# *Explaining the Evolution of Global Refugee Policy:*
# *A Multi-Perspective Approach*

*Hemin Hawezy*
*455416*
*1st reader: Prof.dr. A.G. Dijkstra*
*2nd reader: Dr. K.H. Stapelbroek*
*15-06-2018*
*Word count: 23,507*

# Summary

The original policy of the UN to address the refugee and migrant issue proved ineffective and inefficient. On one hand, protracted refugee situations were becoming the norm rather than exception. On the other hand, more and more refugees were residing in urban areas instead of designated camps. Besides, the number of refugees and migrants reached an unprecedented level.

The influx of refugees and migrants put pressure on the limited resources that were available and had a negative impact on host communities. Consequently, Member States, UN entities, and actors from the civil society and private sector urged the UNGA to change its refugee policy and take a more holistic approach. This holistic approach was embodied in the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants that was adopted in 2016. The declaration has represented a paradigm shift in the way in which states, international organizations and civil society respond to refugees and migrants. Whereas the original paradigm focused on the provision of humanitarian aid, the new policy paradigm focused on finding durable solutions and enhancing resilience building activities, such as education, employment and community integration.

This thesis aims to advance the understanding of the policy process that led to the adoption of the New York Declaration and to critically assess competing policy theories in order to determine their explanatory leverage in this specific case. For this purpose, the thesis deployed a congruence analysis as the research design and derived expectations from policy theories related to the four main theoretical perspectives on public policy (i.e. rational, political, institutional, and cultural perspective).

Regardless of the limitations that were encountered, this thesis concludes that it has proved difficult to select only one theoretical perspective and state that it has the most explanatory leverage. The evidence collected from an extensive documents analysis and a content analysis of 266 statements of UN entities, Member States, and NGOs suggests that in this case, the political and institutional perspectives on public policy both have more explanatory leverage than the rational and cultural perspectives. The rational and cultural perspectives have less explanatory leverage because the emergence of knowledge was not significant, and the dominant discourse did not change. In contrast, the political and institutional perspectives have to some extent a similar degree of explanatory leverage because the resources of the institutions, as well as two of the institutions responsible for the implementation of the new paradigm did change.

Nevertheless, future academic research should broaden the empirical scope and also include other theories such as the multiple streams framework, punctuated-equilibrium theory and historical institutionalism. More studies should incorporate the multi-perspective approach because there is still much ground to be covered with regards to the theoretical refinement.

# Acknowledgment

It has been quite a challenging but educating journey. The process of writing this thesis has been tough at times but always illuminating. I dedicate this thesis to my parents who have supported me in all my academic efforts. My family has always been a source of inspiration and comfort. Therefore, I cannot express my gratitude enough. Our own hardship experience of being refugees has inspired me to research policymaking in the refugee context, so that one day I can contribute to improving their circumstances.

I wish to express my most sincere appreciation to Prof.dr. A.G. Dijkstra who has been my thesis supervisor and has always been available for guidance. Also, I would like to thank Dr. Stapelbroek for his suggestions and recommendations. Without their input this thesis would not have been possible.

Although this thesis marks the end of my academic career, I feel like the learning process has just started.

15-06-2018
Koysinjaq,
Hemin Hawezy

# Table of Contents

## List of Tables

## List of Figures

## List of abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| ACF | Advocacy Coalition Framework |
| CRRF | Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework |
| DCF | Discourse Coalition Framework |
| EU | European Union |
| IOM | International Organization for Migration |
| MSF | Multiple Streams Framework |
| OCHA | United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs |
| OHCHR | Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights |
| PDES | Policy Development and Evaluation Service |
| S-G | Secretary-General |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Program |
| UNGA | United Nations General Assembly |
| UNHCR | United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees |
| US | Unites States |
| USD | United States Dollar |
| WBG | World Bank Group |
| WFP | World Food Program |
| WHO | World Health Organization |

# 1. Introduction

The New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants represents a paradigm shift in the way in which states, international organizations and civil society respond to refugee crises. It was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) on 19 September 2016 after the unprecedented influx of millions of refugees and migrants around the world. According to data retrieved from the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), there were approximately 66 million people that fled their homes due to conflict and 22 million people that were displaced because of climate change in 2015 (UNDP, 2015). Before the adoption of the New York Declaration, the traditional response of the international community towards refugees was to allocate humanitarian aid to provide basic needs such as food, shelter and protection. However, the new approach adopted by the United Nations (UN) has represented a paradigm shift because it has moved beyond the provision of basic needs through humanitarian aid and increased the emphasis on resilience building efforts, such as education, employment and community integration (UNHCR, 2016a).

One of the main pillars of the renewed refugee policy is the establishment of a Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF). Under the supervision of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the framework constitutes the next step towards reaching a Global Compact on refugees by 2018. CRRF's primary purpose is to reduce the pressure of an influx of refugees on host-countries, encourage the establishment of resettlement programs, facilitate the return of refugees to their home communities and foster self-reliance of those that remain in exile. The framework acts as a coordination mechanism to clear the path for a more comprehensive multi-stakeholder approach including the UNDP, World Bank, International Organization for Migration, UN Humanitarian Response Plans and a number of other international and non-governmental organizations (UNHCR, 2016). What makes this new approach different from its predecessor is the fact that Member States have recognized that a sustainable solution to the refugee problem is not by merely providing humanitarian aid, but also by allowing refugees enhanced access to host communities where they can participate in education and employment programs. Rather than letting them waste years in camps, the New York Declaration permits refugees to live and work among host communities and continue on with their lives. The UNHCR expresses this paradigm shift as follows:

*"At the heart of this approach is the idea that refugees should be included in the communities from the very beginning. When refugees gain access to education and labor markets, they can build their skills and become self-reliant, contributing to local economies and fueling the development of the communities hosting them. Allowing refugees to benefit from national services and integrating them*

*into national development plans is essential for both refugees and the communities hosting them and is consistent with the pledge to "leave no one behind" in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development"* (UNHCR, n.d.).

Besides the content, it is also the timing of the Declaration that makes it interesting to study. The New York Declaration was adopted a year after Europe faced an unprecedented refugee crisis. More than one million refugees and migrants entered the European Union (EU). The burden that these influxes of refugees put on national resources caused much political controversy and received widespread media attention (Europa, 2017). Consequently, there is ample data on the case. The question that arises is whether the sudden policy change introduced by the Declaration is the result of new knowledge, political shifts of power, institutional developments, changes in discourse or a combination of these.

Recently, there has been an emerging trend among public policy scholars to apply the comparative method to compare existing policy theories to one another (Gupta, 2012:11). Some scholars have compared the theories that explain the policy process more in abstract terms. For instance, Schlager (2007) has compared theories such as the theory of common-pool resources, advocacy coalition framework, social construction framework, policy networks, punctuated-equilibrium theory and the multiple-streams framework. In her comparison, she has looked at a set of criteria for each theory such as scope of inquiry, model of the individual, collective action, institutions, and policy change (Schlager, 2007:296). Similarly**,** Real-Dato (2009) has offered a comparative analysis of the advocacy coalition framework, punctuated-equilibrium theory, and the multiple streams framework. Real-Dato (2009:124) has presented a synthetic theoretical framework that portrays how the theories have evolved and how they explain policy change. Likewise, Heikkila and Cairney (2017) added theories such as the narrative policy framework, institutional analysis and development framework, policy feedback theory, and the innovation and diffusion model to the list. The criteria they used in their comparison slightly differed from the ones used by Schlager and included scope and level of analysis, shared vocabulary and defined concepts, core assumptions, model of the individual and relationships among key concepts (Heikkila & Cairney, 2017: 306). Although the studies conducted by these scholars are important because of their identification of differences, similarities, strengths and weaknesses of policy theories, they do not focus on the application of such theories to specific policy issues.

The number of studies that have applied policy theories to specific issues in order to explain decision-making processes is rising (Gupta, 2012: 18). For example, Allison's (1969) renowned study explored conceptual models such as rational policy, organizational process, and bureaucratic politics

to analyze the decision-making process during the Cuban Missile Crisis. Allison's study inspired policy scholars to shift their focus from single lenses to using multiple perspectives to explain policy processes (Zahariadis, 2014:86). A more recent example is the work of Weible et al. (2011) who applied the theory of social construction and the advocacy coalition framework to analyze intergroup perceptions and explain the process of water and land policy in Lake Tahoe Basin in the United States. Similarly, Ness (2010) made use of the advocacy coalition framework, electoral connection, and multiple streams framework to analyze and explain the policy process in certain US states with regards to the determination of eligibility criteria for merit-based scholarships. Gupta (2012:19) encourages others to follow suit and conduct similar research in other fields to further theoretical refinement and determine which theories are better suited to which policy areas. The fact that the existing body of literature primarily focuses on the US and has not yet addressed the international refugee policy shows that there is still much ground to be covered.

However, conducting comparative research could be challenging because of the large number of policy theories and the many assumptions they entail. Meier (2009:10) shares this concern and argues that the field would greatly benefit from empirical studies and theories that focus on the policy process as a whole rather than only policy outcomes. Taking this into consideration, the extensive work on perspectives on the policy process carried out by Bekkers et al. (2017) provides good guidance. Bekkers et al. (2017) have promoted a multi-perspective approach and presented four theoretical perspectives (i.e. rational, political, institutional and cultural perspective) that help critically analyze and understand complex processes. Based on the emerging need for comparative research of policy theories to specific issues, recent theoretical discussions and the opportunity to add to the body of literature by employing existing theories, it is worthwhile to assess the paradigm shift that has been represented by the New York Declaration and analyze its policy process.

## 1.1 Research aim and problem statement

The aim of this thesis is to enhance our understanding of the policy process that led to the adoption of the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants and to critically assess competing policy theories in order to determine their explanatory leverage in this specific case. In general, the research attempts to add to the body of literature on public policy by applying multiple theoretical perspectives to a case that is recent, controversial and has not yet been addressed. This research seeks to build on insights from and across theoretical perspectives and apply these theories to practice. In particular, the research focuses on determining the limitations, as well as overlap between public policy theories in order to define their strengths and weaknesses in this case.

In sum, the adoption of the New York Declaration represents a paradigm shift in the way the UN responds to the refugee problem. Such a paradigm shift could be explained by different policy theories. The aim of this research is to enhance our understanding of the policy process and determine which policy theory is better suited to explain the inclusion of resilience building in UN's refugee policy. Hence, the following research question is central to this thesis:

*Which theoretical perspective on public policy best explains the adoption of the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants by the United Nations General Assembly in 2016?*

In order to provide a comprehensive answer to the central research question, the following sub-questions have been formulated:

1. What are the core assumptions of the theoretical perspectives on public policy and how do they explain policy change?
2. Based on empirical evidence, how do the theoretical perspectives on public policy explain the latest development in the United Nations refugee policy?

## 1.2 Research approach

As mentioned above, the aim of this thesis is to enhance our understanding of the policy process that led to the adoption of the New York Declaration while simultaneously assessing theoretical perspectives on public policy in order to determine their explanatory leverage. This means that the New York Declaration acts as a case that is to be analyzed by competing policy theories. Before proceeding to the empirical evidence and analysis of the case study, it is important to provide information on the core assumptions of the theoretical perspectives and how they explain policy change. This information is provided in the theoretical framework described in chapter two. Not only does the review address literature that is already available, but it also helps establish a conceptual model and formulate theoretical expectations. Finally, in order to answer the second sub-question, the theoretical expectations are tested against empirical evidence obtained from policy reports, position papers, press releases and statements, websites and databases linked to the UN. The analysis determines the explanatory leverage of each theory and aims to find out which perspective best explains the policy change. Thus, this research presents a congruence analysis that determines to what extent the assumptions of existing policy theories are in line with the empirical findings. Chapter three of this thesis offers a more detailed explanation of the selected research design.

## 1.3 Relevance

### 1.3.1 Social relevance

Bekkers et al. (2017) argue that the comparative method has the advantage of providing policy makers new tools, concepts and frames of reference to better understand and participate in the policy process. According to Lehnert et al. (2007:29), a study is socially relevant if it has political, social or economic consequences and the findings potentially affect people. By comparing theoretical perspectives and determining which policy theory better explains the adoption of the New York Declaration, this thesis could help UNHCR and associated institutions to determine where policies came from and increase the capacity of the policymakers to better anticipate policy decisions. For example, if the research finds that the policy change is primarily a result of an increase in knowledge, policy makers that want to influence the process should widen their scope, increase their research efforts, and invest in data collection. Similarly, if it is evident that often the policy change is caused by altered institutional arrangements or the strategic pursuit of a policy entrepreneur, it is important that policy makers that often approach public policy through a single lens should be aware of such facts. Furthermore, knowing which policy theory is better suited to explain the case will enable policy makers to develop improved strategies that will shape the future of UN's refugee policy. Taking the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development into consideration, it is crucial that policy makers can make informed decisions that help develop effective and efficient strategies that solve the refugee problem.

### 1.3.2 Theoretical relevance

The existing body of literature to date mainly consists of broad theoretical discussions of policy theories on a relatively abstract level (Schlager, 2007; Real-Dato, 2009; Zahariadis, 2014; Heikkila & Cairney 2017; Bekkers et al., 2017). Although there has been an emerging trend among policy scholars to conduct comparative research and apply theories to specific policy issues (Allison, 1969; Ness, 2010; Weible et. al., 2011), there is still much ground to be covered. Lehnert et al. (2007:31) state that a research is considered to be theoretically relevant if it includes cases that have not been studied before. The application of comparative public policy research has primarily focused on the US and has not yet addressed the international refugee policy sufficiently. In addition, Gupta's (2012:19) appeal to encourage scholars to follow suit and conduct similar research in order to advance theoretical refinement also shows that examining UN's refugee policy makes for an interesting case. Moreover, the findings of this thesis help to define the strengths and weaknesses of each perspective and

determine which one possesses the most explanatory leverage in this case. Although the case study method will diminish the external validity of the findings and make the result less generalizable, it will help critically assess competing policy theories and advance our understanding of the policy process.

## 1.4 Outline

This chapter introduced the case, stated the research problem, and described the theoretical and societal implications that the study aims to achieve. The next chapter presents the theoretical framework and extensively discusses each theoretical perspective (i.e. rational, cultural, political and institutional). Chapter two also provides an answer to the first sub-question. Chapter two is supplemented by the conceptual model and theoretical expectations. Chapter three describes the research design and data collection method. Subsequently, chapter four compares the theoretical expectations with empirical evidence. Finally, chapter five provides some concluding remarks, discusses the implication of the findings and gives direction for further research.

# 2. Theoretical framework

This chapter provides an overview of the existing literature about the theoretical perspectives on public policy. It presents a comparison between different sources and strategies that have been used in similar studies. In addition to summarizing some of the most prominent studies, this chapter describes certain trends in the public policy research area and shows how this thesis builds upon it. The literature in this chapter stems from academic journals and books. Accordingly, this chapter aims to address the: (1) theoretical perspectives on public policy, (2) their core assumptions, and (3) the expectations they generate.

More and more studies have compared policy theories to specific issues in order to explain the decision-making process (Gupta, 2012: 18). For example, Allison's (1969) renowned study on the Cuban Missile Crisis explored conceptual models such as rational policy, organizational process, and bureaucratic politics. It inspired many policy scholars to shift their focus from single lenses to using multiple perspectives to explain policy processes (Zahariadis, 2014:86). A more recent example is the work of Weible et al. (2011) who applied the theory of social construction and the advocacy coalition framework to analyze intergroup perceptions. However, the large number of policy theories and the many assumptions they entail make it challenging to conduct comparative public policy research (Meier, 2009:10; Gupta 2012:19). The multifaceted nature of policy problems, such as the UN's refugee policy, compounds the complexity. Nevertheless, a structured method that has proved to make matters less complicated is the multi-perspective approach advocated by Bekkers et al. (2017). They present four theoretical perspectives (i.e. rational, political, institutional, and cultural) that serve as an umbrella for the numerous policy theories and their many assumptions. This multi-perspective approach helps adequately analyze and understand complex policy processes.

To provide a clear overview of the differences and similarities, as well as the main strengths of the theoretical perspectives, the multi-perspective approach is applied as follows. First, this chapter provides a detailed account of each theoretical perspective and their core assumptions. This helps to understand their main explanatory mechanisms. Second, it describes the course of the policy process according to each perspective, because the path a policy travels provides insights into the main factors that shape the policy outcome. Third, A strong congruence analysis requires the application of multiple policy theories. Therefore, each section introduces and elaborates on a policy theory that falls within the scope of the perspective. Fourth, in each section there is a discussion on how the policy theory explains policy change. The New York Declaration marks the end to the traditional approach towards the refugee issue and the beginning of a renewed policy that includes resilience building. Clearly, the New York Declaration indicates a policy change. For the purpose of this thesis, it is

important to understand what could have caused such a policy change according to each perspective. That is to say that if the empirical evidence shows that the policy change is mainly triggered by one of the factors that is stated in the descriptions of the theoretical perspectives, it will make up for a stronger argument that that particular perspective possesses the most explanatory leverage in the context of this thesis. Based on this information, research expectations are formulated and presented. Finally, this chapter provides a conceptual model composed of the main concepts that have been discussed and illustrates how they relate to the main research topic.

## 2.1 Rational perspective

The first theoretical perspective that can explain the decision-making process in public policy is rationalism. Defining rationalism is difficult because it has been used in a number of ways and in different disciplines. For example, in the social science literature it is defined as: *"A philosophical doctrine that emphasizes reason as the basis for knowledge"* (O'leary, 2007:216). With regards to public policy, the idea of rationalism involves assumptions about policy making as well as policy makers. With regards to policy making, knowledge and information are considered the most important success factors to reach policy goals. In turn, policy-makers utilize knowledge and information to enhance their understanding of the roots of a problem, define the problem and find a solution that will ensure the most desirable outcome (Kay, 2011:237). According to this perspective, a policy maker has to carefully plan the process. In other words, the policy maker defines the problem, includes preferences and interdependencies of other actors in the calculation, lists and compares all possible alternatives, and determines which policy achieves the greatest value.

'Complete rationalism' assumes that policy problems can be defined and measured and that there is a perfect solution. However, in reality policy problems are complex and fundamentally socially constructed. Often policy issues involve sensitive topics, lack of information, different problem perceptions and a chaotic process that involves numerous actors. As a result of the complex nature of the issues and the variety of preferences among actors, it is impossible to come up with a policy solution that solves the problem and simultaneously provides a Pareto efficient outcome (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). Furthermore, Policy makers neither have time, information, and the cognitive processing capacity to list all possible solutions and choose the best solution among alternatives. Because of this, Lindblom (1959:84) argued that *"no one can practice the rational-comprehensive method for really complex problems, and every administrator faced with a sufficiently complex problem must find ways drastically to simplify"*. The literature refers to the concept of bounded rationality to achieve such simplification. Under the condition of bounded rationality, Everett

(2003:66) states that *"decision-makers, rather than pursue all objectives and investigate all options, would sacrifice complete objectivity in order to satisfy the need for a speedy and workable solution"*. Simon (1961) adds to this discussion by introducing the concept of 'satisficing', which assumes that decision-makers identify their limitations and choose the best option given the conditions. Hence, the concept of bounded rationality copes with the shortcomings of full rationalism and provides a practical alternative.

### 2.1.1 Rationalism and the course of policy process

One of the greatest differences between the theoretical perspectives is the way they explain the course of the policy process. Scholars use the concept of the policy cycle as a tool to illustrate the course of the policy process. The policy cycle appears in different forms throughout the literature (see Everett, 2003; Fischer et al., 2007; Howlett et al., 2009). There are five steps that can be identified in the various constructions of the model. These steps include: (1) agenda setting, (2) policy development, (3) decision-making, (4) implementation and (5) evaluation. The first step is to identify problems that demand political action. Once such problems arise on the agenda, policy makers start collecting relevant information and set policy objectives. The policy development step of the cycle produces a list of potential actions and describes possible outcomes of each option. It should be noted that policy development at the level of UN may follow a different logic than it does in domestic policy. Still, policy development is present regardless of the rules that it follows. Then, it is the turn of decision-makers to select among the alternatives and decide on a pertinent course of action. Subsequently, policy implementation applies policy instruments and puts the decision into effect. Generally, there are three types of policy instruments. Policy instruments could either be regulative, economic or communicative. Ultimately, policy evaluation is the final step in the policy cycle. Evaluation refers to the process by which policy outcomes get measured against expected outcomes. For instance, policy evaluations assess the actual inputs, the output that was produced, and the outcome that was achieved and compare this with prior expectations. Moreover, such evaluations help determine the extent to which a policy contributed to an outcome (Sabatier, 2007).

A key characteristic of the rational perspective is that the policy process runs linearly and is much like solving a puzzle. Every step in the process requires careful analysis of the situation. Solving a problem is almost like a technical quest. Policy makers perform an extensive search for the right solution. The focus is less on the political and public agenda and more on improving policies and their implementation. Defining concise policy objectives and selecting the right means are considered key to successful policies. In order to ensure successful policies, rationalists believe it is important that

policy makers adhere to the steps of the policy cycle. These steps, which Sabatier (2007:6) calls the 'stages heuristic', help simplify the often-complex policy process. Rationalism distinguishes itself from the other perspectives by attaching great importance to this sequential and linear proceeding of the policy making process. In the literature this approach is also called the 'textbook approach' of policy making (Nakamura, 1987). However, Sabatier (2007:7) notes that *"the assumption that there is a single policy cycle focused on a major piece of legislation oversimplifies the usual process of multiple, interacting cycles involving numerous policy proposals and statutes at multiple levels of government"*.

Moreover, the course of the policy process according to the rationalist perspective is identical to the description of the policy cycle mentioned earlier. During the agenda setting step, policy problems are 'discovered' mainly by research and evaluation studies. On the basis of the findings of these studies, the policy objectives are defined during the policy development stage. Policy makers list alternative courses of action and make predictions on their outcomes. They carefully consider the costs of each alternative and the value that they expect in return. Then, during the decision-making step, they choose an optimal strategy, select the right means and decide on a course of action. Once a policy reaches the policy implementation step of the policy cycle, policy makers provide a detailed account of the measures taken and give sufficient information to those who are responsible for its implementation. This way, they reduce the risk of deviation from the intended policy decision. During the last step of the policy cycle, policy makers evaluate whether indeed a deviation has taken place. They evaluate whether the actual implementation is in line with the predefined measures. Besides the fact that such evaluation studies help assess whether the desired objectives have been attained, they also point out whether it is time to revisit the objectives (Bekkers et al., 2017). The next section will elaborate on rational choice theory, which is a policy theory that is closely related to the rational perspective, and explain how according to this theory evaluation might trigger policy change.

### 2.1.2 Rational choice theory

In the next sections it becomes evident that there are many policy theories that fall within the scope of the policy perspectives. However, with regards to the rational perspective, there is only one prominent theory. This policy theory is the rational choice theory and has been extensively studied by policy scholars such as Lindblom (1959), Simon (1961) and Levi (1997). The features of rational choice theory are similar to the characteristics of the rational perspective that have been discussed earlier. This similarity becomes evident in the following quote by Lichbach (2006:38), who gives an account of three assumptions that form the main body of rational choice theory: *"First, actions are purposeful behavior directed toward attainment of a goal. Second, there is choice, so rational actors choose*

*strategies and tactics from among a repertoire of available alternatives. Third, given their situation, agents 'quest for the best', their optimization or maximization problem being to choose the most desirable alternative available"*. The mention of choice among a repertoire of alternatives is in line with the creation of a list of alternative courses of action that has been described in the rational perspective. The same applies for the notion of rank-ordering these alternatives and selecting the one that generates the highest pay-off according to a cost-benefit analysis.

Furthermore, the limitations that have been addressed with regards to bounded rationality are also relevant for the rational choice theory. The lack of time, information and cognitive processing capacity put much pressure on policy makers to determine which outcomes have the best alignment with the policy objectives. As a result, the produced policies are often not the ones that generate the highest pay-offs, but are rather the ones on which there is agreement between the various actors involved in the process (Lindblom, 1959:81). In order to reach such an agreement, it is important that the involved actors share the same problem perception. The processes that lead to consensus between involved actors and a shared problem perception will be discussed in more detail in the other perspectives. The next section elaborates on how the rational choice theory explains policy change.

### 2.1.3 Rational choice theory and policy change

The policy process is a dynamic process that involves periods of stability and periods of rapid change. Policy change occurs either incrementally or non-incrementally. Incremental policy change involves small adjustments that gradually evolve overtime. Non-incremental policy change involves disruptive change and questions the foundations on which a policy is based. Often there is mention of 'breakthroughs' and 'paradigm shifts' when non-incremental policy change takes place. Over the past few decades, the UN's refugee policy did not produce any observable change. The policy remained rather stable. However, the paradigm shift that occurred in 2016 with the adoption of the New York Declaration exemplifies non-incremental policy change. Rational choice theory assumes that learning is the main driving force that leads to such a change. The literature describes three factors influencing learning according to this theory (Baumgartner et al., 2007; Bekkers et al., 2017).

The first factor that leads to policy change is the learning that occurs during policy evaluation. The evaluation process results in feedback on the performance of a certain policy. Evaluation studies may also provide a reflection on the policy design, objectives and instruments. In addition, policy makers may utilize this feedback and use it as a basis for future improvements. Such studies are necessary because they show which measures were effective and which were not. Policy makers may decide to keep effective measures in place and discard ineffective ones that are no longer considered

relevant. Policy evaluations also increase the level of accountability. Not only does it assess the performance of a policy, it also traces back whether involved actors fulfilled their responsibilities. According to the rational choice theory, policy evaluations are objective and immune to falsification. This also means that rationalists believe that policy evaluations always lead to better policies. In other perspectives, such as the ones described below, it becomes evident that there is indeed a high probability that evaluation studies are not completely reliable. It will also show that in reality policy evaluations do not occur as often as is deemed necessary (Bekkers et al., 2017).

The second factor that results in policy change is the creation of new knowledge. Research never stops, and policy theories keep evolving. Besides, technological innovation diminishes the limitations of policy makers to determine which course of action is best suited to tackle a policy problem. The concept of bounded rationality touched upon the limitations of policy makers with regards to time, information, and cognitive processing capacity. However, with the advent of new information processing systems, policy makers are better equipped to formulate and design optimal strategies. As stated in the previous section, rationalists highly value careful planning and programming. The systems help them to better monitor performance and predict outcomes. Policy making has also become less time consuming because policy makers are able to keep track of the process and consider multiple cycles that are interlinked. In addition, evaluating policies is easier than before because there is a continuous supply of new information that is saved and shared (Baumgartner et al., 2007).

The third and last factor that can lead to policy change is the advent of new technologies, which has also increased knowledge transfer. Now, more than ever before, states adopt information and communication technologies in their organizational structures. They keep track of policy performances and make an overview of the results publicly available. As a result, governments not only benchmark their current policy outcomes with prior policies during evaluation studies, they also compare their work with other departments and governments. Developing states often learn from developed states and attempt to apply best practices in their domestic regulatory systems. Developed states also learn from each other. Although there are many variables that they have to control for, there are still many policies that function across borders. Often knowledge transfer occurs deliberately with the aim to encourage progress (Bekkers et al., 2017).

Hence, policies that have remained stable for a long period of time are still eligible for an abrupt change. Such a sudden change might raise questions on the foundations on which the policy is based. Rational choice theory, as well as the rational perspective on public policy consider the emergence of knowledge as the main driving force that leads to policy change. Generally, the literature points to three closely related factors that might influence learning. These factors are

findings that are produced through evaluation studies, new knowledge and information that is created through research and innovation, and the transfer of knowledge from the outside that also help compare policies and apply best practices.

## 2.2 Political perspective

The second perspective on policy formation is the political perspective. According to the political perspective, public policy is driven by the exercise of power and the endeavor to secure interests. The policy domain is characterized by the dynamics between actors, policy networks and policy arenas. One way to define actors is to state that actors are individuals or groups of individuals who are actively involved in the policy process and whose choices will eventually determine the policy outcome (Scharpf, 1997:43). However, Klijn & Koppenjan (2016:73) have argued that actors that are not yet actively involved in the policy process should also be included in the definition, since they too are affected and may participate in the future. Scharpf (1997) distinguishes between actors based on their capabilities, perceptions, and preferences. The term capabilities is meant to describe the resources actors have in their possession. Dahl (1961:226) speaks of resources as *"anything that can be used to sway the specific choices or the strategies of another individual"*. Generally, there are four types of resources: actors may have (1) financial resources, (2) production resources, (3) competencies such as formal and juridical authority, and (4) knowledge. Supporters of this perspective believe that actors with more resources have more influence on the perceptions and preferences of other actors, and thus highly influence the policy outcome. However, there is an ongoing interaction process among these actors in what is called a 'policy network'. Policy network refers to *"a social system in which mutually dependent actors develop processes of interaction and communication that show some sense of sustainability and that are aimed at policy programs or policy issues"* (Bekkers et al., 2017:55). Policy networks are characterized by the high level of interdependency that often results in strategic interactions between actors. These strategic interactions are also referred to as policy discourses. Rein and Schön (1992:145) define policy discourses as: *"The interactions of individuals, interest groups, social movements, and institutions through which problematic situations are converted to policy problems, agendas are set, decisions are made, and actions are taken"*. Furthermore, the places or institutional settings where actors enact such strategic interactions are called policy arenas. Such arenas may be formalized, such as councils and boards, or occur in informal settings, such as during ad-hoc meetings and lobbies (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016).

The political perspective does not deny the fact that in reality actors weigh heavily on their own values and preferences in their judgements on a course of action. In contrast to the rational

perspective, the political perspective believes that an actor's behavior is guided by securing their own interests, rather than trying to seek the optimal policy that would more likely be achieved by rationality. Actors have competing values and different interpretations of the policy problem, which increases the complexity of the decision-making process. By acknowledging this fact, the political perspective provides tools and concepts that help policy makers to better understand such phenomena. Policy makers are better equipped to participate in policy networks, for instance, when they know the interdependencies and arenas in which the social interaction process takes place (Bekkers et al., 2017).

In addition, the political perspective sheds light on the multiple interacting policy cycles in which actors find themselves. Although an actor's behavior is determined by its values and preferences, its power and interests vary depending upon the policy issue in question. For example, an actor could possess enough resources to exercise influence and dominate a policy area, but it could be surpassed by higher powers in other policy areas. According to the political perspective, actors are aware of this, and therefore are guided by this concern (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). This underscores the interdependency among the actors.

## 2.2.1 The political perspective and the course of the policy process

Whereas rationalism describes the policy process as a linear process involving sequential steps, the political perspective assumes that the policy process is chaotic in the sense that it is more dynamic and iterative. The chaos becomes apparent in the first step of the policy cycle. During the agenda setting, various actors start competing with each other on which issues should arise on the agenda and which issues should not. Evidently, powerful actors are better equipped to raise their issues on the agenda. But with the emergence of interest groups, the traditional powers have moved more to the background. The traditional powers, such as political parties and governments, used to possess sufficient resources to dominate the policy discourse. However, throughout the years interest groups have been better able to combine resources such as knowledge, experience and legitimacy. They have established an indispensable position in the policy process. As a result, a level playing field has been established whereby smaller and less powerful actors have become able to join forces, exercise influence, and also raise their issues on the agenda (Dür & De Bièvre, 2007).

The political power play also affects the development and decision-making step of the policy cycle. In the policy development stage, actors attempt to formulate a policy that fits with their interpretation of the issue. One of the reasons why actors have different preferences is because they differently interpret the issue at stake. There is often no consensus on the problem definition. As a

result, policy development is much determined by the strategic interactions between involved actors. This also applies to the decision-making step. In order to reach an agreement, actors have to obtain sufficient resources. Often, they do not possess sufficient resources themselves and are dependent on the contribution of other actors. This dependency explains why actors are continuously seeking for opportunities to gain more power, influence others, and decide on a policy that secures their own interests (Everett, 2003).

So far, it is clear that the policy process is characterized by an ongoing struggle between competing values. This political contest continues after a policy decision has been made (Lindblom, 1959). Because policies that have gone through the earlier stages are not as clearly defined as the rational perspective assumes, there is still room for interpretation during the implementation stage. Bekkers et al. (2017:59) state that the policy implementation stage can be referred to as a 'delayed policy design' that set off a new round of strategic interactions. Actors who were less successful in advancing their interests during earlier stages may influence policy implementation to compensate for their losses. This also illustrates that the course of the policy process according to the political perspective is less linear than the rational perspective assumes.

In line with the first four steps of the policy cycle, the policy evaluation step is also politically loaded. It is important to determine who evaluates the policy and when. Bias plays an important role on both sides of the continuum. On the one hand, actors whose interests may be harmed by the policy decision may be more biased when conducting an evaluation study and merely focus on the flaws. On the other hand, actors who championed the policy decision may ignore the shortcomings and highlight the achievements, since continuation will more likely advance their interests. The timing of the evaluation is also important. It takes time in order to see the outcomes of a certain policy. Therefore, conducting a policy evaluation too soon may result in less objective findings. However, when conducting a policy evaluation too late the policy may have already reached its goals and become obsolete. Hence, the political power play does not end with the policy evaluation (Bekkers et al., 2017). Besides, it is still up for question what exactly happens to the findings of such evaluation studies. The following perspective on public policy will explain how actors use such findings for framing purposes.

## 2.2.2 Advocacy Coalition Framework

Among the many policy theories that exist, many researchers have particularly looked into the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) and the Multiple Streams Framework (MSF) (Real-Dato, 2009; Ness, 2010; Weible et al., 2011). These are theories that have received much scholarly attention and

fall within the scope of the political perspective. ACF assumes that the policy process is characterized by advocacy coalitions, which are coalitions formed by actors that share a common belief system. The coalitions are relatively stable and consist of a variety of actors ranging from governmental agencies, researchers, to interest groups. These actors combine their resources to gain power. The framework points to the existence of multiple advocacy coalitions within a given policy area that are in conflict because of their competing values (Ness, 2010).

In contrast, MSF is more ambiguous and multifaceted (Ness, 2010:35). It comprises of three streams (i.e. problem stream, political stream, policy stream) that may be coupled by a policy entrepreneur during a 'window of opportunity'. Policy entrepreneurs are characterized by their connections, skills and expertise, and may create or utilize a 'window of opportunity'. The literature describes MSF also as a 'garbage can model' that assumes that the decision-making process is an organized anarchy (Zahariadas, 2003; Bekkers et al. 2017:101). In this thesis, the focus is on ACF rather than MSF because of the following three reasons (Sabatier & Weible, 2007).

First, the introduction of ACF has provided policy makers with the tools to deal with 'wicked' problems. 'Wicked' problems are problems that are complex because of the involvement of multiple actors from different institutional backgrounds, the existence of competing values and interests, and the lack of information and knowledge on how to deal with the problem. The rational approach of doing research to find new information to deal with these complex problems no longer suffices. Solving such problems requires a more cooperative approach between the actors (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016).

Second, ACF has proved to be a policy theory that is universal in its application. Initially, Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) applied the framework to the energy and environmental policy in the US. Soon after its introduction, scholars successfully applied the framework to a variety of cases and policy areas across the world. The increased attention that the framework has received has led to a revision of the core assumptions on which it is based. As a consequence, the theory is refined and up to date (Sabatier, 2007).

Third, the theory incorporates factors that influence advocacy coalitions and explain policy change. With regards to ACF, Ness (2010:35) states: *"Policy change is most likely to occur if external events lead to a shift in coalitions' belief system"*. The belief system consists of three types of beliefs, namely (1) deep core beliefs, (2) policy core beliefs, and (3) secondary beliefs. The first two types of beliefs that have been distinguished are resistant to change because they involve fundamental values. However, the third type (i.e. secondary beliefs) are less resistant to change because they focus more on the choice of instruments to achieve a policy outcome. The emergence of new information may change actor's attitudes on which instruments to use, but hardly affects actor's deep core and policy

core beliefs. Although the framework takes into account a set of parameters that stabilize the policy process, such as the basic constitutional structure of the system, it also focuses on external events, such as changes in socio-economic conditions and public opinion that may impact the policy area (Sabatier & Weible, 2007).

### 2.2.3 ACF and policy change

In essence, the political perspective assumes that policy outcomes are the results of strategic interactions and political power play. Whereas rationalists perceive policy making as a process that involves solving a complex puzzle, the political perspective perceives it as a way to gain and exercise power (Heclo, 1974). Advocacy coalitions may influence policy decisions by giving or withholding their resources. The same applies when coalitions attempt to change policies. Coalitions can change policies by acquiring the necessary resources themselves or influence the actors on which they are dependent. To adhere to their principles and contribute their resources, advocacy coalitions need to convince others of their ideas. One way to convince others is to provide strong arguments as to why a policy change is necessary. These arguments could be given during a debate in the formal or informal settings of a policy network. In addition, the competing values that are at play may be resolved by sharing knowledge. If a coalition shares its knowledge on a policy issue with others, the others may adjust their interpretation of the issue and be persuaded to participate in the attempt to change the existing policy. ACF assumes that policy change may be determined by the political power shifts that occurs between different coalitions. Although the dominating advocacy coalition may want to maintain the status quo, new coalitions may be formed who can actively try to challenge it. New advocacy coalitions that are increasingly supported by other actors may acquire a dominant position. Such a new coalition that acquires a dominant position during a political power shift is less concerned about policy learning and more focused on advancing its own agenda. Consequently, the political perspective, unlike the rational perspective, assumes that the advent of new knowledge, information and technology rarely influences policy change. However, new information and technologies may play a role in the sense that they are considered powerful resources that can be used by coalitions to influence the process and advocate for change (Weible et al., 2011; Bekkers et al., 2017).

## 2.3 Institutional perspective

The third perspective on public policy is institutionalism, which emphasizes the important role of institutions in the policy making process. Because the concept of institutions has been used differently

across disciplines and has a variety of meanings, there is not an unambiguous definition. Some scholars believe that institutions are written rules, while others assume that institutions also include unwritten norms (Crawford and Ostrom, 1995:582). The definition of institutions used in this thesis is provided by North (1991), because it has been commonly referred to in influential literature (see Molle, 2014:46). North (1991:97) defines institutions as: *"The humanely devised constraints that structure political, economic and social interaction. They consist of both informal constraints, and formal rules"*. In essence, institutions reflect formal and informal rules that protect the norms and values that are considered important in a particular policy subsystem. These rules have been the central concern of Ostrom et al. (1994). Ostrom et al. (1994:41) have identified seven types of rules that help explain the policy making process from the institutional point of view: (1) position rules, (2) boundary rules, (3) scope rules, (4) authority rules, (5) aggregation rules, (6) information rules and (7) pay-off rules. The next section will discuss these rules in more detail. The institutional perspective adds to the discussion by examining the institutional setting more in detail and determining the impact of institutions on the social interaction process that occurs between actors in the policy network.

Moreover, the policy process is characterized by complexity and uncertainty. Hence, a point of strength of institutions is that they provide structure and reduce uncertainty (North, 1990:3). Policy makers can make good use of the concepts and tools that are provided by policy theories that fall within the scope of the institutional perspective and anticipate the behavior of others. The theories draw special attention to institutions on which actors base their preferences. Katzenstein (1996:23) found that collectively held norms, which are considered informal institutions, shape the identities of actors, define their conduct, and influence their preferences. Institutions set out the rules of the game. They determine who may participate, where the decision-making takes place, and what is to be discussed. Actors that are familiar with these rules can make strategic use of this information. Additionally, understanding the institutions on which actors base their values help predict their behavior and anticipate policy preferences (Bekkers et al., 2017). As a consequence, policy makers are better equipped to develop policies that correspond with other actors' preferences. This also saves time and resources.

In addition, institutions are characterized by path-dependency. This means that policy making is not based on rationality or political power play, but on the system of institutions that has evolved over time. In this regard, Bekkers et al. (2017:69) state: *"Institutions constrain actor's freedom to interpret and understand the world: the institutions transmit a shared view of the world and therefore strongly affect actors' ability and freedom to shape policies".* Not only do institutions constrain the way actors interpret a policy issue, they also constrain how these actors gather information. Thus, institutions have a lock-in effect on the decision-making process whereby policies that are to be

developed are predetermined by the existing framework. Therefore, institutions are often viewed as coordinating mechanisms that sustain the status quo (Thelen, 1999:381).

Not only do institutions structure the social interactions between actors in the policy network, they also structure the course and content of the policy process. Institutions are path-dependent and reflect grown practices. In addition, institutions set out the rules of the game that may lead to a less linear process than the rational perspective assumes. Ostrom et al. (1994:41) have identified seven types of rules that structure the course of the policy process. It is worthwhile to discuss these types of rules because they act as guidelines on how the policy cycle unfolds according to the institutional perspective. The definition of rules used in this thesis is derived from Crawford and Ostrom (1993) who define rules as *"prescriptions that define what actions (or outcomes) are required, prohibited, or permitted, and the sanctions authorized if the rules are not followed"* (see Ostrom et al. 1994:38).

The first type of rules are position rules. **Position rules** identify the positions of the actors, such as who initiates policy discussions, sets the agenda, and is responsible for policy development. Position rules also specify other participants in the policy process who may participate in later stages. **Boundary rules** are the second type of rules. These rules refer to the way actors gain access to, or vacate positions within the network. For example, associations have a set of rules that determine how someone can request or cancel membership. The third type of rules are authority rules. **Authority rules** define the set of actions that are assigned to the various positions. The set of actions assigned to a certain position may differ during the process. For example, initiators may have less authority on the actual implementation of a policy, because there are other bodies that are responsible for policy implementation. **Aggregation rules**, which are the fourth type, specify the decision-making rules that determine which course of actions is to be taken. Examples of decision-making rules are simple majority or qualified majority. In addition, **Scope rules** identify the set of outcomes that can be achieved through the actions of participants. Scope rules also specify the possible external costs to each outcome. The sixth type of rules are information rules. **Information rules** determine the availability of information and the content of the information assigned to the various positions. Finally, **payoff rules** assign costs and benefits of the outcomes to participants. Often, the payoffs are distributed based on the amount of responsibility each actor took. For instance, actors who were highly responsible for a policy that turned out to be successful should receive most credit (Ostrom et al., 1994).

This classification of types of rules constructed by Ostrom et al. (1994:42) illustrates that rules affect the whole process: from initiation, to decision, to the distribution of payoffs. For instance, agenda setting may be determined by position rules, because position rules specify who may initiate a policy discussion and raise an issue on the agenda. Scope rules define which issues may be addressed and boundary rules state who can enter the policy discussion. These rules are also relevant during the policy development step. Position rules, again, determine who co-produce a list of possible alternative courses of action. Scope rules help predict the outcomes of each course of action by focusing on the scope of what each actor can achieve. Information rules regulate the information that is gathered and processed during the development stage. Subsequently, authority rules and aggregation rules affect the decision-making step of the policy cycle because they specify who holds authority on the decision-making and which decision-making rule applies. In addition, policy implementation is specified by the position rules, boundary rules, and authority rules that apply. Position rules state who becomes responsible for the implementation, boundary rules state how actors have obtained this responsibility, and authority rules decide which actions may be taken during the implementation phase. Furthermore, the policy evaluation step is also affected by position rules, information rules and payoff rules. These rules specify who is in a position to perform the evaluation, which information is allowed to be processed, and who should cover the external costs or receive the benefits. Although in reality the application of these rules to the policy cycle is more complex than is illustrated here, it does show that institutions are key to understanding the structure of the policy process (Ostrom et al., 1994; Bekkers et al., 2017).

### 2.3.2 Discursive institutionalism

Within the scope of the institutional perspective, there are four prominent policy theories: (1) rational choice institutionalism, (2) historical institutionalism, (3) sociological institutionalism, and (4) discursive institutionalism. Rational choice institutionalism combines aspects of rational choice theory with institutionalism. It explains how actors act rationally, but are constrained by the institutional setting. Critics of this theory argue that it is more theoretical and less practical (Green and Shapiro, 1994). It has proved to be hard to find empirical evidence that support the core assumptions of rational choice institutionalism. Hence, this theory has not been selected for the purpose of this thesis. In addition, historical institutionalism concentrates on how institutions have gradually evolved over time. Historical institutionalism tries to discover wider patterns and trends to determine the relationship between past and current institutions. Historical institutionalism has been criticized because supporters of this theory have been magnifying patterns that actually proved not to exist. In

order to avoid such presumptions, the analysis does not focus on this theory. Furthermore, sociological institutionalism focuses on the institutions that specify the social processes between actors. According to this theory, actors' preferences and behavior are based on the shared culture and norms of the social reality that surrounds them. The main point of critic with regards to sociological institutionalism is that it explains continuity rather than change (Thelen, 1999; Schmidt, 2010). Because the focus of this thesis is to explain UN's refugee policy change, sociological institutionalism is not selected.

However, more recently a new policy theory has emerged. This relatively new policy theory is discursive institutionalism and has been introduced by Schmidt (2010). Discursive institutionalism can be explained as an umbrella concept that suggests that ideas and discourses related to the context of institutions create, maintain, or change these institutions. Schmidt (2010) speaks of 'background ideational abilities' and 'foreground ideational abilities', which are abilities that help actors make sense of the institutional setting and critically assess their relevance. This provides insights on the processes that drive institutional change, such as actors' preferences, normative orientations, and strategies. This touches upon a major difference between discursive institutionalism and the other three institutional theories. Whereas rational choice institutionalism, historical institutionalism and sociological institutionalism assume that the institutions that exist in a policy subsystem primarily serve as constraints, discursive institutionalism assumes that institutions are dynamic and are subject to change (Schmidt, 2010). For these reasons, this thesis focuses on discursive institutionalism instead of the other policy theories that fall within the scope of the institutional perspective.

### 2.3.3 Discursive institutionalism and policy change

The policy process according to the institutional perspective is characterized by formal and informal constraints. Institutions structure the course and content of the policy making process. Also, institutions constrain actors in their ability to act. Actors that try to change policies are constrained by the existing set of institutions. Institutions are often viewed as coordinating mechanisms that sustain the status quo. This does not per se mean that attempts for policy change are rejected. It means that efforts to change policies have to comply with the existing framework. As a result, policy changes that take place are more or less incremental. For example, constitutions may be resistant to change, but the laws of a country are constantly evolving. It is possible that a policy area includes institutions that specify how policies are to be changed and which procedures are required to be followed (Thelen, 1999).

Another explanation that is provided by discursive institutionalism is that policies change because institutions change. Institutions are not fixed and can be expected to change. Thelen (1999:382) points out that institutions gradually develop over time. The fact that institutions continue evolving clears the path for actors to encourage change or initiate new policies (Schmidt, 2010).

Furthermore, discursive institutionalism's notion of path-dependency also explains policy change. To quote North: *"Path dependence is more than incremental process of institutional evolution in which yesterday's institutional framework provides the opportunity set for today's organizations and individuals"* (1991:109). In other words, changes of institutions in the past may clear the path for additional institutional changes. More importantly, small changes in the past may lead to major changes in the future, and ultimately explain 'paradigm shifts' and 'policy breakthroughs' from the institutional point of view (Baumgartner et al., 2007; Schmidt, 2010).

## 2.4 Cultural perspective

The fourth perspective is the cultural perspective. The cultural approach finds its roots in social constructivism. According to this belief, policy problems are the product of social construction. There is not such a thing as an objective social reality. Social interactions form the social reality in which the policy process takes place. During these social interactions, there is an increased emphasis on language, symbols, and stories. Actors involved in the decision-making process try to give meaning to the social reality and develop an understanding of policy problems and solutions. This collaborative process is called sense-making (Bekkers et. al. 2017:42). This implies that actors may have different views on the nature of a policy problem. For example, some actors may think there is a crisis while others may think that there is nothing wrong at all.

The existing literature often uses perceptions, frames and beliefs interchangeably. For the purpose of this thesis, it is worthwhile to distinguish between these concepts, because they help understand the policy process from the cultural perspective. First, perceptions are a set of beliefs, ideas, and views that influence an actor's judgement about a policy problem (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016:46). Second, Rein and Schön (1992:146) define a frame as: *"A perspective from which an amorphous, ill-defined problematic situation can be made sense of and acted upon"*. Third, in the context of public policy, Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993:5) state that beliefs are defined as: *"convictions, viewpoints and attitudes of an individual or a particular group of actors (a coalition), which they want to translate to policies"*. It is not surprising that scholars use these concepts interchangeably, because it is difficult to draw straight lines between them. It is important to note that perceptions, frames, and beliefs are not fixed, but develop over time. Perceptions, frames, and

beliefs develop through the social interaction process whereby actors try to create a shared understanding. Therefore, the cultural perspective is characterized by the fact that actors continuously attempt to bridge different perceptions on the problem situation and create a dominant frame that is shared by enough participants through the social interaction process. This way they can exercise influence on the policy process and adopt the policy that secures their interests (Bekkers et al., 2017).

Moreover, the cultural perspective has many supporters because it provides a good understanding of the nature of the social interaction process. Often actors that are involved in the same problem situation have completely different interpretations of what the causes of the problem are. This results in an interaction that is known as 'dialogue of the deaf'. The tools that are provided by the cultural perspective prevent this 'dialogue of the deaf', because actors are familiar with the foundations on which others base their behavior (i.e. perceptions, frames, beliefs). This helps them to develop framing strategies to frame or reframe a policy issue. These strategies could involve the use of language, symbols, and images. This way, policy makers cope with the diverging perceptions on policy issues and try to construct a dominant frame (Rein & Schön, 1992; Bekkers et al., 2017).

However, because actors are aware of the influence of framing, there is always the possibility that framing strategies result in divergent perceptions instead of convergent views to the problem at hand. This is mainly due to the degree of complexity of a certain policy issue. In this regard, Rein and Schön (1992:145) stated that complex policy problems are long-lasting problems that are hardly completely resolved. Even though these complex problems may disappear for a period of time, there is always the chance that they will reemerge. This indicates that framing and sense-making are ongoing processes that require careful handling by all participants.

### 2.4.1 Cultural perspective and the course of the policy process

Sense-making through social interactions is ubiquitously present throughout the course of the policy process. To quote Bekkers et al. (2017:68): *"Policy processes should be understood as continuous processes in which interpretations of the social reality are produced, adjusted and reproduced by making use of narratives. Each new stage in the policy process challenges the current interpretation by introducing new observations, experiences or beliefs"*. The continuous nature of interactions defines the course of the policy process. Throughout the process, actors find themselves in policy discourses where they have to frame and reframe specific policy issues, communicate these frames with others, and try to increase support for their frames.

In this perspective, issues that arise on the agenda are mainly caused by focus events. Focus events, such as crises, challenge the frame of reference of actors and ignite discourse. Then, during the policy development step, actors communicate their frames through language, images, and stories in order to convince others and gain support. Once actors gain popular support for their policy frame, they are able to determine the course of action. The decision that is made is not always the most rational course of action that may result in the highest payoffs, but it is the decision that most actors agreed upon. In turn, the policy implementation step brings in new actors, interests, and beliefs that revive the initial policy discourse. There is always the possibility that new ideas or problems arise during the implementation step that again require framing strategies. Finally, the cultural perspective assumes that during policy evaluation, policies should be judged by the extent to which participants of the policy discourse have managed to create a dominant frame. In this sense, successful policies are those on which actors share a similar perception with regards to the underlying causes, the problem definition, and its solution (Bekkers et al., 2017). Hence, the cultural perspective believes that successful policies are those policies that have been established through a transparent and power-free interaction process, whereby various actors were actively participating in the policy discourse and a dominant discourse was reached.

## 2.4.2 Discourse Coalition Framework

Prominent policy theories included in the cultural perspective have been discussed by renowned scholars such as Rein and Schön (1993), Schneider and Ingram (1993), and Hajer (1993). Rein and Schön (1993) published an article about policy framing in which they discussed how actors in the policy process deal with policy issues that seem irresolvable. The article discusses the concept of framing and lists a set of factors that help achieve successful framing strategies. The authors emphasize the role of critical frame reflection that may help actors reframe a policy issue and agree on a solution. However, critical frame reflection requires a clear articulation of the frame and a thorough analysis of the conversations that take place. In reality, researchers are often not able to attain the required information to perform such an in-depth analysis. Moreover, Schneider and Ingram (1993) discussed the importance of the social construction of target populations in understanding the policy process. Their approach explains why some actors are more influential than others during the policy discourse. It refers to establishing stereotypes of groups that share similar characteristics and adapt framing strategies. The social construction of target groups is not used in this thesis because Schneider and Ingram (1993:335) themselves state that *"social constructions are often conflicting and subject to contention"*.

Notwithstanding that the policy theories mentioned by Rein and Schön (1993) and Schneider and Ingram (1993) fall within the scope of the cultural perspective, this thesis focuses on the Discourse Coalition Framework (DCF) introduced by Hajer (1993). DCF is a theory that explains how a dominant discourse comes about. There are two conditions that have to be met in order for a policy discourse to be dominant. The first condition is discourse structuration, which implies that a discourse is used by actors to conceptualize the social reality. The second condition is to determine discourse institutionalization, which implies that the discourse has gained popular support and is embedded in the formal institutional arrangements (Hajer, 1993). Throughout this process, there is an enhanced focus on the role of language in policy discourses. Hajer (1993:44) states: *"Language is recognized as a medium, a system of signification through which actors not simply describe but create the world"*. Actors use language to give meaning to a specific issue in the hope that it gains popularity. Especially in contemporary society, and with the popularity of social media, language plays a prominent role to reach other actors. In addition, analyzing the language that is being used in the policy discourse helps reveal the desired course of action. DCF shows how discourse coalitions (i.e. a group of actors that share a similar view on the social reality) try to impose their frame of reference on others. Discourse coalitions may do this either in an inoffensive manner through debate and persuasion, or exercise power and manipulate information in their favor (Bekkers et al., 2017).

### 2.4.3 Discourse Coalition Framework and policy change

So far, the discussion on DCF has indicated how intensively actors participate in policy discourses. Discourse coalitions are continuously working on ways to enhance their frame of reference. Although coalitions have conflicting views and competing values, they try to create a shared understanding of the nature of the policy issue. They use framing strategies (i.e. language, symbols, images etc.) during this process to convince others and gain support. This means that policies that have been established in the past have successfully gone through this process. This also indicates that frames are not fixed. Frames develop continuously over time and through social interactions. This generates the assumption that policies, just as frames, are not fixed but continuously evolve (Hajer, 1993).

Moreover, DCF assumes that policies change because dominant discourses change. The dominant discourse involves the frame that is shared among most of the participants. As a consequence of changing frames, a shift in the dominant discourse can occur. New knowledge and information may play a role, because they bring strong arguments and question the existing frame that is shared by most participants. The discourse that was previously dominating loses its legitimacy. More and more actors adopt the new frame. This eventually changes the dominant policy discourse.

Once the dominant discourse has shifted, the original policy framework gets revised and policy change may occur (Hajer, 1993). This once again illustrates the importance that the cultural perspective attaches to social interactions.

## 2.5 Conceptual model and expectations

This chapter has provided an extensive review of the literature on each theoretical perspective on public policy and their core assumptions. It also discussed how each perspective describes the course of the policy process and explains policy change. Remarkably, the perspectives share many similarities, as well as differences. It has proved difficult to draw straight lines between them. It is important to note that the perspectives all touch upon some aspects of the social reality that surround the policy making process, and thus are of great value to policy analysts. Figure 1 combines the perspectives that have been addressed in this chapter and illustrates the conceptual model that is central to this thesis. The conceptual model shows the initial basis for the structure of the analysis that is presented in chapter four.

*Figure 1 Conceptual model*

| Rational | Political | Institutional | Cultural |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Rational Choice Theory | Advocacy Coalition Framework | Discursive Institutionalism | Discourse Coalition Framework |
| Availability of new knowledge | Power shift between different advocacy coalitions | Changes in institutions | Change of dominant discourse |

UN's Refugee Policy change
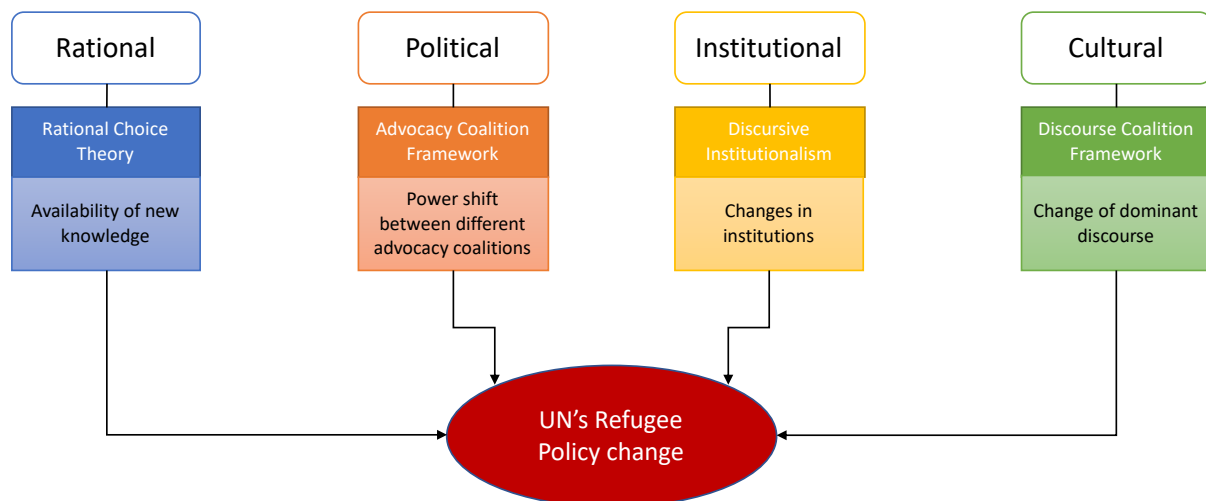
The first perspective that is illustrated in the conceptual model is the rational perspective on public policy. This perspective emphasizes the role of knowledge and information and is characterized by a linear course of the policy process. Knowledge and information are particularly important with regards to policy change. Research and evaluations introduce new information that leads to policy learning. Hence, the expectation derived from the rational perspective is: *UN's refugee policy has changed because of the emergence of new knowledge.*

The political perspective is the second perspective that has been discussed. Political power play is at the forefront of this perspective. Advocacy coalitions are continuously involved in strategic social interactions. Advocacy coalitions attempt to get hold on resources that are required to gain power and influence the policy process. In that sense, policies change when the distribution of power changes. Hence, the following expectation: *UN's refugee policy has changed because of a power shift between different advocacy coalitions.*

The third perspective that is to be employed is the institutional perspective. For the purpose of this thesis, institutions refer to the formal structures that determine how actors act throughout the policy process. Because the policy process is characterized by complexity and uncertainty, actors develop institutions to provide guidance. Not only do institutions determine how actors behave, they also determine the course of the policy process. As a result, the following expectation with regards to the institutional perspective is formulated: *UN's refugee policy has changed because of changes in institutions.*

The fourth perspective is the cultural perspective, which is often referred to as social constructivism. This perspective points out that social interactions form the social reality that surrounds the policy process. In this context, DCF points out that actors actively participate in policy discourses where they use framing strategies such as language, symbols, and images to make sense of the social reality and gain support for their frames. DCF assumes that policies change because dominant discourses change. Taking this into consideration, the following expectation is generated: *UN's refugee policy has changed because the dominant discourse has changed.*

# 3. Research Design

The previous chapters introduced the topic, presented the central research question, and provided the theoretical framework. This chapter provides an overview of the research design. This chapter adds to previous chapters by focusing on the methods, strategies, and techniques that are selected to analyze the case. There are multiple research designs possible, but the research design that has been selected in this thesis has been inspired by a variety of studies that have been reviewed in the second chapter. The structure of this chapter is as follows. Section 3.1 provides a detailed account on the decision to perform a congruence analysis. The operationalization in section 3.2 addresses how the concepts are to be measured and which data will be used. Subsequently, section 3.3 lists the data sources that are utilized for the analysis. The research method that is used to examine the qualitative data is described in section 3.4. Finally, section 3.5 discusses how the reliability and validity of the findings of this thesis are guaranteed.

## 3.1 Congruence analysis – Single case study

Chapter one indicated that this thesis has an explanatory function. In contrast to the exploratory and descriptive types of research, an explanatory research aims to determine causal relationships between certain phenomena (Matthews & Ross, 2010). The purpose of this thesis is to explain which theoretical perspective on public policy best explains the adoption of the New York Declaration. This is evident in the statement about the aim of this thesis:

*The aim of this thesis is to enhance our understanding of the policy process that led to the adoption of the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants and to critically assess competing policy theories in order to determine their explanatory leverage in this specific case.*

This aim has been restated because, in addition to pointing out that this thesis concerns an explanatory research, it also indicates that it involves a congruence analysis. Congruence analysis refers to *"a small-N research design in which the researcher uses case studies to provide empirical evidence for the explanatory relevance or relative strength of one theoretical approach in comparison to other theoretical approaches"* (Blatter & Haverland, 2014:144).

There are three main reasons for why this thesis involves a congruence analysis. The first reason is because many policy scholars recommend conducting a congruence analyses in the field of public policy (Gupta, 2012). There are still many policy areas that have not yet been approached by

means of a congruence analysis. Using this approach to analyze UN's refugee policy is a unique opportunity to contribute to the theoretical discourse. Second, a congruence analysis provides the opportunity to further theoretical refinement of the perspectives on public policy. There is still much ground to be covered with regards to these perspectives and the many theories they entail. Third, the congruence analysis allows to acknowledge newly developed theories and their contributions to the theoretical discourse (Blatter & Haverland, 2014). For example, this thesis includes discursive institutionalism, which is a policy theory that has emerged relatively recently compared to the other theories (Schmidt, 2010).

Furthermore, a congruence analysis always involves a case study (Blatter & Haverland, 2014). Case study research refers to *"research that is an in-depth examination of an extensive amount of information about very few units or cases for one period or across multiple periods of time"* (Neuman, 2014:42). There are two types of case study research that can be distinguished: (1) multiple case study and (2) single case study (Yin, 2003). Researchers use a multiple case study approach to compare cases and enhance their understanding of the similarities and differences between them (Baxter & Jack, 2008:550). However, this thesis does not focus on comparing cases, but on comparing theoretical perspectives. These perspectives are applied to a single case, namely the case of the adoption of the New York Declaration. Besides the fact that a single case study is less time consuming than a multiple case study, it also allows for a more detailed description of the case (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Moreover, for the purpose of this thesis, a single case study is more appropriate than a multiple case study, because it leads to a deeper understanding of the particular case (Dyer & Wilkins, 1991).

## 3.2 Operationalization

Chapter two generated four theoretical expectations. Empirically testing these four expectations helps answering the central research question and determine which theoretical camp best explains the change in UN's refugee policy. In order to conduct such an empirical test, it is required to operationalize the concepts that have been stated in the conceptual model of this thesis. Therefore, it is helpful to restate each theoretically derived expectation and explain how the variables are to be measured.

E1*. UN's refugee policy has changed because of the emergence of new knowledge.*
E2*. UN's refugee policy has changed because of a power shift between different advocacy coalitions.*
E3*. UN's refugee policy has changed because of changes in institutions.*
E4*. UN's refugee policy has changed because the dominant discourse has changed.*

Policy change refers to the (non)-incremental adjustment of an existing policy. Policy change occurred in 2016 with the adoption of the New York Declaration. For the purpose of this thesis, the policy that was followed in the period before 2016 is referred to as the original policy paradigm. The original paradigm was based on the assumption that refugees would only temporarily remain in designated camps. Protracted stays of refugees residing in camps were considered more the exception and less the norm. The UN had a relatively limited mandate and was mostly concerned with the allocation of humanitarian aid and emergency relief. The main UN institutions that were involved in facilitating this were UNHCR, World Food Program (WFP) and the World Health Organization (WHO). In addition, the UN was responsible to monitor human rights violations and encourage Member States to provide protection to refugees and migrants. This work was mainly carried out by the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) and the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) (UNHCR, 1997).

However, the original policy paradigm did not assume that on the one hand, protracted stays of refugees residing in camps were becoming the norm, and on the other hand, more and more refugees were residing in urban areas instead of designated camps. Also, the original policy proved financially burdensome and led to much political controversy in the regions that were most affected by the influx of refugees and migrants. The original policy proved to be ineffective and inefficient. Consequently, Member States, UN entities and civil society actors urged for a policy change that would include a more holistic approach. This holistic approach was embodied in the New York Declaration, which is referred to as the new policy paradigm. The new policy paradigm focuses on enhancing resilience building of refugees and migrants. Resilience building refers to the provision of education and employment programs and assisting refugees to integrate into host-communities, so they can be self-reliant and continue on with their lives. The declaration has given UNHCR more responsibilities with regards to facilitating the implementation of the new policy. Additionally, the new policy involves the UNDP, International Organization of Migration (IOM), and World Bank Group (WBG), and states that these institutions should be increasingly involved to assist in the process (UNHCR, 2016a).

*Independent variable: Emergence of knowledge*

According to the rational perspective, the emergence of new knowledge can result in policy change. Knowledge refers to facts and information that have emerged from research. Policy makers perform research to gather knowledge to enhance their understanding of the roots of the problem and find

lasting solutions. More importantly, participants in the policy process base their positions on the knowledge that they possess. Hence, the emergence of new knowledge can influence the positions of participants. There are different sources that can be used to search for knowledge. Throughout the years, researchers and institutes have published numerous research papers on refugees and migrants. However, it is up for question whether these papers have caught the eye of policy makers. The studies that are more likely to have captured the attention of policy makers are the ones published by the UN itself. In fact, UNHCR's Policy Development and Evaluation Service (PDES) has annually issued publications in a series called *'New issues in refugee research'*. It should be noted that these studies have not been conducted directly by PDES. Instead, PDES has assigned reputable research centers and academics to carry out the research.

For feasibility purposes, this thesis only focuses on studies that have been published by PDES in the five-year period before the 2016 Summit. PDES has published 80 studies in the period between 2011 and 2016. The thesis will first make an inventory of these studies in order to identify which ones have addressed issues related to the new policy paradigm. Subsequently, it examines whether the findings of these studies have stressed the importance of resilience building activities. Resilience building activities refer to programs that assists refugees and migrants with getting an education, finding employment, and integrating into host-communities. This requires a content analysis. The content analysis includes codes related to the new policy paradigm, which is provided in the lower segment of Table 2 below. The content analysis provides a count of how often a term related to the new policy paradigm has occurred in the text. In addition, it assists in determining to what extent the new knowledge that has emerged has emphasizes the importance of resilience building activities.

*Independent variable: Change in advocacy coalitions*

The political perspective assumes that policies change because the distribution of power changes among different advocacy coalitions. Advocacy coalitions are formed by actors that share a similar belief system. Such actors can be Member State representatives, UN officials, civil society and private sector actors. Advocacy coalitions attempt to secure their interest by exercising power. Their power on the policy process is based on the resources they have. Chapter two stated that actors may possess four types of resources, namely financial, material, authority and knowledge resources.

For the purpose of this thesis, the analysis distinguishes between two advocacy coalitions. The first advocacy coalition holds interest in the original policy paradigm and prefers non-decision-making. This coalition is composed of Member States that have been less affected by the influx of refugees and migrants, including Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Kuwait, Bahrain, Russia, Hungary,

Czech Republic, Slovakia, Singapore and South Korea (Dempsey, 2015; Pollock, 2015; UN, n.d.). In contrast, the second advocacy coalition promotes the adoption of the new policy paradigm and includes actors that are highly affected by the influx of refugees and migrants such as Lebanon, Jordan, Turkey, Germany, Italy and Greece (UN, n.d.; UNHCR, 2011).

Since examining the resources of the countries that form the advocacy coalitions is neither feasible nor relevant for this topic, the analysis focuses on changes in the resources of the three main institutions that are related to the new paradigm (i.e. UNDP, IOM and the WBG). The aim of the analysis is to determine whether the authority, financial and material resources of these institutions have changed in the period between 2011 and 2016. I have not included the fourth type of resources in the analysis, because I was not able to find information sources that would indicate a change in the knowledge and expertise of these institutions. Moreover, changes in the financial and material resources will be analyzed by means of annual reports of the UNDP and IOM. The analysis does not focus on changes in the financial resources of the WBG because of the much broader scope of their activities. Additionally, this thesis will perform a content analysis that includes statements made by participants of four high-level meetings on refugees and migrants in order to examine whether and how the institutions related to the new paradigm are referred to during the policy discourse. The content analysis helps determine whether the authority of UNDP, IOM and the WBG has changed.

*Independent variable: Change in institutions*

According to the institutional perspective on policy making, changes in institutions lead to policy change. For the purpose of this thesis, institutions refer to the formal arrangements that guide, facilitate and structure the policy process. The institutional perspective assumes that institutions are not fixed, but gradually evolve over time. The concept of path-dependency is considered central in this respect. It implies that present policy changes may be caused by changes in institutions that have occurred in the past. Institutions that have become more important can get a larger say in policy-making. The role of institutions often change because of external events, such as the unprecedented influx of refugees and migrants into Europe in 2015. In this regard, Boin et al. (2009:82) state: *"Institutions can be affected quite differently in the aftermath of critical events: some take a public beating and are forced to reform, some weather the political storm, others become symbolic of heroic public service"*. Member State governments, NGOs, UNHCR, WFP and WHO were the most important institutions responsible for the implementation of the original policy paradigm. However, with the advent of the new paradigm, these original institutions were more and more supported by UNDP, IOM and WBG. In order to determine the explanatory leverage of the institutional perspective, the analysis

examines those institutions involved in the original and new paradigm and determine how they have changed. This thesis attempts to do this with the help of documents of these organizations, qualitative studies and newspaper articles that include interviews with high-level executives of these institutions.

*Independent variable: Change in discourse*

The fourth expectation focuses on a change in the dominant discourse. A discourse refers to the process of social interactions between participating actors in the policy process. During such a social interaction process, the actors use framing strategies to create a shared understanding and set out a roadmap for action. In that sense, a discourse is dominant when there exists one frame that is shared and expressed by most participants. DCF assumes that a change in the dominant discourse results in a policy change. It is possible to determine whether the dominant discourse has changed by counting how often different words and phrases have been used during policy discourses. A content analysis helps to examine whether the dominant discourse has changed. However, it is important that the content analysis is feasible in terms of the amount of discourses it will focus on. Throughout the years there have been numerous meetings within and outside of the UN that dealt with the refugee problem. This thesis only includes statements made by Member State representatives, UN entities, NGOs and other participants during high-level meetings in the period between 2011 and 2016. It is considered not feasible to examine more statements within the limited time period. Moreover, a five-year time period should be sufficient to determine whether a change has occurred in the dominant discourse. In addition, the 2011 Syrian Civil War and the subsequent refugee crisis set off a chain of events including the ministerial meeting on assistance and protection of refugees that was convened by UNHCR in 2011, the 2013 high-level dialogue on migration and development, the World Humanitarian Summit in 2016, and the 2016 Summit on Refugees and Migrants. These meetings are selected because they are similar in scope and documented properly. The official statements have been published on the website of the UN. The analysis focuses on the presence of words and phrases related to the original paradigm, and compares this with the words and phrases related to the new paradigm. It is possible to claim that the cultural perspective has explanatory leverage when the analysis indicates that a change in the dominant discourse did take place. Table 1 provides an overview of the operationalization.

*Table 1 Operationalization overview*

| INDEPENDENT VARIABLE | GROUPS/ INSTITUTIONS | INDICATOR | SOURCE OF EVIDENCE |
|---|---|---|---|
| EMERGENCE OF KNOWLEDGE | PDES publications | Emergence of knowledge that stresses the importance of resilience building (see Table 2) | PDES publications from 2011 to 2016 |
| CHANGE IN ADVOCACY COALITIONS | - UNDP<br>- IOM<br>- WBG | Change in resources:<br>- Finance<br>- Material<br>- Authority | - Annual financial reports<br>- Statements by participants of the high-level meetings between 2011 and 2016 |
| CHANGE IN INSTITUTIONS | - UNHCR<br>- WFP<br>- WHO<br>- UNGA<br>- UNDP<br>- WBG<br>- IOM | Changes in institutions:<br>- Become more important<br>- Required to reform<br>- Remain unchanged<br>- Become less important | - Documents of the involved institutions<br>- Studies that address the institutions<br>- Newspaper articles that include interviews with high-level executives |
| CHANGE IN DISCOURSE | - Member State representatives<br>- UN officials<br>- NGOs | Change of dominant discourse:<br>- Terms/phrases related to original paradigm<br>- Terms/phrases related to new paradigm (see Table 2) | Statements by Member State governments, NGOs and UN officials that were participating during the high-level meetings between 2011 and 2016 |

## 3.3 Data sources

There are various data sources that provide the empirical evidence that is required to perform the congruence analysis. Some studies use interviews (Weible et al., 2011), while other studies use only archival records (Hajer, 1993; Ness, 2010). Because of time concerns, this thesis does not include interviews. Hence, the empirical evidence that is used in this thesis stems from documents. Yin (2003) points out that the use of documents possesses several strengths. For instance, documents are unobtrusive, cover a broad range of events, and can be reviewed frequently and repeatedly. In addition, documents may provide background information and context. The main sources of information that are used for the purpose of this thesis are provided in Table 1 and include overview documents of official statements, annual publications and UN resolutions. These documents are available on UN's website.

## 3.4 Content analysis

A content analysis is required to test whether E1, E2 and E4 hold true. A content analysis is unobtrusive, because the researcher is not able to alter the content of the document. In essence, a content analysis necessitates coding. Babbie (2013:300) refers to coding as a process whereby raw data is transformed into structured information. For the purpose of this thesis, manifest coding is used to analyze the content of the documents. Manifest coding requires that the researcher, prior to examining the content, lists a set of words or phrases and searches for them in the content of a text. This type of coding is objective and reliable because the words or phrases are either present or absent in the texts (Neuman, 2014:374). Table 2 provides an overview of the codes that are used for the content analysis of E1 and E4.

*Table 2 Coding for E1 and E4*

| PARADIGM | KEYWORDS/PHRASES | CODE |
|---|---|---|
| **OLD** | - Humanitarian aid<br>- Emergency relief<br>- Provision of basic needs<br>- Shelter<br>- Food<br>- Medical care<br>- Protection against violence | 1 |
| **NEW** | - Resilience building<br>- Shared responsibility<br>- Self-reliance<br>- Integration<br>- Education<br>- Employment | 2 |

The content analysis for E2 will include manifest, as well as latent coding. Whereas manifest coding helps to identify the number of times the institutions related to the new paradigm are referred to during the discourse, latent coding helps to determine whether the participants of the meetings have criticized or expressed their support for the institutions. Table 3 presents the codes related to the analysis of E2.

*Table 3 Coding for E2*

| Code | Institutions | Code |
|---|---|---|
| **1** | UNDP | 1.1 Support<br>1.2 Criticize |
| **2** | IOM | 2.1 Support<br>2.2 Criticize |
| **3** | World Bank | 3.1 Support<br>3.2 Criticize |

## 3.5 Reliability and Validity

The reliability, also referred to as replicability, indicates that there is consistency in the findings of the research. Reliability implies that if the same research procedure is repeated by other researchers, it should more or less result in the same findings (Matthews & Ross, 2010:11). In comparison to large-N research, small-N research is more prone to measurement error. Different researchers may give different meanings to indicators, and thus achieve different results (Blatter & Haverland, 2012). This thesis attempts to eliminate measurement error by maximizing transparency with regards to the operationalization of the concepts. The formulation of ex-ante theoretical expectations based on a comprehensive conceptual framework, such as stated in chapter two, also increases the reliability of the findings in the context of a congruence analysis (Blatter & Blume, 2008).

Furthermore, it is important to distinguish between two types of validity: internal validity and external validity. It is possible to confidently state that the internal validity of the findings of this thesis is guaranteed, because the expectations are based on theoretical propositions and include competing theories. Yin (2003:163) states that the use of competing policy theories helps to *"treat the evidence fairly, produce compelling analytic conclusions, and rule out alternative interpretations"*. The second type of validity relates to the generalizability of the results. This implies that the findings of this research are also applicable to other situations (Babbie, 2013). For example, in this case it would mean that the theoretical perspective that best explains the adoption of the New York Declaration, would also explain the policy making process of the UN in general, such as changes in UN's climate policy, development agenda, and peacebuilding. It is premature to make such general statements from a single case study, because there may be different actors and factors involved that are not in the scope of this thesis. The fact that a congruence analysis has a low degree of external validity does not make it less relevant on the research agenda. While other studies may focus on generalizability of the findings, this thesis aims to participate in the theoretical discourse by determining the explanatory leverage of the theories in the case of UN's refugee policy.

# 4. Analysis

This chapter provides an analysis of the empirical findings. It tests to what extent the theoretically derived expectations hold true. The aim of this chapter is to determine which perspective on public policy has the most explanatory leverage. Accordingly, the empirical evidence is compared with the theory to assess whether there is congruence between them. The subsequent sections discuss the evidence that has been collected and relates them to each of the expectations. Finally, this chapter ends with a discussion of the findings.

## 4.1 Emergence of new knowledge

In the period between 2011 and 2016 UNHCR's Policy Development and Evaluation Service (PDES) commissioned a total of 80 studies. The vast majority of these studies focused on issues related to the original policy paradigm, such as protection, resettlement and emergency relief. However, there were also studies that provided new insights and knowledge on issues that relate to the new policy paradigm. In fact, of the 80 studies, 17 were related to issues such as community integration, the search for durable solutions and improving livelihoods. This section describes some of these studies and discusses to what extent they have stressed the importance of resilience building activities.

In 2011, PDES published 32 studies in the series *'New issues in refugee research'*. Of the 32 studies that were completed, I identified nine studies that focused on issues related to the new policy paradigm. For instance, Agblorti (2011) addressed community integration and studied how the host-community supported Liberian refugees in Ghana. He found that host communities play a crucial role in finding durable solutions to improve the livelihoods of refugees. Similarly, Watson (2011) studied refugee integration in Castlemain, Australia. In his case study, Watson (2011:3) found that: *"Lasting benefits for refugees could be gained if more attention and resources were placed on working in mainstream settings to ensure that refugees attained their entitlements as citizens, employees and customers"*. The notion of employment for refugees has been discussed more in detail by Azorbo (2011) in a study that focused on ways to adapt microfinancing to refugee situations. The study provided empirical evidence that suggested that investing in employment opportunities for refugees leads to an improvement of the self-reliance of refugee households. In addition, Azorbo (2011) argued that the creation of employment opportunities diminishes economic insecurity and solves the issue of declining aid that is a result of protracted refugee situations.

Although PDES published 19 studies in 2012, only one study related to the new policy paradigm. Likewise, of the 19 studies that PDES completed in 2013, just four were addressing durable

solutions for refugees. The study that was published in 2012 focused on the role of refugees during the resettlement process. Sévigny (2012) tried to find out how refugees perceive the process and what lessons can be learned. In his study, Sévigny (2012) underscored that refugees should not be seen as recipients of resettlement, but rather as participants that should be actively involved in the process. Furthermore, Burnett (2013) studied the effect of resettlement on refugee identity. She interviewed twenty refugees and found that most of the respondents felt that their identity changed the moment they fled their home country. While some refugees were able to integrate and adopt to the new culture, other refugees felt that their identity was greatly affected by the xenophobic reactions and the negative media coverage on refugees. A problem that, according to Burnett (2013), should be addressed more seriously. Besides resettlement and refugee identity, the studies published in 2013 also addressed ways to improve livelihoods. Obi (2013) reviewed refugee assistance programs in Japan and found that the government has not been able to provide sufficient assistance to refugees because of a lack of human and financial resources. Instead, refugees have depended much on NGOs and other service providers to provide assistance with regards to education and employment (Obi, 2013). In this respect, Piper et al. (2013:24) found: *"If refugees are made to feel welcome and are supported to learn the language and customs of the host country, as well as to develop skills that will equip them to enter the workplace, any 'deficits' resulting from 'poor integration potential' can be overcome".* In general, these studies indicate that the conventional responses to refugees and migrants prove ineffective and that a more comprehensive approach is required.

In the 2014 and 2015, PDES published a total of ten reports. Three reports addressed issues related to the new policy paradigm. Jolliffe (2014) did research on durable solutions for refugees in Myanmar. Through focus groups and interviews, Jolliffe (2014) found that neither religious groups nor civil society actors were able to help the thousands of refugees that required assistance. The study concluded that the only way to provide assistance and improve the livelihoods of refugees is by facilitating initiatives that also benefit host communities. Also, increased international presence and guidance by UNHCR can help overcome many of the obstacles (Jolliffe, 2014). In addition, Marks (2014) examined refugee integration in the US. In particular, she surveyed refugees that were living in rural areas and compared them with refugees that were living in urban areas. Her study indicated that, although refugees are often resettled in urban areas, much of the refugees move to rural areas in search for economic opportunities. Her study also indicated that rural areas are highly impacted and not prepared to take in large numbers of refugees. Marks (2014) urges policy makers to take secondary migration into consideration in future policy decisions. Furthermore, Treviranus and Törngren (2015) performed a study similar to the study that Obi (2013) conducted and reviewed a pilot project related to the resettlement of refugees that was launched in Japan. They found that the

main difficulty most refugees had were related to learning the language of the host-community, because without knowledge of the local language, refugees have found it difficult to develop social networks, integrate into host-communities or find employment (Treviranus and Törngren, 2015). Table 4 provides an overview of the studies that have addressed issues related to the new policy paradigm in the series *'New issues in refugee research'* by PDES in the period between 2011 and 2016. In addition, Table 5 indicates the number of times a word or phrase related the new policy paradigm occurred in the texts of these studies.

*Table 4 Studies focused on the new policy paradigm issued by PDES*

| Year | Author | Title | Topic |
|------|--------|-------|-------|
| *2011* | Watson | *Refugees as citizens, employees and customers: settlement support in an Australian town* | Community integration |
| | Sturridge | *Mobility and durable solutions: a case study of Afghan and Somali refugees* | Search for durable solutions |
| | Plasterer | *Transnational philanthropy: Somali youth in Canada and Kenya* | Improving livelihoods |
| | Hopkins | *Casamance refugees in The Gambia: self-settlement and the challenges of integration* | Community integration |
| | Goodall | *Sanctuary and solidarity: urban community responses to refugees and asylum seekers on three continents* | Solidarity |
| | Azorbo | *Microfinance and refugees: lessons learned from UNHCR's experience* | Improving livelihoods |
| | Anderson | *The cost of living: an analysis of the time and money spent by refugees accessing services in Nairobi* | Improving livelihoods |
| | Ambroso | *The end of history? Conflict, displacement and durable solutions in the post-cold war era* | Search for durable solutions |
| | Agblorti | *Refugee integration in Ghana: the host community's perspective* | Community integration |
| *2012* | Sévigny | *Starting from refugees themselves: towards an institutional ethnography of resettlement* | Community integration |
| *2013* | Burnett | *Feeling like an outsider: a case study of refugee identity in the Czech Republic* | Community Integration |
| | Nakashiba | *Postmillennial UNHCR refugee resettlement: New developments and old challenges* | Search for durable solutions |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Obi | *A review of assistance programs for asylum seekers and refugees in Japan* | Improving livelihoods |
| | Piper et al. | *Refugee resettlement: 2012 and beyond* | Search for durable solutions |
| 2014 | Jolliffe | *Ceasefires and durable solutions in Myanmar: lessons learned review* | Search for durable solutions |
| | Marks | *Rural Refugee Resettlement: Secondary Migration and Community Integration in Fort Morgan, Colorado* | Community integration |
| 2015 | Treviranus & Törngren | *A Socio-Economic Review of Japan's Resettlement Pilot Project* | Improving livelihoods |

*Table 5 Content analysis - PDES studies*

| AUTHOR | CODES | | | | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Resilience Building | Shared responsibility | Self-reliance | Integration | Education | Employment | |
| **WATSON** | 1 | 0 | 1 | 13 | 18 | 47 | 80 |
| **STURRIDGE** | 0 | 0 | 4 | 10 | 10 | 13 | 37 |
| **PLASTERER** | 1 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 64 | 0 | 71 |
| **HOPKINS** | 0 | 0 | 14 | 21 | 26 | 2 | 63 |
| **GOODALL** | 0 | 3 | 1 | 13 | 10 | 5 | 32 |
| **AZORBO** | 5 | 0 | 21 | 1 | 7 | 3 | 37 |
| **ANDERSON** | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 9 |
| **AMBROSO** | 4 | 0 | 4 | 25 | 2 | 1 | 36 |
| **AGBLORTI** | 0 | 0 | 5 | 108 | 5 | 1 | 119 |
| **SÉVIGNY** | 1 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 7 |
| **BURNETT** | 0 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 14 |
| **NAKASHIBA** | 0 | 5 | 0 | 9 | 4 | 0 | 18 |
| **OBI** | 3 | 1 | 3 | 12 | 38 | 22 | 79 |
| **PIPER ET AL.** | 3 | 5 | 1 | 32 | 5 | 2 | 48 |
| **JOLLIFFE** | 6 | 0 | 1 | 21 | 7 | 0 | 35 |
| **MARKS** | 0 | 0 | 16 | 229 | 25 | 30 | 300 |
| **TRREVIRANUS & TÖRNGREN** | 0 | 6 | 64 | 69 | 108 | 80 | 327 |
| | | | | | | | |
| **TOTAL** | **24** | **26** | **137** | **575** | **337** | **213** | **1312** |

To conclude, PDES published 80 studies in the period between 2011 and 2016. I identified 17 studies as studies that involved issues related to the new policy paradigm. The majority of these studies were published in 2011. A content analysis was deployed to determine how often terms related to the new policy paradigm occurred in the texts of the studies. The findings of the content analysis indicated that the studies have written on resilience building activities such as integration, education and employment. Table 5 shows that the study published in 2015 has more extensively written on resilience building activities than the studies before. Still, the number of studies related to the new paradigm has been much lower compared to the number of studies that have focused on issues associated with the original paradigm. In addition, the number of studies issued by PDES has showed a decline. Therefore, it is possible to state that the cultural perspective has a relatively low explanatory leverage in this case.

## 4.2 Change in advocacy coalitions

Chapter three described two advocacy coalitions that were identified for the purpose of this thesis. The first advocacy coalition holds interest in the original policy paradigm and prefers non-decision-making. The second advocacy coalition promotes the adoption of the new policy paradigm and includes actors that are highly affected by the influx of refugees and migrants. This section determines whether a change has occurred in the resources of the institutions related to the new paradigm, including UNDP, IOM and WBG. This section first identifies changes in the financial resources of the institutions. Subsequently, changes in material resources, such as staff, buildings and equipment, are examined. Finally, this section provides the results of the content analysis that has been performed in order to track changes in the authority of these institutions.

In order to track changes in the financial resources of the UNDP and IOM, this thesis has focused on the financial contributions made to them in the period between 2011 and 2016. UNDP's main source of funding is the voluntary contributions by Member States. These contributions are referred to as *'regular resources'* in UNDP's annual reports. UNDP's regular resources have decreased by 36.5% in the period between 2011 and 2016. UNDP's regular resource contributions were USD 974 million in 2011. In 2016, Member States contributed merely USD 618 million. Figure 2 shows how the financial resources of UNDP have decreased over the five-year period (UNDP, n.d.).

*Figure 2 UNDP's financial resources 2011-2016*

**UNDP's regular resources**
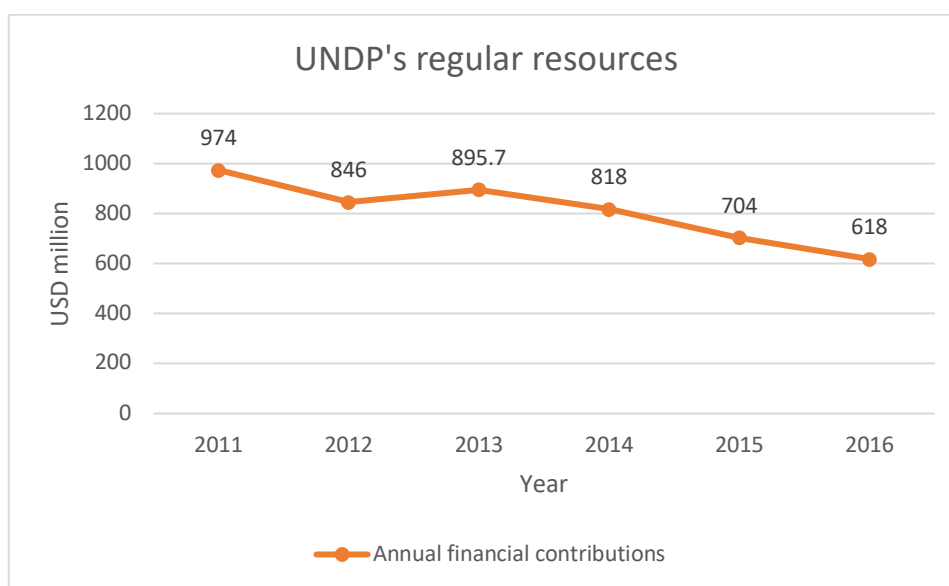
*Note.* Reprinted from (UNDP, n.d.).

In contrast to UNDP, IOM's financial resources have increased by approximately USD 201.3 million in the period between 2011 and 2016. This represents an increase of 32.5%. The financial contributions of Member States of the IOM are referred to as *'Operational Part of the Budget'* in the institution's annual financial report (IOM, n.d.). Figure 3 illustrates how IOM's financial resources have changed.

*Figure 3 IOM's financial resources 2011-2016*



**IOM's operational income**
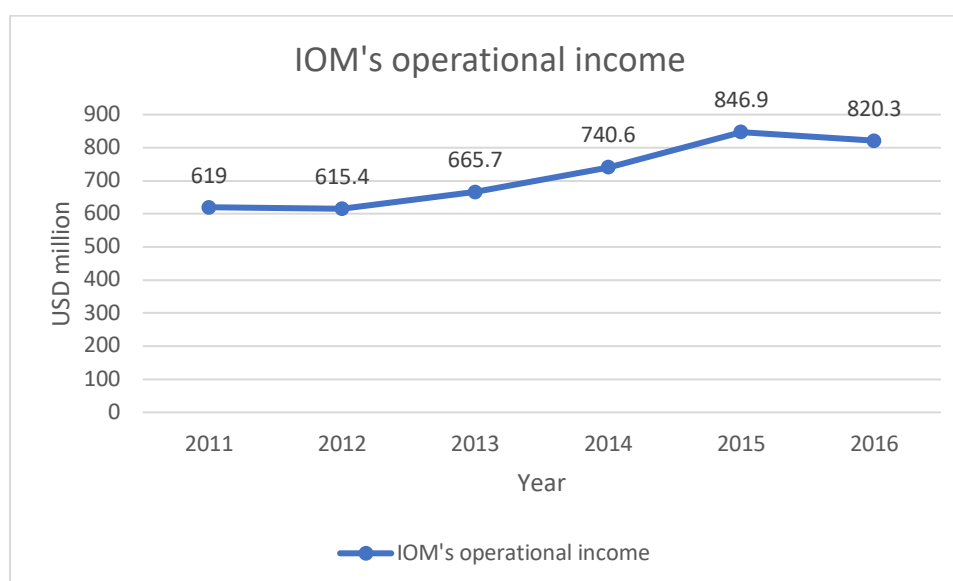
*Note.* Reprinted from (IOM, n.d.).

Besides the financial resources, UNDP and IOM have also experienced changes in their material resources. The analysis of this thesis has focused on three entries of the financial reports that have indicated the material resources of the institutions. These entries include Staff costs, supplies and consumable goods, and plant, property and equipment. The findings are presented in Table 6. From the findings presented in Table 6, it is possible to conclude that the material resources of the institutions have changed. Although UNDP's staff expenditures decreased over time, its resources in general did increase. IOM has only seen an increase in all three components that together form its material resources. Table 6 shows the changes per category and concludes that in the period between 2011 and 2016, the overall material resources of UNDP and IOM increased by USD 461 million.

*Table 6 Material resources - spending in thousands of USD*

| Material Resources | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **UNDP** | | | **IOM** | | |
| **Year** | Staff costs | Supplies and consumable goods | Property, plant and equipment | Staff costs | Supplies and consumable goods | Property, plant and equipment | *Total* |
| **2011** | 903,400 | 738,080 | 78,497 | 300,523 | 133,316 | 50,570 | 1,402,657 |
| **2012** | 979,086 | 707,718 | 92,910 | 311,357 | 115,833 | 51,417 | 1,384,404 |
| **2013** | 985,120 | 752,380 | 100,336 | 322,173 | 122,284 | 47,808 | 1,428,987 |
| **2014** | 986,185 | 842,229 | 115,973 | 349,804 | 137,762 | 54,563 | 1,571,824 |
| **2015** | 941,836 | 811,556 | 145,492 | 366,421 | 144,089 | 58,233 | 1,647,996 |
| **2016** | 891,979 | 767,670 | 155,465 | 407,473 | 174,281 | 59,203 | 1,863,668 |
| *Total* | 4,619,633 | 5,688,236 | 688,673 | 2,057,751 | 827,565 | 321,794 | 9,299,536 |
| | | | | | | | |
| *Change* | -11,421 | +29,590 | +76,968 | +106,950 | +40,965 | +8,633 | +461,011 |

*Note.* Reprinted from (UNDP, n.d.; IOM, n.d.).

Furthermore, the findings of the content analysis related to E2 are presented in Table 7. The purpose of the content analysis was to identify changes in authority of the UNDP, IOM and WBG by examining how participants of four high-level meetings on refugees and migrants speak about them. Table 7 shows that references to the institutions related to the new paradigm have increased. IOM has been mentioned most often. Also, UNDP and WBG have been referred to more in 2016 than in the years before.

*Table 7 Content analysis - institutions related to the new paradigm*

| Meeting | Ministerial Meeting | High-Level Dialogue on Migration and Development | World Humanitarian Summit | UN Summit for Refugees and Migrants | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Date | 7-8 December 2011 | 3-4 October 2013 | 23-24 May 2016 | 19 September 2016 | |
| | | | | | |
| Institutions | | | | | *Total* |
| UNDP | 2 | 2 | 9 | 1 | 14 |
| IOM | 8 | 23 | 3 | 31 | 65 |
| WBG | 2 | 4 | 10 | 2 | 18 |
| | | | | | |
| *Total* | 12 | 29 | 22 | 34 | 97 |

Besides identifying how often the institutions have been referred to in the texts of the statements, the aim of the content analysis was also to determine how the participants speak of them. In my analysis, I did not find criticism with regards to these institutions. Instead, I found that the participants support these institutions and champion their role in the process. For example, during the 2011 Ministerial Meeting, The Netherlands stated: *"The Netherlands pledges to continue to strive for closer involvement of multilateral development actors such as the United Nations Development Program and the World Bank to solve refugee situations"* (UNHCR, 2011:86). Japan's Prime Minister, Mr. Shinzo Abe, in his statement during the 2016 Summit for Refugees and Migrants emphasized the role of UNDP and how the institution has been able to assist more than 30,000 people in his country. Similarly, participants of the high-level meetings announced their support for the activities conducted by the IOM. Greece proposed the implementation of new reintegration measures and stated that authorities should cooperate with IOM on this matter during the 2011 Ministerial Meeting (UNHCR, 2011:78). In this vein, Italy championed its partnership with the IOM with regards to the implementation of multilateral initiatives such as *'Migration for Development in Africa'* (UN, 2013). IOM received extensive coverage during the 2016 Summit for Refugees and Migrants. Cambodia, Azerbaijan, Australia, Finland, Egypt and Romania mentioned IOM and supported its contributions (UNMEETINGS, 2016). Furthermore, the important role of the World Bank has also been recognized during the meetings. During the first World Humanitarian Summit in 2016, the foreign minister of

Denmark stated its commitment to work with the World Bank to develop new approaches to displacement. Likewise, Uganda reaffirmed its commitment to capacitate the World Bank to implement its *'Population Empowerment'* initiative (AgendaForHumanity, 2016).

To summarize, my analysis found that while the financial resources of UNDP decreased by 36.5%, the contributions of Member States to IOM increased by 32.5%. The material resources of both institutions related to the new paradigm increased by more than USD 461 million in the period between 2011 and 2016. Also, the content analysis of the statements made by participants of four high-level meetings on refugees and migrants in the five-year period concluded that the UNDP, IOM and WBG have gained in authority. The content analysis showed that the institutions were more often referred to in 2016 than in the years before. Additionally, more and more participants emphasized the important role of these institutions and championed the work that they have done. This implies that the theoretically derived expectation from the political perspective can to a certain extent be confirmed.

## 4.3 Change in institutions

A fundamental difference between the original and the new paradigm is the configuration of institutions that are responsible for the implementation of UN's refugee policy. The original paradigm focused on humanitarian aid and emergency relief. In addition to Member State governments and NGOs, UNHCR, WFP and WHO were the main institutions involved in assisting refugees with basic needs such as shelter, food and medical care. However, with the advent of the new paradigm, which focused more on development and resilience building, institutions such as UNDP, IOM and the WBG gained an important role to assist the already involved institutions in implementing UN's refugee policy. This section describes the changes in institutions that have been responsible for the implementation of the original paradigm, as well as the institutions that have been increasingly involved in the new paradigm.

For instance, WFP has undergone a transition from a food provider to a food assistance agency. The difference between WFP as a food provider and WFP as a food assistance agency is that it not only distributes food, but also assists disaster-affected regions to rebuild their food delivery system. This transition was unveiled in the organization's 2008 – 2013 Strategic Plan. WFP's Strategic Plan changed the organization's strategic objectives and set out an ambitious plan to overcome food insecurity and strengthen self-reliance, especially among refugees (Omamo et al., 2010). Since its establishment in 1961, the UN has entrusted WFP to provide food aid to regions that were fighting against hunger. However, following the strategic shift in 2008, WFP changed its role and started to

expand its operations. WFP enhanced its scope and started to assist disaster-affected regions to become self-sufficient in producing food. The main objectives of this change were to rebuild the food production capacity of these regions, support refugees and other displaced people in their ability to satisfy their basic food needs by themselves and make the market function again. This strategy proved successful, because WFP was able to assist in rebuilding the food delivery systems in states such as Pakistan, Syria, Sri Lanka and Malawi (Omamo et al., 2010; Jantzi & Everett, 2012; WFP, 2015). Besides the change in the institution's strategic objectives, my analysis did not find any other signs of change related to the organizational structure or position.

Additionally, the review of the documents led to the identification of structural changes within UN's refugee agency. Initially, UNHCR was set up as a temporary organization that was meant to exist only for three years after its establishment in 1950. Ever since its establishment, the main role of UNHCR has been to protect refugees and assist in the development of an international legal framework for refugees. However, due to the fact that the refugee problem kept emerging on the global agenda, Member States decided to repeatedly renew its mandate every five years. It took the UNGA until 2003 to adopt a resolution that would transform UNHCR into a permanent UN entity. The transformation of UNHCR into a permanent UN entity changed the organizations role and responsibilities. In addition to its responsibility to protect refugees, UNHCR became responsible for addressing migration issues and assisting governments with the development of policies and programs concerning refugees and migrants (Hanhimaki, 2008). Together with the IOM, UNHCR was responsible to lay out a plan that would include refugees and migrants in the *'2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development'* (UNHCR, 2015). Also, UNHCR had an important role to play during the European Refugee Crisis in 2015. EU Member States were not satisfied with their original refugee policy, because they could not agree on common principles. Due to the expertise and knowledge that UNHCR had gained over the years, it was able to assist EU Member States with the development of a common policy towards refugees and migrants (UNRIC, 2016).

Another change that has come to light is that UNHCR cooperated increasingly with other institutions such as the UNDP, WBG, and IOM. The reason for this enhanced cooperation was because new forms of crises emerged that none of the institutions could address alone. Traditionally, conflict led to large flows of refugees and migration was caused by a lack of economic opportunity. However, an increasing number of people became displaced because of climate change and natural disasters. This requires a new and comprehensive approach that focuses on the development of lasting solutions. The UNDP became responsible to assist UNHCR by developing a new strategy called the Refugee Response Plan to strengthen the national capacity of Member States that were affected by crisis (UNDP, 2014a; UNDP, 2014b). Similarly, the WBG became responsible to raise awareness and

provide guidelines, funding, and technical advice to communities that host large groups of refugees and migrants. For this purpose, WBG established the Global Program on Forced Displacement (Word Bank, 2015).

Finally, the most significant change occurred to the IOM. Initially, the IOM was an intergovernmental organization that was not directly related to the UN. Its main focus was to assist governments with the resettlement process of migrants that had returned to their country of origin. However, in 1996 the IOM and UN signed a Memorandum of Understanding between UNHCR and IOM that opened new avenues to strengthen cooperation with regards to humanitarian operations (UN, 1996). The agreement also strengthened the relation between the two institutions and led to a fruitful collaboration between UNHCR and IOM that eventually led to the adoption of a resolution by the UNGA to include IOM in the UN system (IOM, 2016). The inclusion of the IOM into the UN system has had two impacts. First, it made the IOM less dependent on voluntary contributions. The financing of its activities became a responsibility of the UN. Second, IOM could focus more on projects that were in the best interest of refugees and migrants instead of projects that were in the interest of donors (Brachet, 2015; Siegfried, 2016).

In sum, my findings indicate that a change in the institutions that were involved in the original paradigm has occurred to some extent. Whereas WFP used to focus solely on the provision of food, it also started to assist in rebuilding food delivery systems of disaster-affected regions as a result of its renewed strategic plan in 2008. Similarly, some changes were observed with regards to the roles of UNDP and the WBG. The UNDP and WBG were required to assist UNHCR in finding ways to strengthen the comprehensive approach towards the global refugee crisis (UNGA, 2016a). I found that the major changes in institutions only occurred to UNHCR and IOM. UNHCR became a permanent UN entity in 2003. Additionally, the UNGA adopted a resolution to include the IOM in the UN system. These changes in institutions are in line with the theoretically derived expectation from the institutional perspective. Hence, it is possible to state that the institutional perspective holds a relatively high degree of explanatory leverage in this case.

## 4.4 Change in discourse

In order to determine whether a change in the dominant discourse occurred, this thesis deployed a content analysis of statements made by participants during high-level meetings of UN Member States in the period between 2011 and 2016. The analysis includes all statements that were issued during the meetings, including from Member State representatives, intergovernmental organizations, NGOs and UN officials. All meetings extensively addressed the global refugee and migration issue. In this

section, the main findings of the content analysis are described. An overview of the content analysis is provided in Table 8.

The first discourse that has been analyzed was the 2011 Ministerial Meeting convened by UNHCR. The focus of the meeting was to deliberate on the state of refugees around the world. In addition, during the meeting Member State representatives, intergovernmental organizations, and NGOs discussed ways to enhance protection and provide assistance to refugees (UNHCR, 2011). A total number of 76 statements of the participants were examined. The findings show that the discourse mainly revolved around protection against violence. Protecting refugees against violence seemed for many of the participants to remain the matter of highest priority.

The second meeting that has been included in the content analysis took place during the 68th Session of the UNGA in 2013. The High-Level Dialogue on International Migration and Development focused on how host communities could benefit from an influx of refugees and migrants. UN Member States, intergovernmental organizations, and NGOs participated in the meeting to exchange knowledge and information on how to avoid the negative consequences of migration and *"make migration work"* (UN, 2013). Whereas NGOs decided to issue a joint statement during the 2011 Ministerial Meeting, they decided to issue statements individually during the 2013 High-level Dialogue. The content analysis of 54 statements by the participants indicated that the discourse still very much revolved around protection of the universal human rights of refugees and migrants. However, participants also increasingly stressed the importance of social inclusion and community integration, which are concepts that are more closely related to the new policy paradigm.

The World Humanitarian Summit that took place in the first half of 2016, which has been included as the third meeting in the content analysis, brought the Member States, intergovernmental organizations, and NGOs together again. The decision by the UN to convene the first-ever World Humanitarian Summit was due to the fact that the world was witnessing the highest level of displacement ever recorded. The aim of the summit was to strengthen global efforts and launch new initiatives to tackle the ongoing refugee and migrant crisis (UNHCR, 2016a). My analysis included 81 statements that have been made by the participants during the Summit. Compared to the other meetings, the statements made by the participants during the World Humanitarian Summit have most often used the concept of resilience building. Yet, Table 8 indicates that terms related to the original paradigm were more frequent compared to terms related to the new policy paradigm.

The final high-level meeting that has been included in the content analysis was the 2016 Summit on Refugees and Migrants that took place during the 71st Session of the UNGA. The summit that eventually led to the adoption of the New York Declaration involved 55 official statements. The analysis of the statements concluded that the discourse was still dominated by terms related to the

original policy paradigm. The following Table indicates the number of times a word or phrase related either to the original or new paradigm was observed in the statements.

*Table 8 Content analysis - statements*

| Meeting | | Ministerial Meeting | High-Level Dialogue on Migration and Development | World Humanitarian Summit | UN Summit on Refugees and Migrants |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Date | | 7-8 December 2011 | 3-4 October 2013 | 23-24 May 2016 | 19 September 2016 |
| Number of statements by participating Member State representatives, UN officials and NGOs | | 76 | 54 | 81 | 55 |
| | **Codes** | | | | |
| **Original paradigm** | Humanitarian aid | 17 | 3 | 13 | 25 |
| | Emergency relief | 0 | 0 | 16 | 0 |
| | Provision of basic needs | 16 | 1 | 0 | 10 |
| | Shelter | 19 | 1 | 3 | 8 |
| | Food | 3 | 0 | 7 | 4 |
| | Medical care | 8 | 14 | 9 | 15 |
| | Protection against violence | 192 | 69 | 78 | 40 |
| | **Total:** | **255** | **88** | **126** | **102** |
| | | | | | |
| **New paradigm** | Resilience building | 6 | 4 | 49 | 8 |
| | Shared-responsibility | 11 | 15 | 2 | 26 |
| | Self-reliance | 3 | 0 | 3 | 4 |
| | Integration | 43 | 55 | 14 | 10 |
| | Education | 24 | 21 | 39 | 31 |
| | Employment | 12 | 32 | 0 | 9 |
| | **Total:** | **99** | **146** | **107** | **88** |

To conclude, the analysis included 266 statements of participants of four High-Level meetings including Member State representatives, NGOs and UN officials in the period between 2011 and 2016.

The analysis involved a content analysis to determine the number of times a term or phrase did occur in the texts of the statements that were made. The content analysis that was deployed concluded that the dominant discourse revolved around the original policy paradigm. Because the dominant discourse did not change, it is possible to state that the cultural perspective possesses a low degree of explanatory leverage in this case.

## 4.5 Discussion of the findings

The analysis showed that the emergence of new knowledge has been present throughout the policy process. Table 4 shows that seventeen out of 80 studies published by PDES have focused on concepts related to the new policy paradigm in the period between 2011 and 2016. That is a minority. In addition, Table 5 illustrated that these seventeen studies have stressed the importance of resilience building activities, especially integration, education and employment. In general, some recent studies have addressed these issues more extensively than the studies that were issued before 2013. However, it is remarkable that the amount of studies commissioned by PDES in 2014 and 2015 were much lower compared to the years before. The fact that, on the one hand, the number of studies published by PDES declined and, on the other hand, only seventeen out of 80 studies were on the new paradigm raises questions about the role of knowledge in the policy process.

All in all, my analysis found that the resources of the institutions related to the new paradigm changed in the period between 2011 and 2016. Although the contributions to UNDP by Member States decreased by 36.5%, their contributions to IOM increased by 32.5%. I also found that the material resources of the UNDP and IOM increased by more than USD 461 million. This budget is a combination of the institution's staff costs, supplies and consumable goods, and property, plant and equipment. Also, the content analysis of the statements made by participants of four high-level meetings on refugees and migrants in the five-year period concluded that the UNDP, IOM and WBG have gained in authority. The content analysis showed that the institutions were more often referred to in 2016 than in the years before and that the participants emphasized the important role of these institutions.

My analysis has indicated that there is to some extent congruence between aspects of the institutional perspective and the evidence that has been collected. The institutional perspective raised the expectation that UN's refugee policy change was caused by changes in institutions. The findings have indicated that indeed some institutions have changed. For instance, WFP changed its strategic objectives and started to assist disaster-affected regions to rebuild their food delivery system. Furthermore, some institutions also experienced more structural changes. For instance, in 2003 the UNGA adopted a resolution that made UNHCR a permanent organization. Similarly, in 2016 the UNGA

adopted a resolution that included the IOM in the UN system. However, my analysis did not find any major structural changes in the other institutions that were involved.

Finally, according to the expectation derived from the cultural perspective, UN's refugee policy change should be caused by a change in the dominant discourse. For this purpose, the thesis deployed a content analysis that involved 266 statements by Member State representatives, NGOs and UN officials that participated in four high-level meetings on refugees and migrants in the period between 2011 and 2016. As is indicated in Table 8, the new paradigm did not gain dominance, because the actors remained concerned about issues related to the original paradigm. However, the term resilience building did occur more often, especially during the World Humanitarian Summit on May 2016. Nevertheless, for many participants of the policy process, the protection of refugees against violence remained the matter of highest priority. Therefore, the dominant discourse did not change.

In conclusion, my analysis found that the rational and cultural perspectives on public policy have a relatively low degree of explanatory leverage in this case. In contrast, the findings show that the theoretically derived expectations from the political and institutional perspectives on public policy can to a certain extent be confirmed. This implies that both perspectives have to some extent a similar and relatively high degree of explanatory leverage.

# 5. Conclusion

In conclusion, the original policy of the UN to address the refugee and migrant issue proved ineffective and inefficient. The influx of refugees and migrants put pressure on the limited resources that were available and had a negative impact on host communities. Consequently, Member States, UN entities, and actors from civil society and private sector urged the UNGA to change its refugee policy and include a more holistic approach. This holistic approach was embodied in the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants that was adopted in 2016. The declaration has represented a paradigm shift in the way in which states, international organizations and civil society respond to refugees and migrants. This chapter provides an answer to the central research question and discusses which theoretical perspective on public policy best explains the policy change. Additionally, it discusses the limitations that were encountered while conducting the research. Finally, this chapter presents the theoretical and practical implications of the findings of this thesis and provides directions for future research.

## 5.1 Answer to the research questions

This thesis aimed to enhance the understanding of the policy process that led to the adoption of the New York Declaration and to critically assess competing policy theories in order to determine their explanatory leverage in this specific case. For this purpose, this thesis formulated a central research question and sub-questions. This section provides answers to these questions.

**Sub-question 1:** *What are the core assumptions of the theoretical perspectives on public policy and how do they explain policy change?*

An extensive discussion on the core assumptions of the theoretical perspectives has been provided in the theoretical framework in chapter two. Four perspectives were included in this thesis. The first perspective was the rational perspective. The rational perspective on public policy emphasizes the role of knowledge and information in the policy process. The rational perspective assumes that policy change is caused by the emergence of new knowledge and information. In addition, the political perspective assumes that the policy process is characterized by actors or group of actors that form advocacy coalitions and are continuously involved in strategic interactions to further their interests. Hence, the political perspective assumes that policy change is caused by a power shift between the different advocacy coalitions involved in the policy process. Furthermore, the third perspective

emphasizes the role of institutions. This institutional perspective assumes that the policy process is characterized by uncertainty and complexity and that actors develop institutions to provide structure. Consequently, according to the institutional perspective, policies change when institutions change. Finally, the cultural perspective points out that social interactions form the social reality that surrounds the policy process. In this regard, policies change when dominant discourses change.

**Sub-question 2:** *Based on empirical evidence, how do the theoretical perspectives on public policy explain the latest development in the United Nations refugee policy?*

Based on the empirical findings presented in chapter four, this thesis concludes that each theoretical perspective has a different approach towards explaining the latest development in UN's refugee policy. For instance, the expectation derived from the rational perspective implied that UN's refugee policy changed because of the emergence of new knowledge. My analysis showed that the emergence of new knowledge has been present throughout the policy process. PDES published seventeen out of 80 studies that focused on concepts related to the new policy paradigm in the period between 2011 and 2016. The content analysis of the texts of these studies implied that knowledge that stressed the importance of resilience building activities did emerge. For example, the seventeen studies mentioned integration 575 times, education 337 times and employment 213 times.

In addition, the political perspective explains that changes in the distribution of power among advocacy coalitions have led to the policy change. My analysis found that the resources of the institutions related to the new policy paradigm changed. I found that although UNDP's financial resources decreased by 36.5%, the financial contributions by Member States to the IOM increased by 32.5%. Also, the material resources of both institutions increased by approximately USD 416 million in the period between 2011 and 2016. UNDP, IOM and WBG also gained in authority. During four high-level meetings between 2011 and 2016, more and more Member States referred to UNDP, IOM and WBG and championed their work with regards to approaching the refugee and migrant issue.

Similarly, the empirical findings indicated that there is to some extent congruence between the expectation derived from the institutional perspective and the evidence that has been collected. The institutional perspective raised the expectation that UN's refugee policy change was caused by changes in institutions. My analysis has indicated that indeed some institutions have changed. For instance, WFP changed its strategic objectives. Besides the provision of food to disaster-affected regions, WFP also started to assist these regions to rebuild their food delivery system. Nonetheless, some institutions also experienced more structural changes. For instance, in 2003 the UNGA adopted a resolution that made UNHCR a permanent organization. Similarly, in 2016 the UNGA adopted a

resolution that included the IOM in the UN system. However, my analysis did not find any major changes in the other institutions that were involved.

Moreover, according to the expectation derived from the cultural perspective, UN's refugee policy change should be caused by a change in the dominant discourse. For this purpose, the thesis deployed a content analysis involving 266 statements by Member State representatives, NGOs and UN officials that participated in four high-level meetings on refugees and migrants in the period between 2011 and 2016. The content analysis showed that the actors remained mostly concerned about issues related to the original paradigm. For many participants of the policy process, the protection of refugees against violence remained the matter of highest priority. The terms related to the original paradigm occurred more often than terms related to the new paradigm, except for during the 2013 High-Level Dialogue. During the meeting, 88 terms related to the original paradigm compared to 146 related to the new paradigm. Still, terms related to the original paradigm occurred more often compared to terms related to the new paradigm in the statements that were made during the World Humanitarian Summit and UN's Summit on Refugees and Migrants that both took place in 2016. During the World Humanitarian Summit, the statements included 126 terms related to the original paradigm and 107 terms related to the new paradigm. Likewise, during UN's Summit on Refugees and Migrants, terms related to the original paradigm occurred 102 times and terms related to the new paradigm occurred 88 times.

***Central research question:*** *Which theoretical perspective on public policy best explains the adoption of the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants by the United Nations General Assembly in 2016?*

All in all, this thesis concludes that it has proved difficult to select only one theoretical perspective and state that it has the most explanatory leverage. On one side, it is possible to state that the rational and cultural perspectives have less explanatory leverage because the analysis indicated that the role of knowledge did not receive enough attention and that the dominant discourse did not change. On the other side, the political and institutional perspectives have to some extent a similar degree of explanatory leverage because the resources of the institutions, as well as two of the institutions responsible for the implementation of the new paradigm did change. By increasing the resources of the institutions related to the new paradigm and making IOM and UNHCR permanent UN entities, the UNGA cleared the path for a more comprehensive approach towards refugees and migrants.

## 5.2 Limitations

This thesis encountered three types of limitations while conducting the research. The first limitation was concerned with the text limit that was allowed. The main reason for why this thesis only focused on one theory per perspective was to remain within the text limit. Although a maximum of 25,000 words seems a lot, it has proved to be only enough to describe and discuss one policy theory per theoretical perspective. Additionally, time was of a great concern during the preparation of this thesis. In spite of the fact that an entire semester was dedicated to the realization of this thesis, it was only feasible to focus on specific documents from a specific period of time and include four high-level meetings in the content analysis. Mainly due to this reason, this thesis did not include studies and evaluations that were issued outside of the UN. The third limitation was related to the limited academic resources that were available. This thesis only involved publicly available documents and was not possible to access unrecorded negotiation sessions in UN amongst parties to come to a decision or position. Although this thesis has been to a certain degree affected by the encountered limitations, it is believed that the findings still have social and theoretical relevance. More importantly, this thesis opens avenues for future academic research, which will be addressed in the following section.

## 5.3 Implications and directions for future research

Regardless of the limitations of this thesis, the findings of this thesis have theoretical, as well as practical implications. The main theoretical implication is the fact that this thesis proved that the multi-perspective approach that has emerged relatively recently is well applicable in the case of the adoption of the New York Declaration. Although this thesis was not able to add to the theoretical refinement, it did provide empirical evidence that confirms many of the assumptions of the different theories on policy-making that were included in the research. In addition, the findings of this research have practical implications. This thesis aimed to enhance understanding of the policy process that led to the adoption of the New York Declaration. This thesis has also helped UNHCR and associated institutions to reflect on where UN's latest refugee policy came from. The analysis concluded that the political perspective holds most explanatory leverage. This implies that policy-makers or other actors that want to alter the course of UN's refugee policy should do so by mobilizing advocacy coalitions. The thesis found that the policy did not primarily change because of emergence of new knowledge or changes in institutions and discourses, but by collective action and strategic interactions that led to a

power shift among different advocacy coalitions. Policy-makers that are aware of this fact can better anticipate policy changes and participate in the policy process in the future.

Moreover, this thesis recommends that future study initiatives should include policy theories that were not addressed in this thesis. New insights and knowledge can be gained from applying theories such as historical institutionalism, multiple streams framework, and punctuated-equilibrium theory to the case that has been central in this thesis. In addition, further research should broaden the empirical scope and include interviews with relevant policy-makers to determine their impact on the policy change. More studies should incorporate the multi-perspective approach because there is still much ground to be covered with regards to theoretical refinement.

# List of references

Agblorti, S. (2011). Refugee integration in Ghana: the host community's perspective. UNHCR PDES.

AgendaForHumanity. (2016). World Humanitarian Summit. Retrieved from Agenda For Humanity: https://www.agendaforhumanity.org/resources/world-humanitarian-summit#statements-leader's-segment-statements. Accessed 15 June 2018.

Allison, G.T., (1969). Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis. *The American Political Science Review*. 63. pp. 689-718.

Azorbo, M. (2011). Microfinance and refugees: lessons learned from UNHCR's experience. UNHCR PDES.

Babbie, E. (2013). *The Practice of Social Research* (Vol. 13). Toronto, Canada: Nelson Education, Ltd.

Baumgartner, F. R., Jones, B. D., & True, J. L. (2007). Punctuated equilibrium theory: Explaining stability and change in public policy-making. In P. A. Sabatier (Ed.) *Theories of the policy process* (155-187). Boulder: Westview Press.

Baxter, P., & Jack, S. (2008). Qualitative Case Study Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers. *The Qualitative Report*. 13(4), 544-556.

Bekkers, V., Fenger, M., & Scholten, P. (2017). *Public Policy in Action: New Perspectives on the Policy Process*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishers.

Blatter, J., & Blume, T. (2008). In Search of Co-variance, Causal Mechanisms or Congruence? Towards a Plural Understanding of Case Studies. *Swiss Political Science Review*. 14 (2). 315-356.

Blatter, J., & Haverland, M. (2012). *Designing case studies: Explanatory approaches in small-N research. Basingstoke:* Palgrave Macmillan.

Blatter, J., & Haverland, M. (2014). Case Studies and (Causal-) Process Tracing. In I. Engeli & C. Rothmayr Allison (Eds.) *Comparative Policy Studies: Conceptual and Methodological Challenges*. 59-83. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Brachet, J. (2015). *Beyond War and Peace: The IOM and International Migration Control in Libya*. Oxford: University of Oxford.

Boin, A., 't Hart, P., & McConnell, A. (2009). Crisis exploitation: political and policy impacts of framing contests. *Journal of European Public Policy*. 16(1). 81- 106.

Burnett, K. (2013). Feeling like an outsider: a case study of refugee identity in the Czech Republic. UNHCR PDES.

Crawford, S., & Ostrom. E. (1993). *A Grammar of Institutions.* Working Paper. Indiana University. Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis.

Crawford, S., & Ostrom, E. (1995). *A Grammar of Institutions*. *The American Political Science Review*. Vol. 89, No. 3. 582-600.

Dahl, R. (1961). *Who Governs?* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Dempsey, J. (2015, September 25). Understanding Central Europe's Opposition to Refugees. Retrieved from Carnegie Europe: http://carnegieeurope.eu/strategiceurope/?fa=61404. Accessed 8 June 2018.

Dür, A., & De Bièvre, D. (2007). Inclusion without Influence? NGOs in European Trade Policy. *Journal of Public Policy*. Vol. 27, No. 1, pp. 79–101.

Dyer, W.G., & Wilkins, A.L. (1991) Better Stories, Not Better Constructs, to Generate Better Theory: A Rejoinder to Eisenhardt. *Academy of Management Review*, Vol 16(3), pp 613-619.

Europa. (2017). The EU and the Migration Crisis. Retrieved from Europa: http://publications.europa.eu/webpub/com/factsheets/migration-crisis/en/. Accessed 10 June 2018.

Everett, S. (2003). The Policy Cycle: Democratic Process or Rational Paradigm Revisited. *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, 65-70.

Fischer, F., Miller, G., & Sidney, M. (2007) *Handbook of Public Policy Analysis: Theory, politics, and methods*. Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press.

Green, D., & Shapiro I. (1994). *The Pathologies of Rational Choice*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Gupta, K. (2012). Comparative Public Policy: Using the Comparative Method to Advance Our Understanding of the Policy Process. *Policy Studies Journal*, 40, 11–26.

Hajer, M. A. (1993). Discourse coalitions and the institutionalization of practice: The case of acid rain in Britain. In F. Fischer & J. Forester (Eds.) *The argumentative turn in policy analysis and planning*, 43 - 76. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Hanhimäki, J. (2008). *The United Nations: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Heclo, H. (1974). *Modern Social Politics in Britain and Sweden: From Relief to Income Maintenance*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Heikkila, T., & Cairney, C. (2017). Comparison of theories of the policy process. In C. M. Weible & P. A. Sabatier (Eds.), *Theories of the policy* process (4th ed.). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Howlett, M., Ramesh, M., & Perl, A. (2009). *Studying Public Policy. Policy Cycles and Policy Subsystems*. 298. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

IOM. (n.d.). Sub-Committee of Budget and Finance. Retrieved from IOM: https://governingbodies.iom.int/sub-committee-budget-and-finance. Accessed 15 June 2018.

IOM. (2016, July 25). IOM Becomes a Related Organization to the UN. Retrieved from IOM: https://www.iom.int/news/iom-becomes-related-organization-un. Accessed 15 June 2018.

Jantzi, T., & Everett, R. (2012). *Four Strategic Evaluations on the Transition from Food Aid to Food Assistance: A Synthesis*. World Food Programme.

Jolliffe, K. (2014). Ceasefires and durable solutions in Myanmar: a lesson learned review. UNHCR PDES.

Katzenstein, P. (1996). *The culture of National Security: norms and identity in world politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Kay, A. (2011). Evidence-based policy-making: the elusive search for rational public administration. *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, 70(3), 236-245.

Klijn, E., & Koppenjan, J. (2016). *Governance Networks in the Public Sector*. Oxon: Routledge.

Landau, L. (2016, September 14). U.N. 'Global Compact' May Prove Regressive for Africa's Migrants. Retrieved from Newsdeeply: https://www.newsdeeply.com/refugees/community/2016/09/14/u-n-global-compact-may-prove-regressive-for-africas-migrants. Accessed 15 June 2018.

Lehnert, M., Miller, B. & Wonka, A. (2007). Increasing the Relevance of Research Questions: Considerations on Theoretical and Social Relevance in Political Science. In Gschwend, T. & Schimmelfennig, F. (Eds.), *Research Design in Political Science: How to Practice What They Preach*. 21-33.

Levi, M. (1997). A model, a method, and a map: rational choice in comparative and historical analysis, in M.I. Lichbach and A.S. Zuckerman (eds) *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*, 19–41. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lichbach, M. I. (2009). Thinking and Working in the Midst of Things: Discovery, Explanation, and Evidence in Comparative Politics, pp. 18-71, in Mark Irving Lichbach and Alan S. Zuckerman (eds.), *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture and Structure*. 2nd. ed. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lindblom, C.E. (1959). The science of "muddling through". *Public Administration Review*, 19: 79–88.

Marks, J. (2014). Rural Refugee Resettlement: Secondary Migration and Community Integration in Fort Morgan, Colorado. UNHCR PDES.

Matthews, B., & Ross, L. (2010). *Research methods. A practical guide for the social sciences*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.

Meier, K. J. (2009). Policy Theory, Policy Theory Everywhere: Ravings of a Deranged Policy Scholar. *Policy Studies Journal* 37(1): 5–11.

Molle, W. (2014). *Governing the World Economy*. London and New York. Routledge.

Nakamura, R. (1987). The Textbook Process and Implementation Research. *Policy Studies Review*. 142–154.

Ness, E. C. (2010). The Politics of Determining Merit Aid Eligibility Criteria: An Analysis of the Policy Process. *The Journal of Higher Education* 81(1): 33–60.

Neuman, W. L. (2014). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (Vol. 7). Harlow, Essex, England.

North, D.C. (1990) *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

North, D.C. (1991) Institutions. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 5(1): 97-112.

Obi, N. (2013). A review of assistance programmes for asylum seekers and refugees in Japan. UNHCR PDES.

O'Leary. (2007). *The Social Science Jargon Buster*. London: SAGE Publications.

Omamo, Gentilini, & Sandström. (2010). R*evolution: From Food Aid to Food Assistance: Innovations in Overcoming Hunger*. World Food Programme.

Ostrom, E., Gardner, R., & Walker, J. (1994). *Rules, Games, and Common-Pool Resources.* Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Piper, A., Paul, P., & Thom, T. (2013). Refugee resettlement: 2012 and beyond. UNHCR PDES.

Pollock. (2015, November 25). PERSIAN GULF MUSLIM STATES HAVE ACCEPTED NO SYRIAN REFUGEES. Retrieved from The Daily Caller: http://dailycaller.com/2015/11/24/persian-gulf-muslim-states-have-accepted-no-syrian-refugees/. Accessed 1 June 2018.

Real-Dato, J. (2009). Mechanisms of Policy Change: A Proposal for a Synthetic Explanatory Framework. *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis* 11(1): 117–43.

Rein, M., & Schön, D. (1993). Reframing policy discourse. In F. Fischer & J. Forrester (Eds.) *The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning,* 145-167. Durham: Duke University Press.

Sabatier, P.A., & Jenkins-Smith, H. (1993). *Policy Change and Learning: An Advocacy Coalition Approach.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Sabatier, P. A., & Weible, C.M. (2007). The Advocacy Coalition Framework: Innovations and Clarifications*. In *Theories of the Policy Process*, ed. Paul A. Sabatier. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 189–220.

Sévigny, C. (2012). Starting from refugees themselves: towards an institutional ethnography of resettlement. UNHCR PDES.

Siegfried, K. (2016, August 12). How will joining the UN change IOM*? Retrieved from IRINNEWS: https://www.irinnews.org/analysis/2016/08/12/how-will-joining-un-change-iom. Accessed 1 June 2018.

Scharpf, F. (1997). Introduction: the problem-solving capacity in multi-level governance. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 4(4): 520–538.

Schlager, E. (2007). A Comparison of Frameworks, Theories, and Models of Policy Processes. In *Theories of the Policy Process*, ed. Paul A. Sabatier. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 293–319.

Schmidt, V. A. (2010). Taking ideas and discourse seriously: explaining change through discursive institutionalism as the fourth 'new institutionalism'. *European Political Science Review*, 2(01), 1–1.

Schneider, A., & Ingram, H. (1993). Social Construction of Target Populations. *American Political Science Review,* 87(3), 334–347.

Simon, H. A. (1961). *Administrative Behavior*. New York: Macmillan

Thelen, K. (1999). Historical institutionalism in comparative politics. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2(1), 369–404.

Treviranus, B., & Törngren, S. (2015). A Socio-Economic Review of Japan's Resettlement Pilot Project. UNHCR PDES.

UN. (1996, June 25). UNITED NATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MIGRATION SIGN COOPERATION AGREEMENT. Retrieved from UN: https://www.un.org/press/en/1996/19960625.sg2024.html. Accessed 15 June 2018.

UN. (2013, October 3). High-level Dialogue on International Migration and Development: "Making Migration Work". Retrieved from UN: http://www.un.org/en/ga/68/meetings/migration/. Accessed 15 June 2018.

UN. (2015). Concept Paper High Level Side Event 70th Session of the United Nations General Assembly: Strengthening cooperation on migration and refugee movements in the perspective of the new development agenda. UN.

UN. (2016a, 19 September). At summit for refugees and migrants, senior UN officials underline the importance of collective action. Retrieved from UN: https://news.un.org/en/story/2016/09/539332-summit-refugees-and-migrants-senior-un-officials-underline-importance. Accessed 15 June 2018.

UN. (2016b, November 7). More than $1 Billion Pledged at Conference, as Member States Dramatically Increase Financial Commitments to Development Activities. Retrieved from UN: https://www.un.org/press/en/2016/dev3252.doc.htm. Accessed 15 June 2018.

UN. (n.d.). Background. Retrieved from UN: https://refugeesmigrants.un.org/background-0. Accessed 15 June 2018.

UNDP. (n.d.). Resources. Retrieved from UNDP: http://infocus.undp.org/en/resources.html. Accessed 15 June 2018.

UNDP. (2014a, November 3). Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan (3RP) for Iraq. Retrieved from UNDP: http://www.iq.undp.org/content/iraq/en/home/ourwork/crisispreventionandrecovery/in_depth/3RPIraq.html. Accessed 15 June 2018.

UNDP. (2014b, November 23). UNDP and UNHCR join forces on resilience-based approaches. Retrieved from UNDP: http://www.iq.undp.org/content/iraq/en/home/presscenter/articles/2014/11/23/undp-and-unhcr-to-jointly-work-on-refugees-resilience-in-iraq.html. Accessed 5 June 2018.

UNDP. (2015). *Development approaches to migration and displacement*. UNDP.

UNGA. (2016a). *In safety and dignity: addressing large movements of refugees and migrants*. UN Secretary-General. New York.

UNGA. (2016b). I*nformal Interactive Multi-Stakeholder Hearing in support of the preparatory process towards the High-level Plenary Meeting on addressing large movements of refugees and migrants on 19 September 2016.* New York.

UNGA. (2016c) New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants: resolution / adopted by the General Assembly, 3 October 2016, A/RES/71/1, available at: http://www.refworld.org/docid/57ceb74a4.html. Accessed 15 June 2018.

UNHCR. (1997). *UNHCR Comprehensive Policy on Urban Refugees.* Geneva: UNHCR.

UNHCR. (2011). *Pledges 2011: Ministerial Intergovernmental Event on Refugees and Stateless Persons.* Geneva: UNHCR.

UNHCR. (2015, September 25). 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*.* Retrieved from UNHCR: http://www.unhcr.org/2030-agenda-for-sustainable-development.html. Accessed 15 June 2018.

UNHCR. (2016a). *Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework: from the New York Declaration to a global compact on refugees*. UNHCR.

UNHCR. (2016b, November 2). With Refugees Campaign. Retrieved from UNHCR: http://www.unhcr.org/world-refugee-day.html. Accessed 3 May 2018.

UNHCR. (n.d.). Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework Delivering more comprehensive and predictable responses for refugees*.* Retrieved from UNHCR: http://www.unhcr.org/comprehensive-refugee-response-framework-crrf.html. Accessed 15 June 2018.

UNMEETINGS. (2016, September 19). Statements. Retrieved from UNMEETINGS: https://papersmart.unmeetings.org/ga/71st-session/unga-high-level-meeting-on-refugees-and-migrants/. Accessed 15 June 2018.

UNRIC. (2016, December 5). UNHCR calls for a more coherent EU response to the refugee crisis. Retrieved from UNRIC: https://www.unric.org/en/latest-un-buzz/30399-unhcr-calls-for-a-more-coherent-eu-response-to-the-refugee-crisis. Accessed 12 June 2018.

Watson, T. (2011). Refugees as citizens, employees and customers: settlement support in an Australian town. UNHCR PDES.

Weible, C.M., Siddiki, S.N., & Pierce, J.J. (2011). Foes to Friends: Changing Contexts and Changing Intergroup Perceptions. *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis*: *Research and Practice* 13(5): 499–525.

WFP. (2015). *WFP Position Paper*. Rome: World Food Programme.

World Bank. (2015, December 14*).* Call for Ideas to Improve Development Response for Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons*.* Retrieved from World Bank: http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2015/12/14/call-for-proposals-world-bank-to-help-catalyze-ideas-to-improve-development-response-to-forced-displacement. Accessed 12 June 2018.

World Bank. (2016a, May 23). Joint Statement by the Multilateral Development Banks at the World Humanitarian Summit Responding to the Forced Displacement Crisis*.* Retrieved from World Bank: http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2016/05/23/joint-statement-by-the-multilateral-development-banks-at-the-world-humanitarian-summit. Accessed 15 June 2018.

World Bank. (2016b, September 19). Remarks by World Bank Group President Jim Yong Kim at the High-Level Meeting on Addressing Large Movements of Refugees and Migrants. Retrieved from World Bank: http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/speech/2016/09/19/remarks-by-world-bank-group-president-jim-yong-kim-at-the-high-level-meeting-on-addressing-large-movements-of-refugees-and-migrants. Accessed 15 June 2018.

Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case study research: Design and methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Zahariadis, N. (2014). Ambiguity and Multiple Streams. In *Theories of the Policy Process*, 3rd ed., edited by Paul A. Sabatier and Christopher M. Weible, 25–57. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.