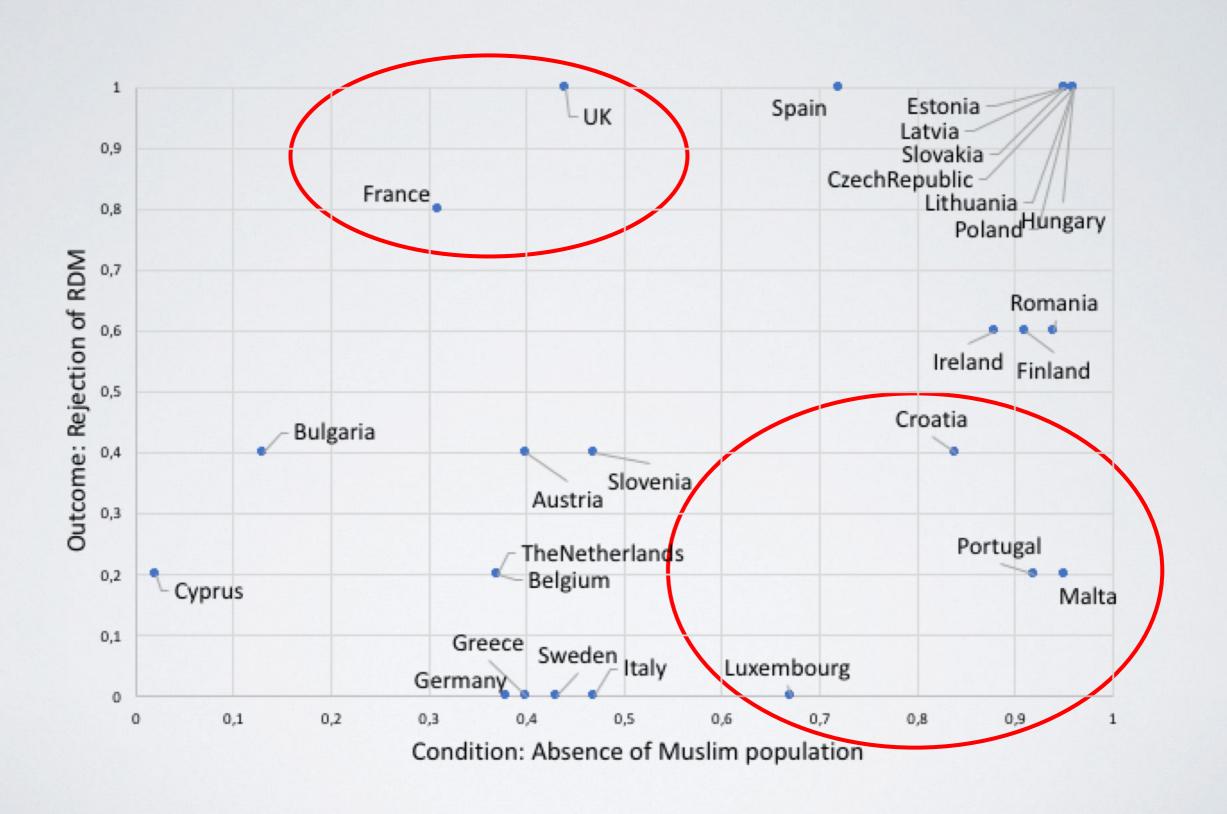
## QUALITATIVE COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

- → QCA useful "for analyzing complex causation, defined as a situation in which an outcome may follow from several different combinations of causal conditions"\*
- → Here: Fuzzy set QCA

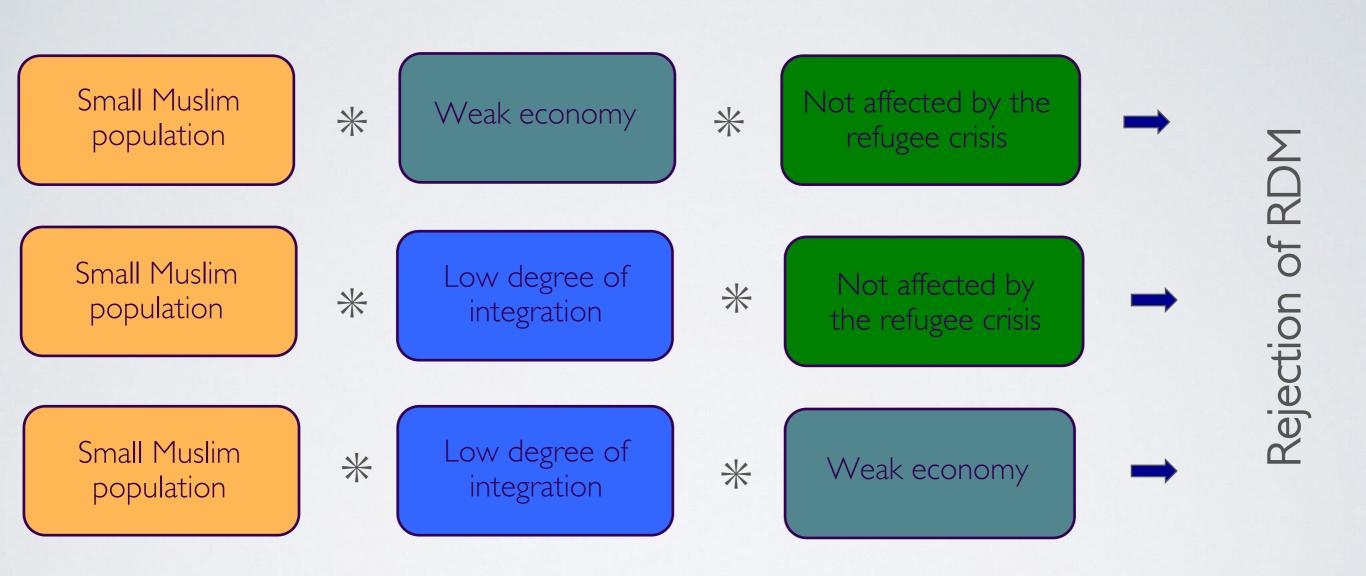


<sup>\*</sup>Source: Ragin, Charles C. (2008): Redesigning Social Inquiry. Fuzzy Sets and Beyond, London: University of Chicago Press, p.23.

## **NECESSARY CONDITION**

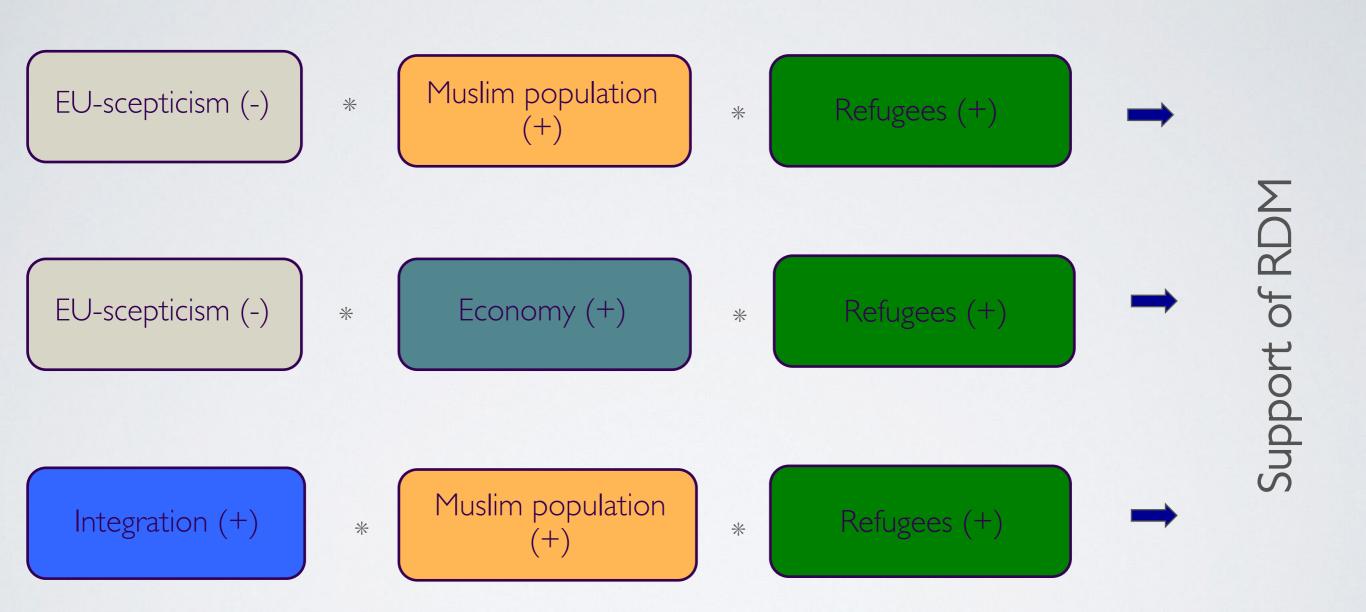


## SUFFICIENT CONDITIONS



But: France, UK, Finland and Ireland do not fit in any of these solution terms

## SUFFICIENT CONDITIONS



But: Bulgaria, Italy, Portugal and the Netherlands do not fit in any of these solution terms

## **CASE STUDIES**

#### France:

- Not affected
- Terrorist attacks
- Front national

#### UK:

- Not affected
- EU-sceptic atmosphere
- Muslim population not with Arabic but Pakistani and Bangladeshi background
- Opt-in-option

#### Finland:

Highly affected, but split government: Centre Party vs. Finns Party

#### Hungary:

- National solution
- Perception of the refugee crisis as a 'German problem'

## **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

- Not being affected neither sufficient nor necessary for rejection of RDM
- Striking relevance of Muslim population in the member states for rejection of RDM – almost a necessary condition
  - Particularly in combination with
    - a) Low degree of integration
    - b) Weak economy
    - c) Low degree to which the member state is affected
- Support of RDM: Number of refugees as a decisive factor, but only in combination, especially with a low share of Muslim population and a low degree of EU-skepticism
  - Bulgaria, the Netherlands, Italy and Portugal: Act of solidarity?

## **MERCI**

Corresponding author:

Johannes Müller Gómez

Université de Montréal & LMU Munich

johannes.muller.gomez [at] umontreal.ca