Erasmus University, Rotterdam

Erasmus School of Social and Behavioural Sciences

Master's in Governance of Migration and Diversity

Refugee Crisis and Research-Policy Nexus:

Dialogue structures within contested context in the cases of Germany and Slovakia

(Master thesis)

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List of abbreviations:

BAMF = Federal Office of Migration and Refugees

BIM = Berlin Institute for Empirical Integration and Migration Research;

BMAS = Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs

BMI = Federal Ministry of Interior

DIW = German Institute for Economic Research;

efms = European Forum for Migration Studies;

IAQ = Institute for Work, Skills and Training;

IAW = Institute for Applied Economic Research;

IKG = Institute for interdisciplinary research on conflict and violence;

IMIS = Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies;

InZentIM = Interdisciplinary Centre for Integration and Migration Research;

ISAM = Institute for Social Policy and Labour Market Research (ISAM) of the University of Koblenz;

IW = Cologne Institute for Economic Research;

IZA = Institute of Labour Economics;

MZES = Mannheim Centre for European Social Research;

NCP IOM = National Contact Point at International Organisation for Migration

RWI = Leibniz Institute for Economic Research;

SVR = The Expert Council of German Foundations on Integration and Migration;

WZB = Berlin Social Science Centre.

1. Introduction

Migration is a very intricate issue in policy-making, since the economy of the sending and receiving country can, in general, profit from e.g. remittances or access to the cheap labour force, but persuading public of its benefits is a much more difficult task. Freeman (1995) introduced the term 'client politics' which explains the fairly restrictive anti-immigrant rhetoric of political actors combined with very inclusive policies, by the fact that pro-migration groups, such as business lobbies, or even science, can organise their interests around central analogies more effectively than diffused 'bearers of the costs', like the public, that cannot mobilise their policy ideas that easily. The refugee crisis, however, impeded this structure when the public concentrated their beliefs in anti-immigrant parties that swept away elections in many European states. By more restrictive public, political actors followed a similar discourse, which might, in the end, toughen the position of science because scientific knowledge can rarely change one´s beliefs or ideology (Sabatier, 1998, p. 104).

Research-policy dialogues captured the interest of many scholars for several decades (Weiss, 1979; Wittrock, 1991; Weingart, 1999), however, many empirical findings changed since then. The description of the policy-makers 'on top' and scientists 'on tap' (Hoppe, 2005, p. 201) becomes somehow outdated, as well as depiction of science as neutral, objective or independent actor, speaking 'truth to power' (Hoppe et al., 2013, p. 284). The boundaries between science and policy become gradually blurred when scientists replace policy-makers in their ordinary political roles or in cases when policy dictates which research is politically and socially relevant. The scholars characterise this development as 'scientification of politics' (Wildavsky, 1979) and 'politicisation of science' (Weingart, 1999), while Hoppe et al. (2013, p. 287) defines both, over-scientisation and over-politicisation as a failure of boundary work because the actors have ignored clear demarcation issues.

The politicisation of science is apparent especially in the policy problems that are intractable, because they generate disagreements even among expertise, and therefore, they cannot be resolved only by looking at the facts (Rein and Schon, 1996). Some of these 'wicked' problems might be reframed into urgent questions when a window of opportunity opens (Meuleman & Tromp, 2010, p. 211). Policy-making, set in an urgent manner, could then result in a shift from network governance to more hierarchy (ibid). The sense of urgency can either temporarily limit a knowledge transfer to a concrete policy measure when policy-makers avoid including diverse array of actors simply by claiming that they need to agree on the policy fast, or it can, from rationalist perspective, create more demand on knowledge production, anchoring

the policy-making in evidence. Hence, studying the interactions between expertise and policy becomes a very vivid, fluid and complex task that could bring a unique insight into how research and policy cooperate in developing new policies within the politicised context.

The main goal of the thesis is to explain and understand the variables that affect the role of knowledge in research-policy dialogue structures, focused on the labour market integration, within a highly politicised context, caused by the refugee crisis. This means that the refugee crisis and the politicisation it carries, represent a cause while alterations in dialogue structures pose as an outcome of the process. The study then focuses on the relationship between the cause and the outcome, through defining and analysing the variables, and explaining the problem facet as a whole (Morgan, 1986; Stone, 2003, Bekkers et al., 2017). This is done by applying four different perspectives in the policy process, resp. rational, political, cultural and institutional approach, offering main theoretical framework of the study. Their logic, and variables, they are using, complement each other and that´s why, all of the perspectives together can grasp the complexity of the issue and find out which indicators were present in the process and which perspective has more explanatory power.

The reality might be perceived very subjectively, and since the thesis looks at the cooperation between two main groups, resp. policy-makers and researchers, their social constructs of the problems might vary. Four perspectives then offer an important multiplicity that counts with a diverse array of possible outcomes of the independent variable, the crisis and the policy dynamics within it, and either change or stability. In example, if a significant change could be explained by the political perspective, then researchers might adapt for similar events in the future, as e.g. get access to power through building stronger coalition with policy-makers who share the same policy beliefs in order to pursue their interest, or if only rationalism proves to be present, scientists could then focus more on knowledge production that could more likely contribute to a change in the policy within contested environments than any other strategies.

The main research question is as following: *How did the refugee crisis reshape the dialogue structures of the research-policy nexus in labour market integration policy in Germany and Slovakia, according to the rationalist, political, cultural and institutional perspective?*

Two cases of the most-dissimilar nature, Slovakia and Germany, were chosen for a deeper analysis. Germany as a state with a decades-long migration experience was also one of the countries where the refugees applied for asylum the most (Eurostat, 2018a). But Germany

also tried to pose as a role-model for European states on how to tackle the migration problem (Holmes & Castañeda, 2016). On the other hand, Slovakia had more of an emigration, than an immigration problem, at least until the refugee crisis. After the crisis, the country found itself under the threat of potential newcomers in such a scale for the first time in its young history. Germany also went through the politicisation in migration and integration already in 2000s (Scholten & Verbeek, 2015), which was followed by an/the institutionalisation of the research-policy dialogues afterwards. On the other hand, Slovakia experienced politicisation only recently since the migration-related policies were not a priority on the policy agenda. Thus, politicisation could have diverse effects on these two cases that have a different starting point, but the two countries ended-up tackling the same questions within the science and policy dialogues due to the crisis. In the end, the threat of immigration in case of Slovakia might have even had analogical consequences for dialogue structures to the actual presence of immigrants in Germany.

The main method selected in the study is congruence analysis and process-tracing, mapping out and evaluating theoretical causal mechanisms between the independent (refugee crisis and policy dynamics) and dependent variable (dialogue structures). Process-tracing uses the information gathered through literature review of the two cases, which is complemented by semi-structured interviews with researchers and policy-makers in order to get better understanding of the cooperation between science and policy. Since process-tracing is very case-oriented, it is supplemented by the congruence analysis as a theory-centred method, going beyond a normal format of hypothesis that is narrowed down to the theory and causal inferences. It is based on deductively predicting scenarios that fit to the logic of a certain theory, and then inductively detects if the parts of the scenarios could be explained by the chosen theory. Therefore, rather than validating a short hypothesis, more detailed description of ideal scenarios predicted by the specific theory have been chosen as an approach that fits to the research design better. Congruence analysis is especially useful when the research works with multiple theories, as in this research, that could prove to be explanatory at least in some of their indicators because hypotheses might be proven only rarely in all of their respects.

The data collected from the adopted policies and relevant documents, as well as from the semi-structured interviews, will be analysed by the directed content analysis. All four theoretical perspectives, as coding categories, work with the causal mechanisms, indicators that by their presence or absence, determine if the perspective is applicable in reality or not.

The main take-home message of the research is that politicisation incites more dialogue between different stakeholders, because policy-makers are expected to present effective policies to the public. This means that in cases when the research-policy dialogue is well-embedded in the policy-making process already before the politicisation, it results in inclusion of more expertise, more networking between different research fields and more budget allocation for evidence-based policy-making. On the other hand, politicisation impedes the research that does not have an institutionalised dialogue with the policy-makers already before the crisis, limiting the potential of policy learning that could generate a fundamental policy change. The policy-makers then might substitute the role of research by other actors, such as businesses, whose interests in the labour market integration policy are of the key interest for the state and economy.

The study is structured into six chapters, starting with the introduction that presents what is already known about the dialogue structures and the effect of politicisation, followed by a theoretical framework and methodology, that firstly, includes the main concepts around which an analysis will be constructed, and secondly, how the analysis will be executed. The next two chapters will be focused on the cases of Germany and Slovakia, in which research findings will be listed. These are consequently compared in the following chapter on comparison of the outcomes in the case studies, supplemented with the theoretical implications for a larger set of cases. Lastly, the conclusion summarises the main points of the research, while it also offers some future proposals that could improve the position of research in the contested setting.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. Dialogue Structures

This chapter will introduce a theoretical framework of the dialogue structures that play an important role in the research design. Hoppe (2005) reconstructed theory in eight models of potential cooperation between research and policy that offers deeper understanding of the variants in the dialogue. Hence, the indicators of different models have been identified in order to find out which models the cooperation between expertise and policy speak to.

Science and policy could be seen as two worlds characterised by a gap in the language, values or even terminology (Caplan 1979; Haddow & Klobas, 2004), which nevertheless, influence each other through established relations within dialogue structures. The 'scientification of policy' is one of the examples in which science kept its authority in politics through 'speaking truth to the power' (Weingart, 1999; Hoppe, 1999; Sedlačko & Staroňová, 2015). On the other hand, 'politicisation of science' means that politics implies the criteria of relevance on science (Weingart, 1999; Hoppe, 2005), that could be more visible in contested issues that cannot be solved merely by looking at the facts (Schön & Rein 1994).

Fig. 1: Types of the Dialogue Structure
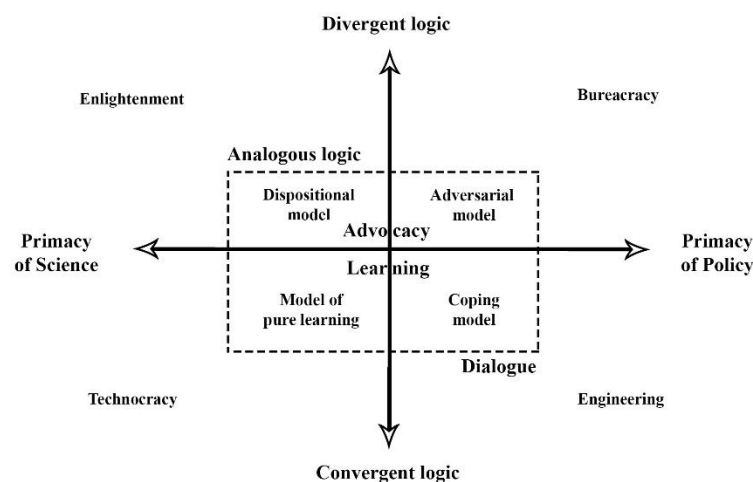
Source: Author according to Hoppe (2005), Wittrock (1991).

Hoppe (2005) established a boundary work in the dialogue structure, divided along the axes of 'primacy' and 'logic of social function'. There are three main dimensions in place, resp. technocratic, by which science dominates policy, decisionist, where policy is a primary actor and pragmatist, where there is no clear primacy, only dialogue (Hoppe, 2005, p. 207). Wittrock (1991, p. 338) divides the logic, under which science and policy operates, into diverse

(divergence), unitary (convergence) or analogous. Under diverse logic, boundaries between science and policy are cleared demarcated, whereas in unitary logic, they become rather blurred. Analogous logic, present in the dialogue models, states that operating mode of research and policy are "not identical, but are roughly analogous and compatible" (Wittrock, 1991, p. 344).

Tab. 1.: Definitions of Models in the Dialogue Structure

Key concepts		Definition	Analysed Indicators
Technocracy model	**Primacy of science**	This model believes in convergence between science and politics, while science becomes the crucial actor in policy-making. Researchers and policy-makers are in a constant interaction, while the researchers can change the positions in the system, resp. become (and replace) policy-makers because knowledge had overtaken the administrative and political world (Winner, 1997; Fischer, 1990). This way, science 'speaks truth to power' (Hoppe, 2011; Wildavsky, 1979).	No clear division between policy-makers and researchers, primacy of science, policy copies the research findings and recommendations, science displacing policy, scientists in political roles (agenda-setting, policy formulation, implementation, etc.), depoliticization
Enlighten-ment model		There is a clear division between science and policy in which the policy is based on the knowledge, but scientists are not responsible for political roles of applying, transferring and disseminating this knowledge (Hoppe, 2005). Science offers objective truth, helps with conceptualisation of terms, defining policy objectives and solutions, however, policy-makers are responsible for implementing them (ibid).	Divergence between policy-makers and scientists, primacy of science, policy copies the research, policy-makers in the typically political roles (decision-making, policy implementation, etc.), scientists responsible for research (e.g. evaluation), …
Bureaucratic model	**Primacy of policy**	This model is based on divergence between science and policy, in which knowledge is gathered and researchers are recruited for political power (Downs, 1967; Barker & Peters, 1993). Policy-makers hold primary position, while scientists should become "loyal servants of the public cause." (Hoppe, 2005). Research then provides data needed for policy-makers to develop policies and reach decisions (Scholten et al. 2015, p. 5).	Clear division between policy-makers and scientists, rational interest of policy-makers in supporting their policies in knowledge, (non)usage depends on the policy-makers, primacy of policy, researchers provide data that is basis for developing policies and reaching decisions
Engineering model		It refers to convergent logics, in which policy preserves its primacy in policy-making. Policy is usually assigned by policy-makers, whereas data collection and projects should be "engineered" by researchers. Science is then agent and policy is a principal (Guston, 1996)	Convergent relationship between science and policy, primacy of policy, knowledge production dependent on policy-makers, policy-makers choose which expertise fits them
Pragmatist models (no clear primacy)			
Adversarial model	**Advocacy models**	Politics is organised in a form of non-violent power struggle, in which researcher´s main role is to legitimise the interests and political stands of the involved political actors, so-called "research-as-ammunition" by which the political debate improves as it should be based on the scientific arguments because ideally, everyone should have access to expertise (Lindblom, 1990). Science is one among many voices that enable political debate (Hoppe, 2005).	Analogous logic between policy-makers and researchers, not a clear primacy, political non-conflict debate supported by science, scientists providing information that policy-makers use to legitimise their policy proposals, science only one of many voices

Dispositional model		Science and policy form a discourse coalition, in which they both follow the same central analogy (Hajer, 1995). Science, if needed, brings new concepts, data and knowledge into the debate that connects the practice and knowledge (Hoppe, 2005; Shackley & Wynne, 1996).	Analogous logic between policy-makers and researchers, not a clear primacy, science and policy share the same discourse, science produces data to bring the discourse into policy-making
Model of pure learning	**Learning models**	Policy is perceived as a set of hypotheses about the causal link between specific acts and desired future state, while policy-making is seen as a social experimentation (Hoppe, 2005). Learning about mistakes through evaluation of the policy is needed in order to eliminate problems in the future. This type of learning goes smoother between actors who share the same advocacy group, whereas learning between advocacy group with different policy beliefs is very difficult. Science is one of the actors within the process of social learning through a debate (ibid).	Analogous logic between policy-makers and researchers, not a clear primacy, focus on learning based on evaluation of previous policy steps (if current policy-making responds to the recommendations and evaluation done by researchers), crucial is a debate between scientists and policy-makers in order to build more effective policy
Coping model		The model focuses on a process of problem-coping, not on a learning per se. Policy-makers engage in a debate between different stakeholders that is led by their common sense and practical knowledge, while the scientists are asked for their input only occasionally (Lindblom & Cohen, 1979; Lindblom, 1990).	Analogous logic between policy-makers and researchers, not a clear primacy, focus on problem-coping, scientists are not part of the debate regularly, bounded rationality (knowledge and experience policy-makers have)

Source: Author according to Hoppe (2005).

2.2. Four Perspectives in the Policy Process

Set of four theoretical approaches, resp. rational, political, cultural and institutional, are on one hand intertwined, but they are also diverging. They provide different explanations on how society and politics function, how specific actors operate in the society and how different variables affect their behaviour (Morgan, 1986; Stone, 2003). They use different 'conceptual lens' (Bekkers et al., 2017, p. 75) and focus on different variables which enable better understanding of a complex relations in the dialogue structures.

Applying all four perspectives could bring more insight into to the power relations between science and policy, role of the knowledge, into what effect socially constructed narratives of identity and nation or institutional setting have over research-policy dialogue. For each perspective, there is an 'ideal state' taken into account, which refers to optimal conditions for the existence of only one perspective, e.g. in rationalism, elements of other three perspectives are omitted. Hence, together, the perspectives provide a set of expectations that might be proven only in certain indicators, meaning that the inclusion of only one perspective out of four, might significantly hinder the research findings. Omitting other three theoretical lenses could restrict different outlooks on the reality, and thus, all four of them need to be taken into account.

The perspectives are applied for explaining the independent variable, the policy dynamics, either as positive feedback in a form of rapid and fundamental policy change, that occurred as a reaction to the crisis, or as negative feedback, promoting policy stability or only incremental changes (Bekkers et al., 2017, p. 269). When talking about policy change, especially regarding the role of knowledge in the dialogue structures, it is inevitable to mention policy learning, as one of the factors, accounting for policy change (ibid, p. 246). Hall (1993: 278) distinguishes between first-order learning, altering policy instruments and their usage in practice; second-order learning, focusing on choice and selection of policy instruments; and third-order learning, adjusting policy goals and priorities, affecting also the position of the relevant actors, referring to non-incremental change.

Dunlop and Radaelli (2013) developed this typology by adding the factor of tractability, which shortly means that in cases when a problem is intractable, uncertainty becomes high, and learning is expected to occur at the level of second or third order, while in contrast, tractable problems mean less uncertainty and learning is most likely happening at the level of first or second order. In this research, the refugee crisis could be perceived as a cause to many uncontrollable problems, making the policies uncertain, and therefore, parallelly creating an environment fertile for higher level of policy learning and non-incremental policy change.

Each perspective entails an expectation of an ideal scenario, existing only when one of the perspectives is present separately. The expectations are not in the form of conventional hypotheses, but they have been rather constructed by using the congruence analysis. This type of analysis enables deeper insight into theories, predicting a more detailed vision of the expected outcome, while also entailing important indicators that will be later on searched for in the analysis. This way, expectations could be still validated in full extent or only partially, when their indicators will be found in the data. The theoretical perspectives explain the policy dynamics identically for both Slovakia and Germany regardless of their dissimilarities, and therefore, the expectations are the same for both cases. If a certain perspective, or their indicators prove to be present in both instances, it increases the possibility of the valid generalisation of the findings, because they are likely resistant to the divergent case pre-dispositions (institutionalised dialogue or lack thereof, a type of politicisation, etc.).

2.2.1. Rational Perspective

In rationalism, science plays an important role in effective policy-making since it helps with identifying policy problems and finding 'proven practices', that after the scientific analysis,

appeared to be instruments fit for successful policy solutions (Bekkers et al., 2017, p. 48). Lasswell (1971) claims that policy-makers should 'mobilise the best available knowledge' in order to deal with policy problems successfully. Input of science in agenda-setting and policy formulation is considered as a basis for effective policies (Wilensky, 1967; van Gunsteren, 1976), but the need for objective measurement is called upon in other stages of the policy cycle as well, especially evaluation (Colebatch et al., 2010, p. 196). Bounded rationality then helps policy-makers with making well-informed choices, necessary in policy development and implementation (Davies, 2004, p. 3).

Evidence-based policy-making has been chosen as the main rationalist theory applied in the research design. It approaches the policy change in the 'trial and error' sense, that is specifically apolitical, usually omitting any policy beliefs (Bekkers et al., 2017, p. 253). There are two main levels of learning with different feedback mechanisms, resp. single loop learning, involving improvement or launching new instruments in order to reach the original policy goal, that only entails a simple feedback mechanism, and double loop learning, changing the norms and policy goals, also as a response to gathering new information (ibid, p. 254).

Expectation n. 1 (see Tab.2):

In the logic of the evidence-based policy-making, successful policy needs to reflect scientific recommendation, and therefore, the need for expertise input in the policy-making intensifies, which means that science become a crucial actor in almost all stages of the policy cycle. The researchers are expected to experiment with different policy approaches, instruments and methods in the labour market integration, either ex post or ex ante. They map out the terrain which indicates e.g. how many newcomers are possible to integrate into the labour market or how many asylum seekers could get their asylum granted without threatening the welfare system. More pressure from policy-makers to respond to immediate policy problems connected with the refugee crisis could also evolve into establishing new research institutes which only highlights the importance of science.

Since this policy involves different aspects, the platform of the research-dialogue is expected to expand to diverse research fields (economics, law, public administration, healthcare, social welfare etc.), to get different expert insights that could, by the laws of bounded rationality, provide a well-founded basis for the policy proposals. Policy-makers still have the power in the stage of decision-making, but according to the evidence-based policy-making, the successful policies need to follow the instructions and recommendation of science.

This mainly refers to the single-loop learning, however, since the crisis might have formed a sense of urgency and need to develop effective policies, there is also a possibility for adjusting policy goals or norms, as it is within double-loop learning (see Dunlop and Radaelli, 2013). Policy-makers are then expected to change their policy positions based on the available knowledge, either if it means being more restrictive or open to integration of newcomers on the labour market.

With regard to the dialogue structures, evidence-based policy-making expects science to be involved in the policy development from its starting point until the final stage of the policy-making process. Science then almost replaces policy-makers in their roles, by which the gap between policy and expertise becomes blurred. The end result of policy consequently reflects the scientific approach, which indicates primacy of science. This, in addition to the convergent logics of the boundary work, points to the technocratic model as the ideal state of the dialogue structures within a rationalist setting.

2.2.2. Political Perspective

In contrast to rationalism, the political perspective is connected with the power struggles between diverse interdependent actors who are strategically trying to impose their interests and values into policy-making by using their power resources (Dahl, 1961). In this constant conflict, knowledge usually has a function of substantiating and legitimising certain ideas or beliefs (Bekkers et al., 2017, p. 56), which is even more visible in the politicised context where too much power in the hands of science could be 'interpreted as a threat to political primacy' (Hoppe, 2005). Regarding the policy change, knowledge or 'puzzling' is not the only factor which might cause policy adjustments, since it is challenged by 'powering', interests and resources of actors, and therefore, in reality, the interplay of both 'puzzling' and 'powering' in policy change are more common (Heclo 1974; Bekkers et al., 2017, p. 256).

Within political perspective, the *advocacy coalition framework* from Sabatier was chosen as the main theory, because it perceives other actors apart from policy-makers, such as researchers or journalists, as active members of an advocacy coalition who have their own policy beliefs. In contrast, the more traditional view portrays science as rather neutral or policy indifferent part of the advocacy coalition (Sabatier, 1998, p. 107), which might not reflect reality. Advocacy coalitions are then defined as a group of actors with diverse positions in the

policy subsystem (policy-makers, researchers, journalists etc.) who share the same set of basic values and problem perceptions which are rather resistant to change (Sabatier, 1987, p. 660).

Sabatier (1987; 1998) dissects the policy beliefs system, shared by an advocacy coalition, into three levels, respectively 'deep core' involving fundamental beliefs and norms; 'policy core' are referring to specifics of a policy problem, in regard to its definition, policy strategies or causal theories; 'secondary aspects' entail the structure of instruments. Both, the deep and policy core, are rather resistant to policy learning, while secondary aspects offer the possibility of, at least, an incremental change. Learning is also more likely to happen within a specific advocacy coalition, rather than between different coalitions, since they tend to resist any information opposing their deep or policy core (Sabatier 1998, p. 104).

Expectation n. 2 (see Tab.3):

The refugee crisis, as an external system event, changed the environment in which the policy subsystem, respectively the research-policy dialogue, works. The (threat of) influx of people alters the public opinion about migration-affected policies and the socio-economic conditions in states, by either undermining the causal assumption in the policies before the crisis, or by changing the political support of various advocacy coalitions (see Sabatier 1987). This external system event can then cause not only adjustments in the secondary aspects, but also bring non-incremental policy change in policy and deep core, as predicted by Sabatier (1987).

The crisis might threaten the welfare system, the labour market, and the economy in general, which raises anti-immigrant sentiment in the public opinion. Consequently, the advocacy coalition formed by the actors pursuing restrictive measures on migration becomes more vocal, probably even dominant, which puts the position of research, resisting such opinions, in jeopardy. Science can rarely change the ideology of others (Weiss, 1979, p. 429), but it could be used as "political ammunition" (Hoppe, 2011, p. 9), especially by the policy-makers who selectively use the knowledge to legitimise their political ideas, slowly refining the policy beliefs system through first and second-order policy learning (see Bekkers et al,. 2017, p. 260).

Due to a diverging position of expertise and policy on policy proposals, the tensions between the two main advocacy coalitions might be alleviated by policy brokers, who are important actors in finding a 'reasonable' solution and easing down the negative consequences of the conflict. In the context of constant political struggle between policy and science, the

policy-makers possess resources such as money, legal authority, and access to information that grant them power to implement their beliefs in a policy (Sabatier, 1987, p. 664). This puts science in a disadvantage, but the political perspective understands an effective policy as the one that gathers support from all relevant stakeholders (Bekkers et al,. 2017, p. 41).

When it comes to the dialogue structures, if researchers and policy-makers share the same advocacy coalition, based on similar policy norms and values, their goals gain the same structure, which refers to the analogous logic. Parallelly, the policy is constructed as an arena where each voice is considered as an advocacy plea in favour or against positions defended by other political actors (Hoppe 2005, p. 210), because the policy-makers or scientists do not have enough power for acquiring political primacy, and thus, the dialogue between different stakeholders is a means of policy-making. Science is often in the role of political ammunition. All of the above-mentioned indicators refer to the adversarial model as an ideal scenario of the political perspective.

2.2. 3. Cultural Perspective

Unlike policy in rationalism, anchored in the scientific input, in culturalism, policy attempts to connect "diverging ideas about policy issues and integrate them into a shared understanding" (Bekkers et al., 2017, p. 41), regardless of their factual nature. The interaction between different stakeholders aims at common sense-making, in which language, symbols and frames play an important role (ibid). Therefore, socially constructed problems contest objective knowledge and 'knowable' social reality (Berger and Luckmann, 1966), meaning, in the broadest sense, that personal experience and practical knowledge do not vary from scientific knowledge (Bekkers et al., 2017, p. 63). Science can then provide only one of the several frames present inside the dialogue structure. The cultural perspective does not use 'policy learning' *per se*, it mainly sees learning as a process of construction, as a social activity (Brown and Duguid, 2000). This way it manifests plurality and multiplicity of the ideas in policies as a source of innovation and creativity (Bekkers et al., 2017, p. 262), in which knowledge does not hold any superior position.

The main theory chosen within constructivism is the *discourse coalition framework* (Hajer, 1993) since it provides the possibility of dividing actors into discourse coalitions according to their values and ideas, regardless of the division between research and policy. Discourse coalitions are groups of actors who share a social construct, whose aim is to impose

their ideas on other actors by various means (Hajer, 1993, p. 45). A discourse coalition frames policy problem, chooses the right policy instruments and intervenes in order to reach their policy beliefs (Bekkers et al., 2017, p. 64). In contrast to Sabatier, discourse coalitions are held together mostly by shared discourse and ideas, while advocacy coalitions by interests and beliefs (ibid, p. 267).

Since knowledge does not hold a superior cognitive position, the discourse might change, but information poses very unlikely as an inducement for it, because discourse reflects a specific perception and understanding of reality which knowledge can rarely overthrow with just facts and data (Hajer, 1995). However, one can argue that policy change can appear with 'discourse structuration', in which "a discourse starts to dominate the way a society conceptualises the world" (ibid, p. 42) or 'discourse institutionalisation', in which discourse "solidifies into an institution, sometimes as organisational practices, or a traditional way of reasoning" (ibid, p. 46).

Expectation n. 3 (see Tab.4):

In the logic of culturalism, problems are socially constructed within historical discourses (Hajer 1993, p. 45), which, after the influx of refugees, enable revival of the narratives on preserving nation´s culture and heritage, especially so, if the country does not have any previous experience with the integration of a significant migrant population. This discourse is then expected to be controlled, not by rationally acquired knowledge, but by historical consciousness and cultural identity which changes the framing of the policy and re-establishes interaction processes within the policy issue (Bekkers et al., 2017, p. 65).

Since the policy context becomes more contested during the crisis, the public and media's interest in the topic is expected to rise, by which relations within the dialogue structures become more fragmented. Shortly, by allowing the access to diverse actors like media, interest groups and public into the research-policy dialogue, relations become more informal, flexible and ad hoc (see Scholten & Verbeek, 2015). Researchers then lose their elite access to policy-makers, and their superior cognitive position (Huberman, 1994, p. 13) because any kind of information will be perceived the same way as scientific knowledge is. The scientific justifications for allowing migrants access to the labour market will be very hard to apply in culturally influenced matters.

By acknowledging a more restrictive discourse, used by public, media or other relevant stakeholders, it becomes structured in a way how we understand the problems connected with

migration and integration of newcomers to the labour market. This policy change already makes it difficult for knowledge to convince other actors about applying a different frame (Bekkers et al., 2017, p. 268). However, after the discourse institutionalisation, the same discourse becomes an inherent part of a specific policy, which is expected to limit the possibilities of knowledge to adopt a different discourse. Facts can rarely change the institutionalised discourse that became part of the general understanding of the issue.

These changes are then expected to influence the dialogue structures. With more actors getting involved in the policy-making, it becomes difficult for one stakeholder to claim primacy, and thus, the dialogue or debate leading the policy development, in which the voice of every actor has the same cognitive value. Moreover, actors serve the same societal goal, creating consensus on the complex and politicised issues (see Schmutzer, 1994, p. 366), which indicates an analogous logic. Specifically, the dispositional model deals with discourse structuration, discursive coalitions striving for hegemony of their discourse (see Hoppe, 2005, p. 211) which is considered as an ideal scenario of the cultural perspective.

2.2.4. Institutional Perspective

Institutions are defined as "formal and informal rules that affect or even guide actors' behaviour" (Bekkers et al., p. 41), and might have a logic of their own (March & Olsen, 1989, p. 22). Their rules pose limits on the actors, control the flow of knowledge available for policy-makers and influence policy outcomes, by which they hold a character of path-dependency (Bekkers et al. 2017, p. 67). The institutional perspective helps with identifying, or even overcoming the limits institutions might pose, in issuing new policies (ibid, p. 41). The main theory selected within the perspective is *historical institutionalism*, since it brings about the question of temporality into the debate on politics and thoroughly describes the embeddedness of policy processes within an institutional context (Zysman, 1994, p. 244) which might have been changed by the critical juncture, the refugee crisis.

Institutions are seen "as the legacy of concrete historical processes" that "emerge from and are sustained by features of the broader political and social context" (Thelen, 1999, p. 382). Path-dependency patterns run on a self-reinforced logic (Krasner, 1988, p. 83), because actors adopt their behaviour to an existing logic of institutions, and also because institutions do not operate as neutral structures, but they actively empower specific groups over others (Ikenberry, 1994). Negative feedback then usually accounts for incremental changes, keeping the *status*

quo unaffected. This policy learning, so-called 'institutional layering', only leads to minor changes in parts of institutional practices that leaves the core of the institutional system and policy values intact (Thelen, 2003, p. 222). 'Institutional conversion' could appear, focusing on procedures, positions of specific actors and redistribution of resources (Thelen, 2003, p. 224; Bekkers et al., 2017, p. 273).

Positive feedback causes the policy monopoly not to mobilise its forces to keep institutional system in place. The status quo is challenged, which results in the non-incremental change (Bekkers et al., 2017, p. 273). However, in contrast to negative feedback, policy learning has very limited manoeuvre space, usually contributing to the process as 'political ammunition', legitimising or substantiating the position of policy-makers (ibid). This means, that the focus event can change the balance between policy-makers and expertise, but the knowledge does not hold many instruments to control it.

Expectation n. 4 (see Tab. 5):

The institutional perspective can help explain either the negative or the positive feedback as a reaction to the refugee crisis. In case of negative feedback, several factors are likely to play a role in the path-dependent character of the policies, since new policies, even after the crisis, are expected to mainly reflect the past policies already in place (see Pierson, 1993). Another agent of path-dependency could also be a 'group think' causing a rather coherent group logic and discourse ('t Hart, 1990, p. 59). This might be especially problematic with policy-makers who are expected to be resistant to any knowledge, opposing their views. Similarly, the concept of 'self-referentiality' could promote the path-dependent patterns because the changes in political or economic conditions can change the institutions, but without altering their 'identity of the system' (Willke, 1991). Institutional perception of reality is then re-enforced by rules or routines of the system, as in law, economics, politics (Bekkers et al. 2017, p. 271). Through the lens of path-dependency, the refugee crisis can then only cause incremental changes, in the form of 'institutional layering' or 'institutional conversion' which does not drastically affect the institutional logic and its practices.

In respect to the dialogue structures, the institutional setting of formal and informal rules in policy-making is likely to favour the policy-makers because it provides them with resources in decision-making rules, authority or power in general, referring to the primacy of policy. However, at the same time, there is a clear distinction between the roles of policy-makers and expertise. These characteristics respond to the bureaucratic model, in which

science is mainly summoned in order to serve the goals of policy-makers, and even if, in the end, policy reflects the scientific knowledge in any sense, it is most likely involved in minor adjustments, preventing the changes in the status-quo. Bureaucracy then represents the ideal outcome of institutional perspective, following the negative feedback.

However, the crisis could have also changed the institutional settings in which knowledge and policy operate, which might be reflected in adjusting the core of practices, structures and procedures in policy-making, or inviting different actors than before the crisis. Critical junctures can occur as a reaction to the intersection of different historic sequences (Mahoney 2000), which means that the position of knowledge can collide with other important factors, creating a focus event which in this case refers to the influx of refugees, pressures put on the state system or increasing media and public attention of the policies connected to migration.

If the crisis brings policy change, dialogue structures are expected to change drastically, but the potential outcomes can vary significantly. Due to the politicisation of the issue, meetings between researchers and policy-makers could become more ad hoc, open to the public, media and other relevant actors, outside of policy and expertise circles, which signalises a certain level of de-institutionalisation. Science can also play a role in this process, when it prefers using media and public, rather than the direct contact with policy-makers, for raising their awareness and interest in specific issues (Heckmann & Wiest, 2012, p. 14). The expertise is likely to play the role of 'political ammunition'(Bekkers et al., 2017, p. 273), even more so in the politicised environment. These changes in the process then evokes similar outcomes as it is presupposed in political and cultural perspective, namely the advocacy model.

On the other hand, if the dialogue between science and policy operated in informal way without any established links, the refugee crisis and a sense of urgency intensified the need for expertise to develop successful policies. This way, new research institutes might emerge and more frequent and formal meetings between science and policy-makers might be established. This means a higher level of institutionalisation (see Scholten & Verbeek, 2015), which refers to the same outcome as is expected to appear in the rational perspective, the technocratic model.

2. 3. Conclusion

This chapter showed that the theoretical perspectives might not always be contradictory, but they can be complementary. Rationalism might, on the one hand, expect the refugee crisis to evoke a sense of urgency and the need for more involvement of research in the policy-making, but on the other hand, the political perspective would predict that the crisis alters the environment in which the actors operate and eventually plays in favour of those who have resources to preserve their powerful position. It is possible though, that the budget for the scientific research in the migration issue increases (rationalism) parallelly with researchers forming coalitions with the policy-makers who might have more real power resources.

There is not only one reality and the perspectives are a convincing example of it. The indicators usually differ from one another and they portray a different understanding of the world, in which facts, power, discourse or institutional setting are the key factors that set things in motion. However, together they might explain the processes and changes that the crisis brought better. The indicators of the theoretical perspectives (see Tab. 2-5), the so-called causal mechanisms, provide the basis for the analysis. The research will specifically look for these elements in data in order to prove the (non-)existence of the theoretical perspectives in full extent or only partially. This way, it will be found out which perspectives could explain the policy dynamics better in the labour market integration policy of Germany and Slovakia.

3. Methodology

3.1. Conceptualisation and Operationalisation

The main part of operationalisation was already mentioned with the framework of Hoppe (see Tab. 1) by appointing specific indicators which would signal the existence of specific dialogue structures in Germany and Slovakia. However, there are certain terms requiring conceptualisation in order to reach a common understanding of the content in the study.

- Research-policy dialogue/nexus – interaction between researchers and policy-makers from Slovakia and Germany who are involved in the issue of labour market integration.
- Before the refugee crisis – a period of 2013 till August 2015
- Refugee crisis/After the refugee crisis – term that signifies the period from August 2015 when number of deaths in the Mediterranean Sea rapidly increased, until now (May

2018). The research operates only with two periods "before/after the crisis" because it looks at the effect of the critical juncture, the crisis, to the policy dynamics which is generally a long-term process. Therefore, dissecting the crisis as a separate period of few months might significantly influence the results and unnecessarily complicate the research design which is not desirable.

- Immigrants – foreigners who do not have citizenship of the host society and who are, or potentially will be, residing at the territory of one of the countries. Legal status will not be further specified because some actors might see asylum-seekers as illegal residents due to their illegal crossing of the Schengen borders, but they might focus policy on these people as well, since they are the biggest target group.

- Politicisation – the issue becomes a part of high-politics, public and media attention focuses on that specific problem and it becomes integrated into political debates. It does not automatically presuppose prevalence of the political perspective due to its 'political' character, because the political perspective focuses directly on conflict, power struggle, whereas politicisation holds a different meaning.

- Contestation – policy controversy in which strong disagreement exists in the nature of the policy, its solutions or used instruments. Strong disagreement in this instance means that the contested environment makes the problems intractable to which there is not an easy and straightforward solution, causing a disagreement, not only between science and policy, but also within science itself.

- Intractability – if the problems are intractable, they are too complex, and hence, missing a clear solution. Intractable problems could e.g. not be resolved only by facts, but they are usually also connected with more emotional aspects like identity, religion etc.

- Primacy of policy/science – It is either policy or science which is a central actor responsible for policy development. Their superior position in the policy-making process permits them to ignore other contradictory ideas and pursue their own agenda.

3.2. Process-Tracing and Congruence Analysis

Process-tracing was selected as the main method in the study, since it "attempts to identify the intervening causal process—the causal chain and causal mechanism—between an independent variable (or variables) and the outcome of the dependent variable" (George & Bennett, 2005, p. 206–7). Thus, it helps with identifying all intermediate factors between the crisis (cause) and the change in dialogue structures (outcome) that are expected to appear

according to the theoretical framework. The type of process-tracing that fits this research best, is the theory-testing variant, since the cause and outcome are known but the plausible causal mechanisms in between them are a subject of the hypothesis based on a chosen theory (Beach, 2017, p. 18).

Process-tracing provides instruments for solid basis of causal processes within the case, by which theorised causal mechanisms reach a higher validity (Beach & Brun Pedersen, 2013, p. 2). Causal mechanisms are defined as "processes through which agents with causal capacities operate in specific contexts to transfer energy, information or matter to other entities (Bennet, 2008, p. 207). The causal mechanisms need to be conceptualised, operationalised (see Tab. 2-5) and proven by empirical evidence in order to find out whether mechanism was present in the case and whether it functioned as it was hypothesised (Beach & Brun Pedersen, 2013, p. 14). The causal mechanisms were conceptualised as a construction of entities (researchers, policy-makers, other relevant stakeholders, research-policy dialogue etc.) and activities, on e.g. how the role of entities changed after the crisis, or how politicisation altered the interaction between entities. They are defined identically for both Slovakia and Germany, which makes the consequent comparison feasible.

However, the research design accentuates multiple theories used for a better understanding of policy change and research-policy dialogues, in which process-tracing as a case-centric method needs to be supplemented with the congruence analysis, as a theory-centred method. Congruence analysis "focuses on drawing inferences from the (non) congruence of concrete observations with predictions deduced from theories to the relevance of these theories. In order to be able to draw inferences about the relevance of the theories it is necessary that the researcher deduces predictions about what will appear in observations of the world according to these theories" (Blatter and Blume, 2007, p. 8).

As the research design works with a combination of different theories, the congruence analysis can uncover which theories could explain the given outcome through certain indicators. The analysis aims at firstly, generating *ex ante* predictions of how the process should look like, according to one of the theories, and secondly, on testing these predictions in real observations (Blatter & Blumme, 2008, p. 325). As already showed in the second chapter, the theoretical expectations are not in a common format of the hypothesis, moving beyond deductions that are "limited to the expected co-variation between dependent and independent variable" (ibid, p. 326). On the contrary, predictions usually include the most important actors, their perceptions and motivations and other structural factors which might influence the

perception of actors (Blatter and Blume, 2007, p. 8). Therefore, the expectations for every perspective are constructed based on the analysis, including the main actors as research and policy, their motivation to pursue their interests and their position in the dialogue structure that might have been altered under the contestation. The theory also encourages the researcher to fit the findings proven by the theories to a more generalised setting (Sinkler, 2011, p. 15). Comparison of two dissimilar cases can then build more solid causal inferences that could be applicable for wider arrange of research-policy dialogues.

Finding relevant evidence is an important step in proving causal mechanisms, and consequently hypothesis. Raw data gathered around the topic as observations need to be evaluated by the researcher according to the one´s contextual knowledge of the issue, by which evidence with some level of inferential value emerges (Beach & Brun Pedersen, 2013, p.120). In this research mainly three types of evidence will be used:

- Sequence – temporal and spatial chronology of events predicted by causal mechanism (Beach & Brun Pedersen, 2013, p. 99), such as establishing new research institutes as a reaction to influx of refugees
- Trace - evidence of which existence provides a proof that certain phenomenon happened (Beach, 2017, p. 14), such as comparison of public polls shows that there was either stability or change in public mood
- Account – content of empirical material (ibid), such as discussed matters during meetings between policy-makers and researchers, proving the existence of one of the indicators within the theoretical perspectives.

Tab. 2: Causal Mechanisms for the Rational Perspective

Causal mechanism	Indicators and Explanations		Evidence
Need for more scientific input	**Role of knowledge**	Science has an influence on all stages of policy-making: - agenda-setting (defining policy problems), - policy formulation (defining terms, but also the core policy) - implementation – providing policy instruments, technical aspects, guidance for those implementing policy (Colombo, 2010, p. 625). - evaluation of previous policies in order to make the future policy proposals more effective, or successful.	Account (interviews with both policy-makers and researchers), trace (literature review, document analysis)
	New institutes	Higher demand for scientific knowledge is also proven by establishment of new research centres, institutes, committees, tackling policy problems connected with migration and integration, especially in data collection, analysis and evaluation that keeps policies effective.	Trace, sequence (literature review)

	New research fields	By involving new research fields (law, economics, public administration, social welfare, healthcare, etc.), providing required policy instruments, knowledge and human capital, complex policies become inclusionary to all perspectives.	Trace, account, sequence (literature review, interviews with the researchers and policy-makers)
Policy change	**Single-loop learning**	Research had an effect only on minor changes in the newly constructed policies, its instruments or solutions.	Sequence, account (interviews with policy-makers and researchers, document analysis)
	Double-loop learning	Presenting new information became an agent of non-incremental change, altering policy norms and goals in a sense of how to approach certain policies and norms.	Sequence, account (interviews with the researchers and policy-makers, document analysis)

Tab. 3: Causal Mechanisms for the Political Perspective

Causal mechanism	Indicators and Explanations		Evidence
Policy change	**Public opinion**	Crisis brought a lot of unexpected and negative consequence in policies and state affairs, which are expected to revive anti-immigration stands by public.	Sequence, trace (statistical data, public polls)
	Support for coalitions	With more anti-immigration sentiment with public, the advocacy coalition formed by mainly policy-makers supporting this rhetoric, is expected to become more popular, even dominating.	Sequence, trace (statistical data, public polls)
	Secondary aspects	It concerns specific issues within policies of more instrumental nature, that might differ within the same advocacy coalition, which are the most likely to change (Sabatier, 1998, p. 104), such as budget allocated for integration of newcomers to labour market (NGO work, research) administrative rules, legal adjustments of restricting or expanding possibilities of refugees to enter the labour market.	Trace, sequence (document analysis of policies and laws), account (interviews with policy-makers and researchers)
	Policy core	It represents fundamental values of a certain coalition, commitments regarding a certain policy, of empirical and normative nature (Sabatier, 1998, p. 103). In example, changing perception of refugees as threat or stimuli for the economy.	Trace, sequence (policy analysis), account (interviews with policy-makers and researchers)
	Deep core	It refers to normative and ontological aspects, that are rather resistant to change, such as religion, cultural values, left/right axis on political spectrum (Sabatier, 1998, p. 103).	Trace, sequence (policy analysis), account (interviews with policy-makers and researchers)
Actors in advocacy coalitions	**Role of research**	The science mostly plays a role of political ammunition that is selectively used to legitimise or substantiate the stands of policy-makers against their opponents. Expertise is lacking necessary resources to pursue their interests alone.	Account (interviews with researchers and policy-makers)
	Policy brokers	Their main goal is to find reasonable solution between diverging advocacy coalitions, preventing conflict. They might come from political and scientific background, mediating the disagreements.	Account, trace (interviews with researchers and policy-makers)

Tab. 4: Causal Mechanisms for the Cultural Perspective

Causal mechanism	Indicators and Explanations		Evidence
Specifics of discourse	**Context of discourse**	Social constructs of problems evolve from historical discourses (Hajer, 1993, p. 45), which means that e.g. jus sanguinis can affect the approach towards migrants, or especially Muslim migration can be seen as threat to	Account (literature review, document analysis)

coalition framework		cultural and national identity, reviving the collective memory of the Ottoman Invader discourse from the past.	
	Role of knowledge	Science does not hold any cognitive superior position, competing with personal experience and knowledge of other stakeholders, which makes it difficult for expertise to change values and opinions of others only with facts. Knowledge is even more restricted by cultural and historical discourse that can take over the debate on labour migrant integration.	Account (interviews with policy-makers and researchers)
	Involvement of other actors	Crisis brings more attention and interest in the policies, by which new actors, usually without any professional training in policy development, like citizen groups, media or interest groups, become involved in policy-making. This causes more fragmentation between discourse coalitions, and even more fragmentation within.	Account, trace, sequence (interviews with policy-makers and researchers)
Policy change	Discourse structuration	It refers to a situation when certain discourse dominates the thinking of others about the world, affecting how the problem are perceived, understood and solved. With more anti-immigrant sentiment, it is expected to negatively affect manoeuvre space for (just) information to change given social construct.	Account, sequence (literature review, public polls, interviews with policy-makers and researchers)
	Discourse institutiona-lisation	Discourse has taken a form of more binding measures, such as policy, thanks to the political and public support for anti-immigrant frame, worsening the possibility of science to persuade others based just on their facts.	Account, sequence (document analysis, interviews with policy-makers and researchers)

Tab. 5: Causal Mechanisms for the Institutional Perspective

Causal mechanism	Indicators and Explanations		Evidence
Path-dependency and negative feedback	Policies locked-in	Policies on labour market integration are made within the institutional logic of previous ones, even after the crisis, preventing the status quo from changing.	Account (policy analysis, interviews with policy-makers and researchers)
	Group think	Cohesion in perceiving policy problems and solutions within one group, especially among policy-makers, could block any opposing views, e.g. from science.	Account (interviews with policy-makers and researchers)
	Self-referentiality	It refers to a social system theory, involving "differentiation of society in different systems" (law, economics, politics) (Bekkers et al., 2017, p. 271). Each system works under certain institutionalised logic and identity that is not changed even after the crisis.	Account (interviews with policy-makers and researchers), trace (policy analysis)
	Role of knowledge	Research contributes to the incremental changes and preserving status quo because policy monopoly mobilising negative feedback usually uses information to refine, not entirely adjust the policy images, or improve methods and programs for implementing their policies (Bekkers et al., 2017, p. 273).	Account (interviews with policy-makers and researchers)
	Institutional layering	Attaching new elements to institutions without replacing them, keeping the core practices unchanged, leading to policy adjustments without threatening the policy values (Thelen, 2003, p. 222). This might refer to implementation of new administrative measures, addressing the previous policies and norms.	Trace, sequence (document analysis), account (interviews with policy-makers and researchers)
	Institutional conversion	It involves change in procedures, position of actors or resources, which might refer e.g. allocating higher budget in basic aid for refugees preventing complex problems with integration from emerging.	Trace, sequence (document analysis), account (interviews with policy-makers and researchers)

		OR		
Policy change and positive feedback	**Non-incremental changes**	Crisis could bring many complex problems, creating a critical juncture, colliding with more media and public attention and knowledge input that could intensify the pressure on institutions to adapt and change to a new environment.	Trace (document analysis), account (interviews with policy-makers and researchers)	
	Role of knowledge	Knowledge, similarly as in the political perspective, plays a role of political ammunition that policy-makers selectively use to legitimise their political stands.	Account (interviews with policy-makers and researchers)	
	De-institutiona-lisation	Similarly, as in the cultural perspective, more actors become involved in the policy-making because of rising attention to the issue, by which research loses its unique access to policy-makers.	Trace, account (interviews with policy-makers and researchers)	
		OR		
	Institutio-nalisation	Policy-making is done in more professional, closed meetings between science and policy-makers, which was established due to urgency to develop effective policies after the crisis appeared.	Trace, account (interviews with policy-makers and researchers)	

3.3. Interviews

Interviewing was chosen, together with literature review as a complementary method to process-tracing and congruence analysis in order to collect enough data for the analysis. Since studying the effects of the crisis is a rather fresh topic, interviews provided needed input from the actors directly involved in the research-policy dialogue. This method is also essential in the case of Slovakia since not many scholars express an interest in studying the research-policy nexus in the country. The interviewing could provide a platform for participants to share their 'side of the story' and receive insiders knowledge that are important for this study (Fedyuk & Zentai, 2018, p. 236). With the triangulation of methods, as well as main interviewees, researchers, policy-makers and policy brokers, one is striving to reach less subjective and reliable findings from the analysis, as some respondents might overstate their central position in the process, providing biased information.

Semi-structured interviews were applied in the study, since they follow several pre-set questions providing certain coherence of the collected data from all participants, but they can be still fairly flexible in altering the sequence or content of some questions (Galletta, 2012), so they would fit to our cases. The goal of the interviews is to receive detailed information on the cooperation between science and policy in the labour market integration which could help with a deeper understanding of the topic. Interviews will be done face-to-face with carefully non-randomly selected interviewees – actors active in the labour market integration research,

always from different institutes, committees, ad hoc bodies, governmental institutions in order to get as much diverse perspectives on the topic as possible.

In Germany, there many institutes and research centres focused on the issue of migration and intercultural studies, not only for Germany itself, but also for other European states. Due to limited time and possibilities of the researcher, the most important actors were chosen in the research field, covering the areas of 'integration' and 'labour market'. For the purposes of the protection of anonymity, it is not specifically stated which actors have been interviewed, however, both policy-makers and researchers have utilised the opportunity to present their points of view, ensuring empirical triangulation. On the other hand, Slovakia does not have such a well-established knowledge production basis, but the main actors in the topic were also selected for the data gathering. Overall six interviews have been conducted in Slovakia, from which five were with the most active institutes in the topic of labour market integration, and one with the policy-maker. In Germany, six reputable institutes that are engaged in the analysis and data gathering, or even policy advice in the area of labour market integration, together with one policy-maker, have participated in the round of the interviews.

3.4. Data

Apart from conducted interviews, which represent an important part of the analysed data, there was also information used from other sources, already mentioned in the 'evidence' (see Tab. 2 – 5), addressing the causal mechanisms of process tracing. Firstly, a literature review of any existent reports, analyses, documents on the researched topic was done in order to get a clearer idea on the impact of the refugee crisis on the dialogue structures in the both countries. This refers to the 'document analysis'.

Parallelly, 'policy analysis' plays also an important part of the data collection, since certain changes in the policies could be later used by the interviews to see the motives of actors for its implementation and how big of a role research played. Policy analysis was conducted through searches in databases of national governments, especially committees interested in the issue of labour market integration, that passed new policies. The search was done through keywords such as 'migration', 'refugee', 'labour market', 'integration', 'refugee crisis'. These could also include law amendments. Both of the analyses were done before the start of the first interview in a given country in order to map out the terrain and talk to the interviewees about specific issues.

3.4.1. Data Processing

The information gathered through interviews but also from primary and secondary sources, were analysed qualitatively through directed content analysis (see Hsiu-Fang & Shannon, 2005). This type of analysis operates with an already established coding scheme based on the theory or prior research, predicting which variables should be present or what relationship will be between them (Mayring, 2000). The scheme is constructed from coding categories, that are to be found in the two main blocks of theories, namely the dialogue structures from Hoppe (2005) and four theoretical perspectives from Bekkers et al. (2017).

Firstly, all theoretical perspectives are dissected into their smallest elements, the indicators, or causal mechanisms that should explain the policy dynamics in the given case studies, but also try to predict the following change in the dialogue structures. Their presence or absence then points to the existence, or the lack of certain theoretical perspectives. However, a combination of indicators belonging to different theoretical perspectives is expected to occur, as the approaches only provide an ideal scenario of the world that is most likely not to happen in reality. The indicators of the coding categories are specifically targeted in the data gathering and analysis.

The main advantage of the directed content analysis is that it offers a possibility of extending or supporting/replacing the existing theory (see Hsiu-Fang & Shannon, 2005, p. 1283). The research could then broaden the knowledge on the effect of the crisis, carrying the politicisation of the policy, on the policy dynamics and dialogue structures. On the other hand, the analysis itself has its limitations, related to the neutrality of the researcher and confirmability of the findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The data gathered through interviews could respond to certain level of subjectivity, since the interviewees will most likely describe the reality through their personal frames, personal experience and knowledge which might not fully reflect the reality. Therefore, the information from different source types is assured, meaning that not only different actors of research-policy nexus are involved in data gathering, but also information from other sources such as documents, reports, policies, or secondary literature. This triangulation of sources, aligned with triangulation of methods should acquire a higher level of objectivity and reliability in findings, and restrict the actors in overestimating their roles in the research-policy dialogues, or overemphasising certain aspects of change, brought by the refugee crisis.

4. Germany: A Country with a Paradigm Shift in Immigration

The following chapter firstly introduces the general approach to migration and integration in Germany, together with already implemented labour market integration policies before the monitored period. This background information of the case consequently provides the basis for the analysis that focuses on the timeframe of 2013-2018 (see Fig. 2). In the analytical part of the chapter, the coding categories (theoretical perspectives) are searched for through already defined indicators. Data then uncovers which indicators were present, and which perspectives have some explanatory power in the policy dynamics. It also looks more precisely at the relationship between the refugee crisis and the change in the dialogue structures, that the theoretical perspectives were (not) able to predict.

Germany has a decades-long experience with migration waves, coming already in the 60´s as the inflow of "Gastarbeiter", transforming the German economy, or in the 90´s as refugees fleeing Yugoslav war. Currently, the foreign population in Germany reached the threshold of 10 million (Statistiches Bundesamt, 2017, p. 19). The effect of the crisis could be seen at the two-fold increase of net migration between 2014 and 2015 to almost 1.2 million.

Germany was an ethnocentric country, similarly as Slovakia, with strict naturalisation laws, but with extended civic and social rights in a form of denizenship. The deeply rooted ethno-centric understanding of the nation was based on the *jus sanguinis* principle, strengthened by the motto: "Germany is not an immigration country", which justified a lack of a coherent migration or integration legal framework (Geddes & Scholten, 2016, p. 74). This idea has changed in 90´s with a new SPD/Greens government, striving for a more inclusive approach towards immigrants, liberalising the naturalisation law and promoting Germany as an attractive destination country for highly-skilled migrants.

This shift was not met with immediate political endorsement, and therefore, in 2000, the government created an expert body (Süssmuth Commission) which should give impartial and non-party policy advice on the prepared Immigration law (Boswell, 2009, p. 111). The adoption of the law in 2005 reinforced a paradigm shift, recognising that Germany depends socially and economically on immigration[1]. Other, more conservative governments later, encouraged this new development by adopting the National Integration Plan in 2007 laying down the basis for the integration policy (Die Bundesregierung, 2007).

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[1] Zuwanderungsgesetz, § 1.

Fig.2: Timeline of the Events in Germany (2013-2018)

31
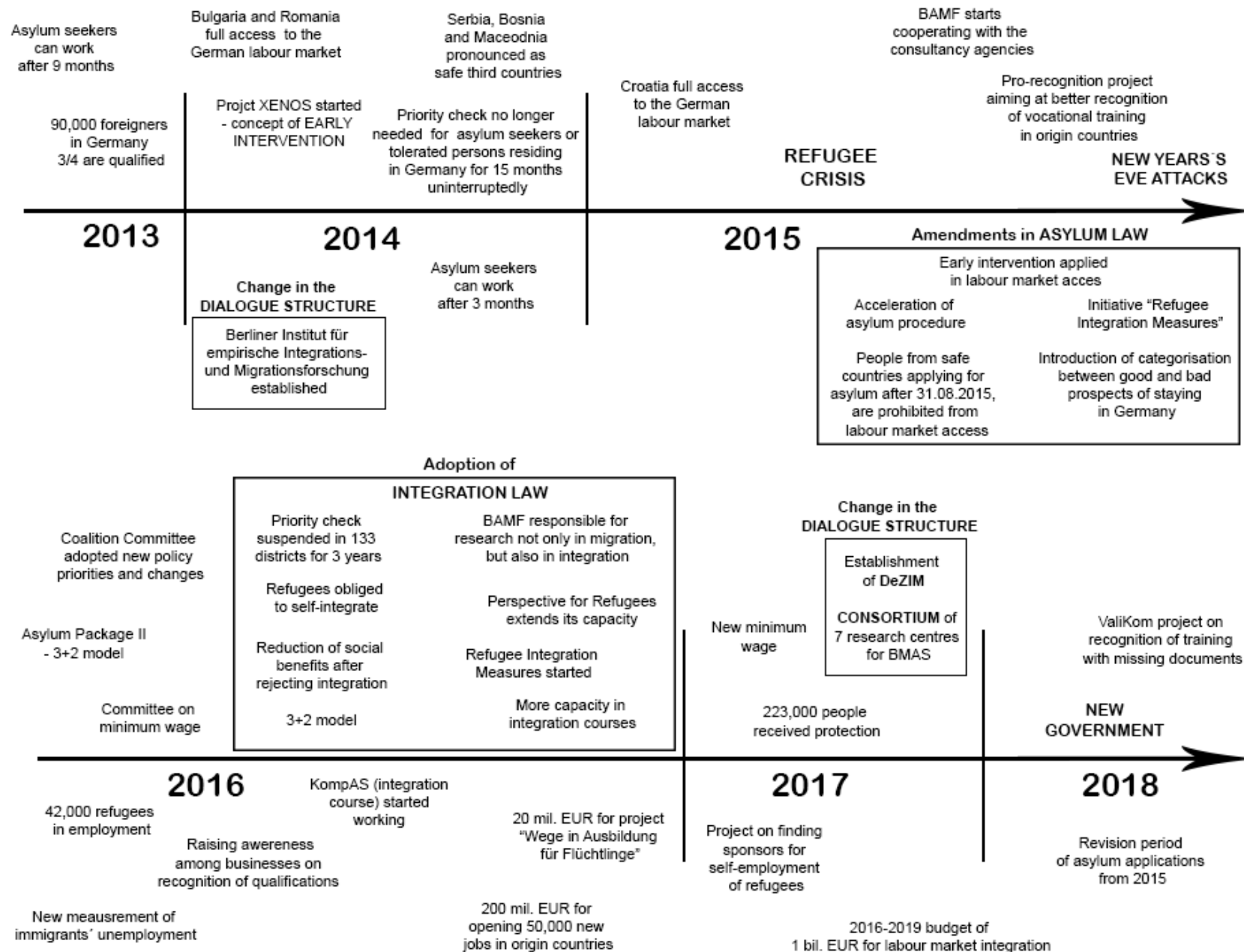
The Immigration Law brought a significant change in the dialogue structures, by establishing the Research centre at the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF), subordinate office to the Federal Ministry of the Interior (BMI). Its main goal was to produce "analytical evidence for migration management"[2], undertaking three main activities such as analysis, evaluation and policy advice (BAMF, 2011).

Another institutional change, adopted by the Immigration Law, was the establishment of the Immigration Council, successor of the Süssmuth Commission, consisting of representatives of the academic sphere, but also social partners and local authorities, preparing the annual migration report, as a set of recommendations for the migration and integration management (Boswell, 2009, p. 166). The existence of the Commission came to an end after publishing only one report, as the parliament did not approve funding in the consecutive years, which was, according to a senior researcher, result of BAMF overstretching its power over scientific outputs of the Council. The attempts of policy-makers to influence the independence of research has in 2008 led to the establishment of the Expert Council on Integration and Migration, supported solely by private actors, ensuring non-partisan policy advice (SVR, 2018).

In 2012, a new law on recognition of qualification acquired abroad was implemented, improving the conditions for employing qualified foreigners (Köhling et. al, 2017, p. 50) since almost three quarters of foreigners living in Germany before the crisis had a residence permit for the purpose of employment (Migrationsbericht, 2013, p. 59). The qualified migrants who could be employed in the bottleneck occupations, can access the labour market even more easily (Migrationsbericht, 2013, p. 58), otherwise, foreigners are subjects to a priority check implemented by the Federal Employment Agency (BA), ensuring the right of priority access to the labour market by German or EU citizens (Migrationsbericht, 2013, p. 53).

However, refugees face different problems in the labour market integration. They have restrained access to the labour market till 9 months of their residence (Migrationsbericht, 2013, p. 101), while only a small portion of refugees could benefit from the recognition of qualifications, since they usually lack equivalent qualifications to the German training system (Aumüller, 2016, p. 38).

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[2] Zuwanderungsgesetz, § 75 (4).

In the analysed period of 2013-2018, there were two main policy changes recorded in the issue of labour market integration in Germany. Firstly, the Asylum Procedure Acceleration Act was implemented in 2015, which on one hand, made the access to the labour market easier for refugees with the so-called "good perspective to stay"[3] and start with their cultural and economic integration simultaneously[4], but on the other hand, it proclaimed countries especially from the Balkans as "safe" and citizens of these states applying for asylum after 31st August 2015, will be rejected and forbidden to access the labour market (Migrationsbericht, 2015, p. 88).

The Act also adopted a concept of the early intervention, identifying the potential of refugees for the labour market at an early stage and providing the refugees with targeted employment opportunities already during their asylum procedure (Die Beaufragte…, 2016, p. 223). It was an innovative tool in the sense that it was not required to wait until the lengthy asylum procedure is completed, which accelerates the integration process. In the same vein, the Refugee Integration Measures were adopted, creating 100,000 job opportunities in the secondary labour market for asylum seekers whose application has still not been decided upon. The main goal of these "one-euro jobs" was to introduce refugees to the professional and social life in Germany, investing one billion euros in the three years of the project (BMAS, 2016). The project was, however, criticised because the government-subsidised employment opportunities might prevent refugees in getting to the first job market (Zeit.de, 2016), plus it can also signal to private sponsors that their involvement in the integration of refugees was no longer necessary (Knuth, 2016, p. 15). The project was later abolished due to shortening of the waiting period for asylum, shrinking the target population in program (O-Ton-Arbeitsmarkt.de, 2017).

The second policy change was the adoption of the Integration law in August 2016 as the first coherent legal document on integration. On one hand, it introduced stricter rules for refugees who refuse participation in the integration courses without any good reason, emphasising the responsibility of refugees to integrate themselves, but on the other hand, it also improved the process of accession to the labour market. Firstly, it suspended the priority checks in 133 districts out of 156 for 3 years, while the remaining districts negotiated an exception due to bad economic performance (Die Beaufragte…, 2016, p. 218). Secondly, it

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[3] In German (gute Bleibeperspektive), mainly covering refugees from Syria, Eritrea, Iraq and Iran, who could access the labour market after three months of their stay, if they still do not live in the refugee reception facilities.
[4] The measure KompAS (Competency Assessment, Activation and Early Language Acquisition) supported the concept of early intervention, accelerating the integration process for refugees.

also introduced the "3+2 model", prolonging the residence permit from 3 years to additional 2 years if the refugees are at that time in training (Aumüller, 2016, p. 44). Refugees were not limited by previous administrative procedures, favouring the German or EU citizens, while employers also became reassured that refugees will not be deported during the period of their training.

The effect of the refugee crisis still resonates not only in policy, but also in the debate between policy and research. According to the researchers, a new integration plan has been discussed in a new government. Currently, policy-makers also cooperate with the trade unions on launching a pilot initiative Valikom, developing a set of rules, eligibility criteria and procedures to recognise vocational training of refugees, in case the documents declaring the qualification, are missing (Die Beauftragte…, 2016, p. 209). Overall, the refugee crisis altered many preceding policy measures and introduced a more coherent and favourable legislation for the refugees. Did research-policy dialogues account for the described policy changes or did other factors play a bigger role? To that, the analysis focused on the dialogue structures and the theoretical perspectives could give an answer.

4. 1. Analysis

4.1.1. Dialogue Structures

The first part of the analysis operates with the dialogue structures as depicted by Hoppe (2005). The indicators of the dialogue structures were used as a tool for finding certain models of research-policy dialogues, or their aspects in reality. The change in the dialogue structures has then been defined by comparing the models of dialogue structures before and after the crisis.

The dialogue between research and policy is much more complex than in the case of Slovakia, most likely also due to the higher number of actors from both spheres, involved in the policy-making. The analysis uncovered a clear discrepancy in the dialogue structures between two main policy players, respectively, between the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (BMAS) and the Federal Office on Migration and Refugees (BAMF), belonging to the Federal Ministry of Interior (BMI).

BAMF mostly cooperates with its own Research Centre, functioning since 2004, which is condemned by several researchers due to its questionable scientific independence. Boswell (2009, p. 179) also confirmed that the knowledge produced by the Centre is often used for

legitimising or substantiating claims of BMI, and thus the Ministry is reluctant in losing control over the Research Centre due to its crucial position in politically contested topics. The Centre is responsible for keeping contact with external researchers, which does not seem to happen that often. However, the Centre cooperates with DIW and IAB in a longitudinal project, gathering information on people with immigrant background, which was, after the crisis specifically, focused on the refugees (Die Beauftragte…, 2016, p. 650-651).

Moreover, the BAMF is a registration authority in the database "Central Register of Foreigners" to which external researchers do not have access due to the data protection policy. According to the researchers, a similar approach was adopted by the BMAS in the past, but science managed to find a compromise, and currently they could, under strict rules of data protection, use the information from the dataset. Regardless of the lack of cooperation between BAMF and external research, the Research Centre maintains an institutionalised dialogue with researchers through the Academic Advisory Board, that safeguards the academic quality of the research produced by the Centre. Even though one of the main roles of this board is to recommend on research concepts and priorities (BAMF, 2015), according to a senior researcher, the Centre is usually overwhelmed by the tasks delegated from BAMF and they usually do not have the capacity to respond to the suggestions of other researchers.

The political leadership of the BMI could be one of the reasons why they mostly interact with their in-house research group, while avoiding the contact with external researchers who are not influenced by being under the administration structure, unlike the Research Centre. The Ministry was at first in the hands of CDU, and in consecutive government led by CSU, who might be, according to some researchers, more inclined to retain control over such a sensitive topic (primacy of policy). The policy-makers are in their conventional roles, while science mostly focuses on knowledge production (divergence between research and policy). Furthermore, recruitment of the in-house research within the ministry (Research Centre), clearly signals, with the above mentioned indicators, the **bureaucratic model**.

After the crisis, BAMF started a closer cooperation with the consultancy agencies, such as McKinsey or Roland Berger GmbH[5]. BAMF allegedly transferred 55 mil. euros to consultants, from which almost 34 mil. euros were not tendered (Bild.de, 2018). The agencies were employed not only for reforming an institution, but also for evaluating the policy content and for policy advices to the head of BAMF, Frank-Jürgen Weise, who at the beginning of the

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[5] Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache 18/12623.

crisis also became a "Refugee Management Officer"[6], advisor to the Federal Government (Merkur.de, 2018). According to some researchers, these agencies do not have long-term experience with the issues of migration and integration, they have no reputation in the scientific area and their research input is not subject to external control, unlike the academic work, questioning the impartiality. To prefer including the consultancy agencies in the dialogue over other research institutes with more scientific authority could be seen as an attempt of policy-makers to, on the one hand use the research findings as political ammunition, scientifically legitimise their political ideas (adversarial model), while also having better control of the research findings (primacy of policy). However, the inclusion of consultancy agencies who might be endorsed as researchers, could be perceived as a step towards more dialogue (pragmatist models). New elements in the dialogue structures between BAMF and research emerged, that caused a shift from a clear bureaucratic model to a **bureaucratic model with adversarial elements** (see Tab. 6). However, bureaucracy still plays an important role due to the preserved primacy of policy, at least at the higher-ranking levels, or existence of the in-house research.

Higher-ranking policy-makers retaining their control over the decisions in the policy was also visible at the gesture of welcoming thousands of refugees that did not take into account a potential excessive workload put on its own administration (Dell' Orto & Wetzstein, 2017, p. 8). In May 2018, a scandal erupted because the Bremen branch of BAMF allegedly rubber-stamped asylum applications, sometimes even in exchange for bribes, opening a case of checking around 18,000 asylum decisions made in Bremen, while other regions will get under scrutiny as well (DW.com, 2018b). The head of BAMF allegedly expressed concerns to Merkel about the capacity of BAMF to sustain the open-door policy at BAMF that is "in a bad state of affairs" (DW.com, 2018a). There is a certain hierarchy in place preventing not only research, but also policy-makers with less decision-making power to change political course of actions, thus, indicating the primacy of policy.

The labour market integration policy includes also another important player, the Ministry of Labour (BMAS) whose approach is very different from the one of BAMF. According to a senior researcher, BMAS promotes more inclusion of independent external research which might have been a side effect of the Hartz discussions in 2005 when the Ministry created a statistical scandal, by presenting too optimistic data on labour market

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[6] In German: Beauftragter für Flüchtlingsmanagement.

policies. Since then, BMAS has only one department responsible for gathering and delegating research projects, without having an in-house centre like BAMF. External researchers are then usually recruited for the data analysis, evaluation of the policies etc.

Fig.3: Map of Actors in the Research-Policy Dialogue in Germany
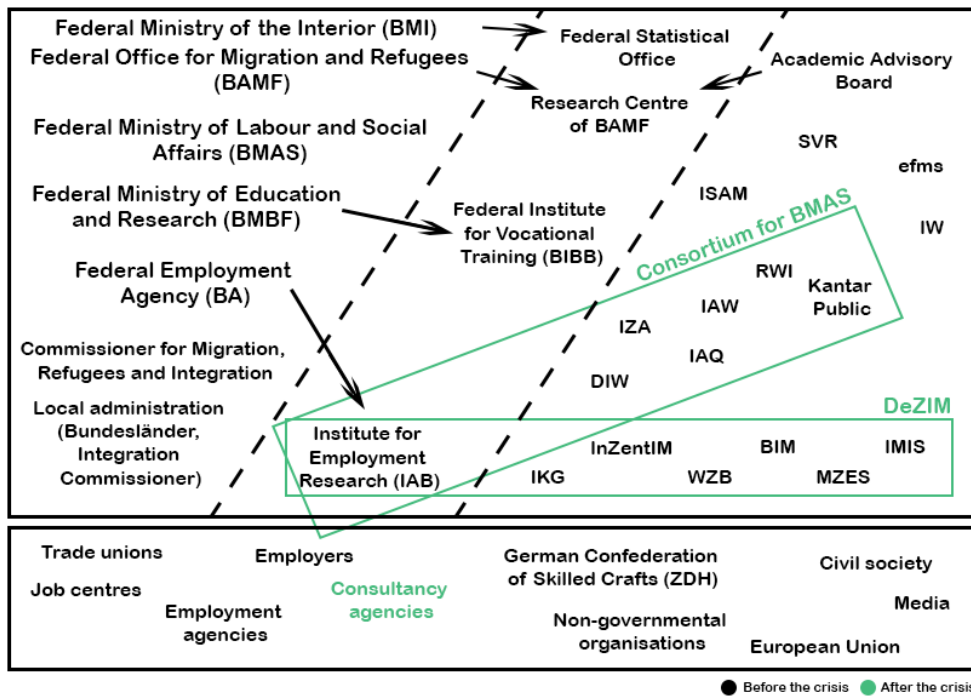
In 2017, BMAS earmarked a 10 mil. euro project on establishing a consortium with the goal of evaluating the labour market integration policy. Seven institutes became eligible for participation in such a consortium, ensuring an interdisciplinary and a more objective approach towards policy (IAW, 2017). According to the policy-maker, BMAS is also a board member in a new research institute DeZIM, established in 2017, as a reaction to the refugee crisis. Both examples could be translated as a shift from the bureaucratic model towards a dialogue (pragmatist models), at least at the lower levels at the Ministry.

Hoppe (2009) defines the pragmatist models as science providing instrumental knowledge, and policy critically influencing the science´s contributions. Policy then commissions a certain agenda on science that needs to be assessed, while policy-makers try to make use of the knowledge. The Ministry was led by the SPD for two electoral periods, which is, according to the researchers, not as conservative as BMI, and hence, keeping better contacts with the expertise. However, due to the controversial character of the policy, both researchers and policy-makers claimed that at the higher levels of the Ministry, influence of party politics and ideology is more apparent, and therefore, many scientific recommendations, contradicting

the political agenda, might be abolished. Therefore, there is still primacy of policy, but at the level of working groups, there is more space for dialogue.

The researchers are aware that their recommendations are under scrutiny of political ideology and party politics, and will only appraise the advice that fits to their political agenda. Therefore, some researchers abolish their passive role of a by-stander, producing scientific knowledge which could alleviate the content of debates, and actively engage in the policy processes either by partnering up with the policy-makers in order to pursue their own interests or by posing as a counterbalance to the restrictive rhetoric adopted not only by parties like AfD, but also the political mainstream.

Some researchers try to deal with the hostile rhetoric, *ex post*, by framing the research findings in a way that they are least open to any other interpretation, or anticipate the problematic nature of researching certain topics, *ex ante*, which could be easily misinterpreted, and rather avoid researching such topics. Science can decide on its actions independently, and therefore, whether to research certain issues or not, or how to present the data, is in the hands of experts. They are aware that other actors like the media or policy-makers could simplify their findings or alter their meaning, and the public will still interpret their arguments as evidence-based, giving them higher legitimacy. This action indicates a more convergent logic between science and policy, because research is not completely detached from the political and public climate, but it is a clear player in the realm of politics. This development was especially visible in certain instances after the refugee crisis when the resentment against newcomers found support in public and politics.

To sum up, the cooperation between BMAS and science before the crisis indicates a **bureaucratic model, with elements of the adversarial model** (primacy of policy, divergent logics, science as political ammunition, no in-house research), but after the crisis, there are more codes referring to the **adversarial model with elements of bureaucratic model** (more space for dialogue, primacy of policy in higher-ranking positions, shift to more analogous logics, science as political ammunition).

Tab. 6: Summary of the codes in the German Dialogue Structures

	Before the crisis	After the crisis
Codes	Divergent relationship between policy and science, primacy of policy, knowledge used as political ammunition, some researchers creating advocacy groups with	Divergence between policy and science, but in case of some researchers, boundaries between science and policy are getting more blurred, primacy of policy at higher levels of ministries, but in BMAS inclination to more dialogue (at the level of working groups), involvement of

	policy-makers who share the same values	other groups than research into dialogue (consultancy agencies), knowledge used as political ammunition
	Bureaucratic model with elements of adversarial model	**Adversarial model with elements of bureaucratic model**

The analysis showed that in the labour market integration policy, the administration does not have a unified approach to research. In other policies of migration and integration, bureaucratic elements might be prevailing because the policies might be under the sole responsibility of BAMF. For example, Boswell (2009) has already defined the dialogue structures with BAMF as a rationalist bureaucracy. However, BMAS is somehow balancing the conservative political views on migration and integration, as well as bureaucratic inclusion of in-house researchers. Including both main policy actors, BAMF and BMAS, into consideration, the analysis for the period before the crisis found bureaucratic elements with some adversarial elements such as using science as a legitimising tool of a certain policy. However, the crisis shifted the dialogue structures towards a dialogue. The analogous logics inclusion of different researchers into the debate and formation of advocacy groups between researchers and policy-makers all point to the adversarial model. Nevertheless, the primacy of policy perseveres at the higher political positions, while BAMF still takes advantage of its in-house research centre, and therefore, some bureaucratic elements withstood the changes the crisis brought.

4.1.2. Theoretical Perspectives

The analysis found out that the refugee crisis as a cause created an outcome, a change in the dialogue structures from the bureaucratic model towards the pragmatist models, respectively adversarial model. The following chapter then shows if, and how, the theoretical perspectives could explain this development in the dialogue structures and in the policy dynamics. The indicators of the coding categories found in the data pose as the basis for certain perspectives to have explanatory power.

The expectations for rationalism have been proven in all indicators (see Tab. 7), which signals the demand for evidence-based policy-making. Policy-makers were willing to allocate a higher budget, support the establishment of new institutes in order to solve missing networking between researchers, and promote inter-disciplinary cooperation. Many scientists confirmed that there was more demand for expertise in order to find policies that are effective

and efficient. Both policy and research agreed that the practice during the migration inflows in the 90´s, when the policy was not so much based on science, should not be repeated.

In Germany, unlike in Slovakia, evidence-based policy-making is not a new concept since the state has a decades long history of supporting research[7]. However, after the crisis, fusion of wider ranges of research institutes with different research experience, interests and positions in the dialogue structure has been more apparent. Accommodating knowledge from different perspectives responded to the lack of networking among diverse knowledge producers, and relatively poor knowledge transfer to political and public debates (IMIS, 2016). On the other hand, the knowledge gathered from wider spectrum of researchers could eventually be used as a strategy of policy-makers to legitimise or substantiate their policy agenda by more research centres.

After the crisis, a new form of institutionalised dialogue emerged at the BMAS, which commissioned a consortium of seven research institutes from different research fields to evaluate any measures of labour market integration policy that are in the responsibility of the Ministry (Bonin & Rinne, 2017). Furthermore, in 2017, DeZIM (German Centre for Integration and Migration Research) was established as a nation-wide network of research institutes with the aim of developing innovative research perspectives and generating synergy effects, closing up any research gaps that might have occurred in the previous research (BMFSFJ, 2018).

Expertise was responsible, not only for single-loop learning, but it also contributed to changing the policy norms, especially when it was in line with political views. An "early intervention" concept could be seen as an example of double-loop learning. According to a senior researcher, the policy-makers finally accepted that refugees are most likely to stay, at least for several years, and therefore, it is beneficial for Germany as well as for refugees if they start with cultural and economic integration simultaneously, as soon as possible. According to some researchers, the overall welcoming climate among the public, intensified by Merkel's leadership, enormously contributed to altering the discourse on the integration of refugees, which transformed into changing policy norms. However, research centres like IAB were very active in shaping the concept for its better implementation (Daumann et. al, 2015). The crisis then conduced to unfolding non-incremental changes, but science was not the only key player in this process.

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[7] As an example, could be used the establishment of the "Berlin Institute for Empirical Integration and Migration Research" (BIM) in 2014, connecting diverse disciplines in migration and integration.

Tab.7: Causal Mechanisms of the Rational Perspective in Germany

Causal mechanism	Indicators and Explanations		Present
Need for more scientific input	**Role of knowledge**	Researchers were mainly involved in data gathering, analysing or evaluating previous policies, and in some cases also in giving policy advices during the agenda-setting and policy formulation phase. After the crisis, policy-makers demanded more inclusion of research especially in the evaluation phase in order to find out if current policies are effective and efficient.	✓
	New institutes	Both DeZIM and consortium at the BMAS were an attempt to coordinate research better and improve the cooperation between research and policy. Due to higher budget, there are also new projects supported, e.g. project coordinated by IMIS, gathering existing knowledge and supporting knowledge transfer (IMIS, 2016; BMBF, 2017). According to senior research, new university departments, think-tanks or organisation focusing on migration an integration, were formed, increasing competition among scientists.	✓
	New research fields	A demand for more interdisciplinary research has increased, e.g. consortium included economists, but also Kantar Public with social science researchers. Interconnecting research centre DeZIM is another example of this development.	✓
Policy change	**Single-loop learning**	Many non-incremental legal and policy changes appeared after the crisis, e.g. shortening the period for accessing the labour market. These changes mainly followed the already established policy, leading to more liberalised provisions, therefore, science might have only limited influence on them.	✓
	Double-loop learning	The concept of early intervention or a new provision in the Integration law (2016) that complicated obtaining the residence permit by first requiring a good command of German language and proof of economic integration in order not to be dependent on the social welfare. Some researchers contributed to altering the policy norms strengthening the need of refugees to demonstrate their self-integration in linguistic and economic aspects in order to earn the possibility of permanent stay in Germany.	✓

The political perspective was tracable only in some of the aspects, respectively in the support of the advocacy groups and alternation of the policy core and secondary aspects. Other indicators have not found their basis in reality. In Germany, the public opinion on migration was fairly balanced before the crisis, 46% against, and 48% for limiting migration (Statista.com, 2014). The crisis on one hand, evoked altruism among ordinary people, massively offering their support to the coming refugees (The Guardian, 2015), but it also uncovered xenophobia and racism, by the growing number of protests, riots or attacks on refugee shelters (Spiegel, 2015). The enthusiasm of accepting refugees wore off after several months but many public polls showed that Germans fear terrorism or political extremism much more than they do immigration (Tagesschau.de, 2017). The support of immigration might seem as it is declining, but if the public opinion is monitored in a longitudinal study, the support will most likely look constant because no significant increase of the anti-immigrant sentiment has been recorded.

Even though some researchers still distance themselves from affiliation to certain political parties, they are aware that using research as a political ammunition is a common practice, before and after the crisis. The crisis did not politicise the issue to the extent that the

main role of research would be to passively stand as a legitimising tool for endorsing political goals, but it became, in many instances, an active player in fulfilling their own interests by building up close links with policy-makers. This practice could be seen in the establishment of the new institute DeZIM, that received funding from the Federal Ministry of Family, Seniors, Women and Youth which is usually not a primary policy actor in migration and integration research. However, the head of DeZIM was also a policy advisor for SPD (SPD-Fraktion.de, 2016), which is the same political party leading the Ministry. Senior researcher also confirmed that the establishment of the institute was a result of lobbying of science and close relationship between specific policy-makers and researchers.

Despite the overall public opinion being more or less constant, crisis mobilised unsatisfied voters from mainstream parties such as CDU/CSU, FDP, Die Linke or SPD (Lochocki, 2015, p. 2-3), changing the support in advocacy groups by the unprecedented success of the far-right party AfD (Alternative for Germany) which became the third largest parliamentary group with almost 13% of the votes (Deutscher Bundestag, 2017). In May 2018, SPD leaders declared that Germany "cannot accommodate all", appealing to proclaiming Magreb countries as safe which should quicken the deportation of rejected asylum seekers (Spiegel, 2018). Political parties clearly followed a more restrictive nature of discourse among the public, which changed the position of some researchers, that either attempted to build an advocacy coalition with the policy-makers from centre-right/-left who shared the same views on migration, or actively tried to pose as a counterbalance against the restrictive arguments of the AfD. This new development in the role of research could be understood in the way that the research is largely responsible for educating the public and creating a reasonable discussion that became obstructed by the xenophobic rhetoric of AfD, focusing only on the costs and threats of the immigration. By other parties joining their lead, some of the researchers felt the need to balance the debate by producing unbiased and impartial scientific knowledge in the issue.

Moreover, the crisis brought changes not only in the secondary aspects of the labour market integration policy, but also in the policy core, as predicted by the political perspective. Not even the rise of the AfD or a more restrictive rhetoric could reverse these fundamental policy changes, favouring the refugees, which was, according to a senior researcher, due to a very positive political and public climate towards newcomers at the beginning of the crisis. The deep core, however, remained stable.

Tab.8: Causal Mechanisms of the Political Perspective in Germany

Causal mechanism	Indicators and Explanations		Present
Policy change	Public opinion	The immediate effect of the crisis was increasing support of welcoming culture towards refugees (Dell' Orto & Wetzstein, 2017, p. 1), which was later on seen more realistically. The crisis, however, did not cause apparent increase of anti-immigrant sentiment.	✗
	Support for coalitions	Some unsatisfied voters changed their support for the advocacy coalition by voting for AfD. After the rise of the far-right party, the restrictive rhetoric became more vocal also among the political mainstream.	✓
	Secondary aspects	Many non-incremental policy changes appeared in case of Germany, such as shortening the period for accessing labour market, more budget invested in integration program but also in more research impetus.	✓
	Policy core	Before the crisis, there was a lack of integration support but after 2015, the priority checks were in most districts suspended, the early intervention was introduced, and more people became involved in the implementation of the integration policy.	✓
	Deep core	The deep core elements remained intact even after the crisis.	✗
Actors in advocacy coalitions	Role of research	The research has been constantly used as a political ammunition, but after the crisis it plays more active role, ensuring the implementation of their own interests, unlike it was predicted in the original scenario.	✗
	Policy brokers	Policy-makers see research as a middle-man by stating independent facts that could resolve the ideological conflicts between political views, but it is more in a passive way of legitimising the positions by expertise.	✗

The discourse of the "Welcome culture" played an important role in the policy core changes, but the cultural perspective was overall uncovered only partially. "Wir schaffen das![8]" resonated strongly at the beginning of the crisis among political parties and public in Germany. This motto emerged from the discourse of the welcoming culture, that has been present in German politics already since the early 2000's amid adoption of the new immigration law. A certain role in such a massive solidarity with refugees could also be the remains of a collective guilt from the Nazi era implanted in the thinking of Germans, but the real meaning of the welcoming culture was to enhance the acceptance of Germany as a country of immigration (Trauner & Turton, 2017, p. 35). The crisis on the one hand, intensified the practical implications of the welcoming culture, since it became institutionalised in the labour market integration policy as well, but it became also structured in a negative sense when the far-right party supporters used it for criticising the governmental actions and for denouncing any such policy proposals, which resulted in some politicians from mainstream parties distancing themselves from it all together (ibid, p. 40).

The welcoming culture is, however, not the only discourse that could be registered in the public or political debate on labour market integration. The remnants of a more deeply

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[8] In English: "We can do it!"

rooted perception of "Germany not as an immigration country" were uncovered also during the crisis, at least in the form of the exclusion of certain immigrant groups or prevention of future migration. The legal framework is often contradictory which signals newcomers that they are not as welcome as it might have seemed. Proclaiming Balkan countries as safe, restrained their possibilities of acquiring asylum, but because of problematic deportations, a new concept of "Spurwechsel" [9] was introduced. The institute SVR sees it as adding unnecessary complexity to the German law and as a potential pull-factor of immigrants coming from these countries (SVR, 2017, p. 5).

The priority checks also point to the problematic nature of the policy, as they are only suspended for three years, which means that in the future, German and EU citizens will be likely protected from foreigners at the labour market. Moreover, districts in Bavaria negotiated an exception from this measure, despite their excellent economic performance (Bayerische Staatszeitung, 2018), which is, according to a senior researcher, only a reflection of the conservative rule of the CSU, signalling restrictiveness towards newcomers. Another example of an exclusive approach to the immigrants is the externalisation of migration problems to origin countries, especially the ones proclaimed as safe. GIZ[10] started building migration advisory bodies, supporting potential migrants or returnees in finding employment in their own country, promoting incentives to stay and eliminating possibilities of overstraining the German system in the future (Migrationsbericht, 2015, p. 25; GIZ, 2017).

The two opposite discourses, both restrictive and inclusive, both structured and institutionalised, were present already before the crisis. They equally affect the role of research whose recommendations fit to either one of them, by empowering or restricting such scientific data. All migration and integration policies carry a very controversial nature, fostering an emotional debate built on discourse, rather than scientific facts. The same development could be seen at the double-loop learning (rational perspective), when different researchers contributed to implementing both limiting and liberalising conditions of the refugees´ integration (complexifying residence permit vs. early intervention).

Knowledge is perceived as an important factor in the discussions, but policy-makers are not relying only on the scientific data and try to involve also practitioners and civil society. This was a common practice already before the crisis, and therefore the focus event did not

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[9] Spurwechsel gives an option to change the reason for stay when the original reason does no longer fits (Parusel, 2016, p. 264), e.g. by finding a job when getting an asylum is not applicable anymore.
[10] Translated as German Society for International Cooperation.

influence it. Media is often used as an indirect link between science and policy, if they do not have an institutionalised dialogue in place. Media attention might then cause interest in specific scientific knowledge, often leading to a formal discussion with policy-makers, which means that the media might be responsible for institutionalisation rather than de-institutionalisation of relations, as initially predicted.

Tab.9: Causal Mechanisms of the Cultural Perspective in Germany

Causal mechanism	Indicators and Explanations		Present
Specifics of discourse coalition framework	**Context of discourse**	Two main discourses have been present before and after the crisis, one accepting Germany as immigration country, the other as residuum of restrictive Germany before 90´s. Crisis initially favoured the first one, but more restrictive discourse came to the forefront later on. Both equally affecting the role of research.	✓
	Role of knowledge	Already at the paradigm shift in the 90´s, government was depicted as too elitist, technocratic and too far away from concern of ordinary public, by highlighting mainly economic benefits of migration, supported by scientific evidence, and downplaying the cultural and social consequences (Boswell, 2009, p. 113). Since then, parties tried not to build their argument for more migration solely on expertise, and some researchers also declared that policy-makers try to keep also close interaction with civil society. This was, however, not the reaction to the crisis.	✗
	Involvement of other actors	Consultancy agencies started cooperating with BAMF more closely as their expertise partner, however, external researchers did not have well-established links with BAMF already before, and thus, it did not affect their interaction. Media was often used as a medium between science and policy but it did not bring more informal ad-hoc dialogue between research and policy.	✗
Policy Change	**Discourse structuration**	The only new discourse that has been structured by many political actors is perception of welcoming culture in a negative concept, but since it did not gather enough support, it is still not institutionalised.	✓
	Discourse institutiona-lisation	Both discourses (inclusive or exclusive) were already structured and institutionalised before the crisis erupted. There is a clear indication that the discourse on accepting Germany as an immigration country is slowly replacing the previous discourse but because it is institutionalised, many legal provisions still reflect the restrictive nature.	✗

Almost all indicators of the institutional perspective were found in the data, both path-dependency, as well as positive feedback. In general, the researchers and policy-makers agreed that the crisis did not change the understanding of migration or displace the whole integration system, as the crisis was only a matter of scaling, of details and adjustments in the administrative measures. In general, short-term measures were more prone to change, such as introduction of the "good perspective to stay", while long-term aspects, like the general perception of migration or labour market regulations stayed almost intact after the crisis.

The reason is that Germany, in comparison to other countries, has a very liberal and progressive legislation on the labour market integration (SVR, 2014, p. 5), and therefore, most

of the implemented changes were path-dependent. The path-dependent character of legislation is a result of two main discourses that have been institutionalised in the public and political debate longer before the crisis appeared, creating a certain meaning of self-referentiality and therefore, it was less likely to change in its basis. A certain role was also played by the policy-makers who adhered to these two discourses, while science might have been only one of many factors contributing to preserving the *status quo*.

Despite the path-dependent character of the legal framework in most of the instances, adoption of the concept of early intervention could be translated as a fundamental change, altering the previous policy norms favouring German or EU citizens over foreigners. It is on one hand referring to the previous discourse of the welcoming culture, but the discourse was previously interpreted mainly as an endorsement of Germany being an immigrant country, but it was never before so openly liberal towards newcomers, thus, positive feedback changing the policy norms. The implementation of this concept would not be possible without the widespread public and political support, to which science could have contributed as well. Knowledge on the ageing population in Germany that will affect the economy and social welfare could convince many higher-ranking policy-makers to support additional immigration and early integration for pragmatic reasons, as to fill in the gaps in the labour market. Actors like Federal Statistical Office (Statistiches Bundesamt, 2015) might be responsible for an inclusive shift towards refugee´s inclusion or launching the early intervention process.

The crisis brought an increasingly institutionalised dialogue, as mentioned in the rational perspective, but the predicted de-institutionalisation caused by the involvement of wide array of actors did not prove to be existent because the issue did not become politicised to such an extent that it disrupts the established dialogue between research and science.

Tab.10: Causal Mechanisms of the Institutional Perspective in Germany

Causal mechanism	Indicators and Explanations		Present
Path-dependency and negative feedback	**Policies locked-in**	New legal provisions mostly refer to previous legislation, that reflects the discursive context. Already very liberal character also contributed to only small changes.	✓
	Group think	The legislation has in many cases very contradictory character, which could satisfy both opponents or supporters of accepting newcomers, since there was not a unified approach coming from the policy-makers or the public.	✓
	Self-referentiality	Self-referentiality could be built on e.g. bureaucracy, or culture, that reflects already mentioned two main discourses that appear in law and policy.	✓

	Role of knowledge	Research could be accounted for the incremental changes only partially, because they were already following the set path by more deeply rooted concepts, such as discourse.	✓
	Institutional layering	One of the examples could be shortening the waiting period before accessing the labour market.	✓
	Institutional conversion	There was more money invested not only on research, but also on the implementation phase, for sustaining new projects. The position of policy-makers changed especially with CSU party members, however, their open critique of open-door policy was not translated into the law	✓
Policy change and positive feedback	**Non-incremental changes**	E.g. the early intervention concept.	✓
	Role of knowledge	Science might pose as one of the factors for non-incremental changes.	✓
	Institutio-nalisation	Crisis caused more institutionalised dialogue (see rational perspective).	✓
	De-institu-tionalisation	Not proven (see cultural perspective).	✗

4.2. Conclusion

The analysis uncovered which indicators could be found in the policy dynamics, and hence, which perspectives have more explanatory power. Overall, rationalism and institutionalism were traceable in almost all of the predicted causal mechanisms. In culturalism, discourse has been proven to influence the role of the research, while in the political perspective, changes after the crisis have been recorded in the advocacy groups´ support due to the success of the AfD, in secondary aspects as well as in the policy core.

As already mentioned, indicators do not necessarily contradict each other, which was also visible in the relationship between rationalism and culturalism. On the one hand, demand for science increased, but at the same time its possibilities were restricted by the structured and institutionalised discourse. This way, BMAS might support more knowledge production, but the public and political debate have a tendency to resort to emotions, rather than facts when talking about integration issues. This consequently hinders a possibility for knowledge transfer to the actual policies. Parallelly, science is used mostly as a legitimising tool for endorsing certain political ideas, but it cannot be used as the main factor in policy change. This also supports the path-dependant character of many policy provisions adopted after the crisis. The instances of positive feedback were mostly rare, such as in the early intervention concept, and they were not a sole reaction to the scientific data. On the contrary, they were most likely affected by other factors, such as the positive public mood, liberalising the approach towards labour market integration.

The theoretical perspectives also predicted the ideal outcome of the change in the dialogue structures. The analysis found a combination of both the bureaucratic and adversarial models which were also ideal outcomes of the institutional and political perspectives. The path-dependency of institutionalism undoubtedly played a role, because even though the crisis brought more dialogue between policy and research, some aspects remained stable, such as the primacy of policy in higher-ranking positions. If science was about to acquire too much power in the contested environment, it would, as predicted by Hoppe (2005), be 'interpreted as a threat to political primacy' which might not be desirable by policy-makers.

On the other hand, the adversarial model became more apparent after the crisis, but not as it was originally expected, as so the research would be passively used by the policy-makers as a political ammunition. On the contrary, research was very much an active player that joined the coalitions with the policy-makers following the same beliefs, or it posed as a counterbalance towards more restrictive advocacy groups. Hence, the theoretical perspectives were found to be able to explain the outcome of the causal relationship (dialogue structures) only partially.

5. Slovakia: A Country of Slovaks

The following chapter, similarly as in the case of Germany, offers background information on the relationship Slovakia has towards migration and integration, with a closer look at the labour market integration policies within the studied period of 2013-2018 (see Fig. 4). This background research then provides a basis for a subsequent analysis that looks for the coding categories in the data. Firstly, the analysis of the dialogue structures, as an outcome of a causal relationship, will be described in a more detail. Consequently, the analysis of the theoretical perspectives will uncover which perspectives have more explanatory power in the policy dynamics. This will be defined by the presence/absence of indicators belonging to different perspectives used as a marking tool, as it was in the case of Germany.

Slovakia remained, in contrast to Germany, a culturally homogenous country even after the accession to the EU when the borders opened to foreigners. Until now, Slovakia still has the least migrants from all the EU member states (Eurostat, 2018b). In 2017, legal immigrants came up to 104,451, only 1,92% of overall population which is still a five times higher number as before the accession to the EU (IOM, 2018). During the refugee crisis, the Slovak government did not want to take in Muslim refugees, and therefore, its main contribution was granting asylum for 149 Assyrian Christian refugees.

Moreover, the native population sees Slovakia very ethnocentrically. In 2012, a survey showed that almost 70% of Slovaks think that Slovakia is a country of Slovaks and so, it should remain (Mlynárčiková & Neupauer, 2012, p. 27). Slovaks perceive immigrants as part of the society only when they culturally and linguistically assimilate (Gallová Kriglerová, 2017, p. 17). The restrictive naturalisation rules, but also an overall ethnocentric public mood, comes in hand with the discourse of Slovakia as a transit country in which migration and integration, at least until the refugee crisis, did not become a political or public priority. Until the crisis, there was no wide public discussion on the questions of migration and integration, which resulted in a very low awareness in these issues in the Slovak public and political sphere (Filadelfiová et al., 2010, p. 118).

The lack of political and other elites´ interest to focus on the issue of migration and integration was reflected in the quantitatively and qualitatively undersized institutional framework, as well as fragmentation of the responsibilities (ibid, p. 120). In 2007, the Department on Migration and Integration of Foreigners was established at the Ministry of Labour, however, it solely focuses on the integration of labour migrants, while persons with

international protection remain a responsibility of the Ministry of Interior. In 2009, the Managing Committee of Migration and Integration was founded at the Ministry of Interior as an inter-ministerial coordination structure, consisting of government officials, while NGO's representatives could be invited to the meetings on *ad hoc* basis (Neopublic Porter Novelli, 2014, p. 9).

These institutional changes could be regarded as an attempt of Slovakia to first coordinate their national position to migration and integration, and consequently, become an active member of the EU in pursuing these interests. First strategic documents[11] should have defined the migration policy priorities and the integration process, however, they remained rather vague in introducing what measures of integration should be used and how migration should be intertwined with other public policies (Filadelfiová et al., 2010, p. 131). Nevertheless, they did clarify that labour market integration is a key factor in the integration process (Ministry of Labour…, 2009, p. 24), and that Slovakia should actively search for highly-qualified migrants who could bring many economic benefits to the country (The Government of the Slovak Republic, 2011, p. 2).

In 2016, approximately 21,400 foreigners from the EU/EEA (mostly from Romania, Czech Republic or Poland) and 3,000 third-country nationals (mostly from Ukraine, Korea or Serbia) came to Slovakia with the purpose of employment, which is a 28 %, respectively 14% increase in comparison to the previous year of 2015 (Simple Talent, 2016). Labour migration became even more apparent after the Slovak economy revived itself from the economic crisis, and as businesses from Asia and Europe became interested in investing into the Slovak market and the demand for a migrant work increased.

Migrants accessing the labour market, are in general, subject to many administrative, legislative and cultural problems, among which the biggest is the language barrier, as well as the lengthy bureaucratic procedure of obtaining a residence and work permit[12]. The problematic recognition of qualifications is also one of the troubles that migrants go through (Bargerová & Divinský, 2008, p. 75). As a result, employers in general avoid employing foreigners due to excessive bureaucracy, and even if they do, migrants are usually overqualified for the jobs. The problematic is not only the low budget restricting implementing the policies, but also lacking

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[11] The "Concept of Foreigner Integration in the Slovak Republic" (2009) and the "Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic: Perspective until the Year 2020" (2011).

[12] Work permit is required from the employers to check if is possible to employ first a native person before accepting a foreigner, the so-called priority check.
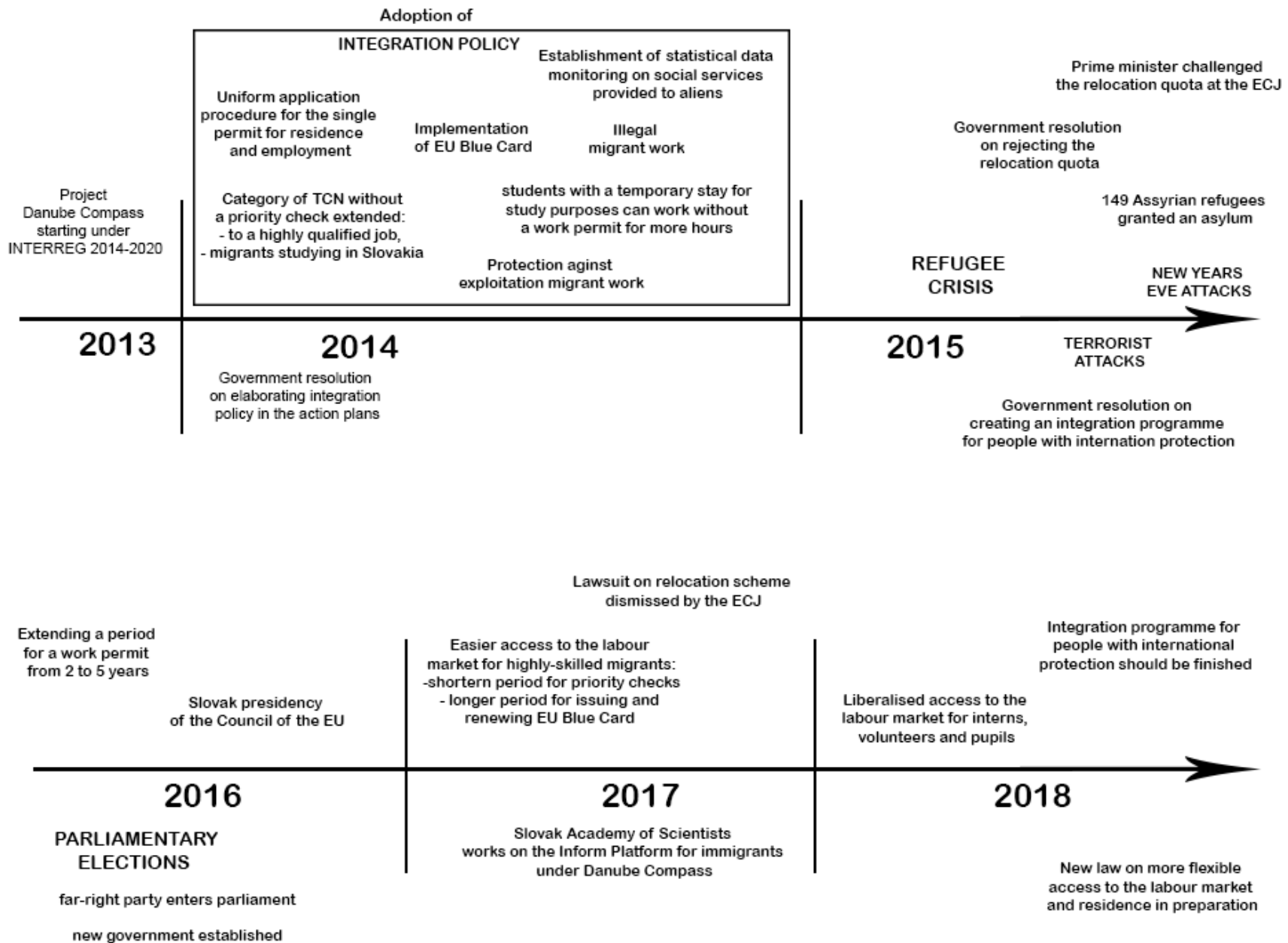
cooperation of state with the third sector and academia, despite the existence of expert knowledge (Filadelfiová et al., 2010, p. 128).

The biggest policy change during the analysed period of 2013-2018 was the adoption of the Integration Policy in 2014 for the first time in a compact strategic document, in which integration was seen as a two-way process, while the implementation of specific goals of the policy should be "based on the coordinated approach of state authorities and the local government" (Ministry of Labour…, 2014a, p. 3). This policy change was not influenced by the refugee crisis but most likely by the harmonisation pressure from the EU. The text itself specifically declared the intention to approximate the Slovak legislation on legally residing aliens to the Common Basic Principles in the EU (Ministry of Labour…, 2014b, p. 1).

The Integration Policy unified the process of obtaining residence and work permits, simplifying the administrative procedure of accessing the labour market. The category of aliens, from which a priority check was not required, has been also extended to immigrants employed in the highly-skilled professions, researchers, EU Blue Card holders and third-country nationals who graduated from Slovak high schools or universities, because they have already "obtained some cultural and language skills", making the integration easier (Ministry of Labour…, 2014b, p. 3). These measures only reflect the overall discourse on cultural homogeneity, liberalising the conditions for foreigners who might bring benefits to the Slovak economy or who do not pose a cultural threat to the homogenous population.

After the crisis, the political discourse changed, but the policy changes were only incremental. Despite being a vocal opponent against the EU relocation quotas, the policy-makers started, since 2015, working on the Strategic Integration Plan, outlining the main aspects of the integration of any potential refugees (Ministry of Labour…, 2016b, p. 29). Until now, there was only a strategy for integration of labour migrants, but the new legislation should, according to the interviewed policy-maker, propose its own financial mechanism, so Slovakia will not be dependent only on EU funds, for the first time. The real effect of such a change is hard to predict, but so far, the whole system of policy development is very rigid and slow, and even if there is a vision presented, as in the Integration policy (2014), implementation depends on the local administrations, which often dismiss their responsibility by arguing that only a low number of foreigners reside in their region (ibid).

Fig.4: Timeline of the Events in Slovakia (2013-2018)

Adoption of

INTEGRATION POLICY

Establishment of statistical data
monitoring on social services
provided to aliens

Uniform application
procedure for the single
permit for residence
and employment

Implementation
of EU Blue Card

Illegal
migrant work

Project
Danube Compass
starting under
INTERREG 2014-2020

Category of TCN without
a priority check extended:
- to a highly qualified job,
- migrants studying in Slovakia

students with a temporary stay for
study purposes can work without
a work permit for more hours

Protection aginst
exploitation migrant work

Prime minister challenged
the relocation quota at the ECJ

Government resolution
on rejecting the
relocation quota

149 Assyrian refugees
granted an asylum

REFUGEE
CRISIS

NEW YEARS
EVE ATTACKS

2013   **2014**   **2015**   TERRORIST
                                                                                     ATTACKS

Government resolution
on elaborating integration
policy in the action plans

Government resolution on
creating an integration programme
for people with internation protection

Lawsuit on relocation scheme
dismissed by the ECJ

Extending a period
for a work permit
from 2 to 5 years

Easier access to the labour
market for highly-skilled migrants:
-shortern period for priority checks
- longer period for issuing and
renewing EU Blue Card

Integration programme for
people with international
protection should be finished

Slovak presidency
of the Council of the EU

Liberalised access to the
labour market for interns,
volunteers and pupils

2016   **2017**   **2018**

PARLIAMENTARY
ELECTIONS

Slovak Academy of Scientists
works on the Inform Platform for immigrants
under Danube Compass

far-right party enters parliament

New law on more flexible
access to the labour market
and residence in preparation

new government established

52

Therefore, in 2017, the Integration Policy was evaluated as not sufficiently fulfilled in practice, and a proposition of new strategic policy, leading to better interaction between national and local level, should be adopted (The Government of the Slovak Republic, 2018). One of the biggest problems of the policy implementation remains the lack of financial resources because there has not yet been a specific budget allocated for the Ministries to fulfil their responsibilities in the integration (ibid).

Most of the legal adjustments are only a result of implementing directives from the EU (Ministry of Labour…, 2018a), proving on one hand, that Slovakia does not have an interest in developing new administration structure, launching new policies or implementing the previous measures, and on the other hand, it demonstrates that the refugee crisis did not pose as a critical juncture, bringing about fundamental policy change. Is the role of research so marginal that they could not mobilise enough resources for changing a policy that is rather vaguely defined and implemented only officially? Or are there any forces in place that preserve the status quo? How can theoretical perspectives explain the policy stability, resistant to the effects of the crisis? To these questions, the following chapter of the analysis will try to find the answers.

5.1. Analysis

5.1.1. Dialogue Structures

Similarly, as in the German case, the framework on the dialogue structures from Hoppe (2005) was used as a template of possible indicators describing the models of the research-policy dialogues. The indicators that occurred in the Slovak research-policy nexus have helped to identify which models were present before and after the crisis. This way, it could be detected if the refugee crisis could deliver a significant change in the relationship between research and policy, or if the *status quo* was preserved in spite of the crisis.

The adoption of the Integration Policy (2014) was the biggest policy change in the monitored period, and therefore, before its issuing, different stakeholders became involved in the policy preparation. Independent researchers were invited to conferences, workshops, or meetings of MEKOMIC (Interdepartmental Expert Committee on Migration and Integration of Foreigners), advisory body at the Ministry of Labour. According to an external researcher, they were perceived as experts, consulted on drafting the policy, and even when many expert

propositions were later rejected by higher levels at the Ministry, there was still an interest for evidence-based policy-making at least at the level of the working groups.

Interestingly enough, the Integration policy does not specifically mention cooperation with research, it only focuses on better involvement of social partners, NGO's and international organisations in the development and implementation of integration measures. In the Action Plan of Migration Policy of 2016/17, the need to support and develop "expert dialogue" on integration issues was declared, but namely only within state authorities, local administrations, NGO's and civil society associations (Ministry of Labour…, 2016a, p. 9). It is almost an oxymoron to build an expert dialogue without researchers, being the biggest part of the expertise.

Fig.5: Map of Actors in the Research-Policy Dialogue in Slovakia
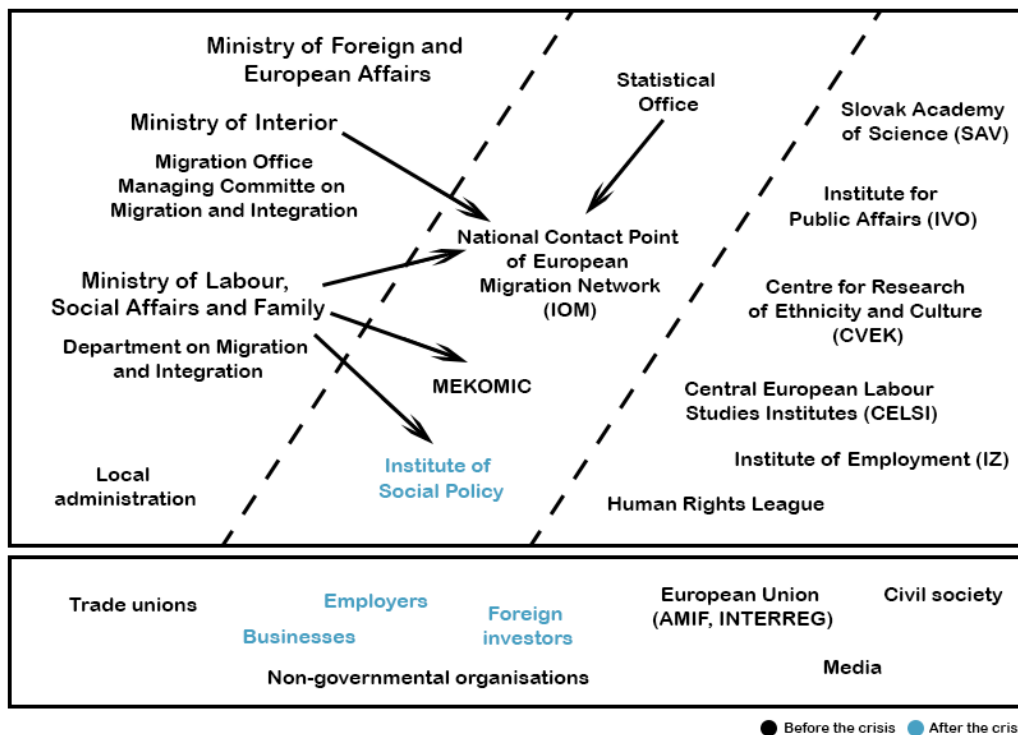
In reality, policy-makers perceive themselves as experts on the topics, who are perfectly capable of making proper policy alone, which blurs the line between policy and research, indicating the convergent logics. The policy-makers held the clear primacy, making the final decisions, while researchers lacked resources to put their propositions into reality. The two axes of dialogue structures, convergent logics and primacy of policy, refer to the **engineering model** which was prevailing before the refugee crisis. However, it is necessary not to downplay the inclusion of a diverse array of actors in drafting the Integration Policy, indicating a certain level of dialogue. At least at the lower levels of the Ministry, there was space for a dialogue,

pointing to the pragmatist models (see Tab. 1), respectively coping model aiming at the problem-coping process in which science is invited to the debate occasionally. The lack of specifically defined policy measures was, according to a senior researcher, one of the reasons why the closer dialogue between research and policy was established. As in the case of Germany, dialogue structures do not specifically point to only one of the models, and hence, the engineering model was completed with the **elements of the coping model**.

The crisis brought several changes in the dialogue structures. Firstly, the crisis politicised the issue of migration and integration that had far more serious consequences than in Germany. According to the researchers, migration was associated with hoaxes and misconceptions, but it was also misused in the pre-election campaign of 2015/2016 by many political parties, which resulted in the obstruction of ongoing projects researchers had with local administrations on the issue of integration.

Secondly, the meetings within MEKOMIC to which researchers, the public, representatives of employers or migrant communities had open access before 2015, started to happen behind closed doors, to which some researchers do not have access even if they ask for an invitation. Overall, it is not known how well the expertise is represented at these meetings, except the IOM, that as a national contact point of the European Migration Network (NCP EMN), is usually present. IOM in its role of NCP EMN could not be assigned either to research or policy specifically because, on the one hand it engages in the research activities, but it also keeps very close ties with the policy-makers who often use IOM data in their own name.

Thirdly, in 2017, an "Institute of Social Policy" was established at the Ministry of Labour, and even though the refugee crisis did not have a direct impact on its founding, it is in a position of a middle-man between policy and research in the issues of migration and integration. They are the first contact that policy-makers use for the analysis, data collection and evaluation of other external research. This relationship might have many advantages for researchers such as easier access to the data that Ministries have at disposal, but at the same time being under the ministerial structure might affect their independency.

Policy-makers justify their privileged cooperation with IOM and in-house researchers by claiming that there is a certain "crisis of intellectuals" present, meaning a lack of knowledge produced by the external research, or not enough applicable knowledge. On the one hand, the literature review discovered that most of the knowledge production was concentrated around 2009/2010 and it is since decreasing, but it is also necessary to note that policy-makers do not

offer any financial support for such external research, and therefore, experts often depend on the EU funding, even more so after the refugee crisis.

Policy-makers might then prefer communicating interest in more research internally with the in-house researchers also because their embeddedness in the bureaucratic structure, knowing internal agenda or priorities of Ministries might provide them with more applicable knowledge. Inclusion of external researchers openly opposing governmental views on integration might also risk disrupting the whole bureaucratic system, which could be perceived by the policy-makers as a threat.

Lastly, better economic performance and more lobbying from the side of employers, business or foreign investors to liberalise the access to the labour market for aliens change the dialogue structures. The policy-makers are trying to lead dialogue especially with the practitioners, not only by employers but also trade unions or regions, who are directly affected by the policy changes. There was a set of meetings introduced, the so-called "Breakfast with employers" during which the employers are acquainted with the policy changes in employment of foreigners. In 2017, 21% of Slovak employers in the industry and 14% of companies working in the services, stated that one of the main limiting factors is lack of qualified employees (eTrend.sk, 2017). The employers are currently trying to pressure policy-makers to liberalise access to the labour market, which will, according to the policy-makers, result in non-incremental policy changes in the near future. The policy-maker claimed that the employers provide information on what are their needs in the workforce on the labour market and policy-makers then try to implement their views on the issue in order to ensure effective policy in the practice.

In sum, there is an incentive to include more stakeholders in the debate, such as employers, businesses, trade unions but also media, which indicates a pragmatist model. Knowledge becomes only one of the voices spoken during the policy-making process, while policy-makers rely on their common sense and experience with the topic. Since the policy-makers try to follow the needs of the businesses and practitioners, most of the indicators belong to the **coping model** (see Tab. 11). However, some codes that were present in the data point to different models. Firstly, policy-makers still make the final decisions, holding a certain primacy, especially in the higher levels of ministries, the same way as in the case of Germany. In relation to the external researchers, the policy-makers still perceive themselves as bigger experts in the topic, indicating a convergent logic. At the same time, recruitment of researchers

to the in-house research centre points to a bureaucratic model. Thus, after the crisis, the coping model was supplemented also with the **elements of the bureaucratic and the engineering model**.

Tab. 11: Summary of the codes in the Slovak Dialogue Structures

	Before the crisis	After the crisis
Codes	Convergent relationship between policy-makers and researchers, primacy of policy, policy-makers assign the research projects to the scientists, at the lower levels of the ministries inclusion of outside researchers and other relevant stakeholders (inclination to a dialogue)	Not a clear primacy (at lower levels of the ministries), convergence between research and policy (in relation to the outside researchers), inclusion of other stakeholders to the debate (businesses, employers), external researchers have restricted access to the policy-makers, establishment of in-house research unit,
	Engineering model with elements of coping model	**Coping model with elements of bureaucratic and engineering model**

The crisis altered the dialogue structures in Slovakia, shifting it from the prevailing engineering to the coping model, while keeping some elements of other models in the dialogue structure. However, the existence of the crisis was not the only key factor influencing the research-policy dialogue. It mainly brought the attention of public, media and politics to migration and integration issues, which was missing before, but the most essential condition for change in dialogue structures was mobilisation of businesses and employers, lobbying for more inclusiveness in the legislation on labour market integration. They have big stakes in the policy process, because their businesses might be, in the near future, dependent on the migration labour force, while policy-makers will need to include their needs in the new policies because of the revenue, they are generating for the country. They then negotiate from a much better position than researchers, who do not have enough resources to balance their power and pursue their interests. In this case, employers proved to be more valued partners than research, referring to the coping model, in which science is only one of many voices raised in the policy-making.

5.1.2. Theoretical Perspectives

As it was already presented in the case of Germany, the analogical approach was chosen in the analysis of the Slovak research-policy dialogues and the policy dynamics. The following chapter closely describes which indicators have been found in data and which implications for the theoretical perspective do these findings carry. The research proved to be somehow paralysed after the refugee crisis due to the lack of powerful resources, and fundamental policy

change was hard to accomplish. Which interpretation of this unexpected policy stability do the theoretical perspectives offer?

Overall, the data showed a mix of variables from different theoretical perspectives, which is not anything unusual because every perspective explains the process under ideal conditions which could hardly reflect the reality. It has also been noted that the indicators were diverging between interviewees depending on their position in the dialogue structure, namely the statements of the policy-makers were very similar to the ones of the in-house research or IOM, but the external expertise did not share the same views. One of the possible explanations is the character of the relationship the policy-makers have with researchers, meaning the in-house researchers or the IOM are in a more direct contact on a regular basis, while outside researchers lack this type of fixed and frequent dialogue. It does not necessarily mean that every argument that is in conflict with an opposing statement, questions its validity. On the contrary, it helps with building the whole picture of the dialogue structures from different points of view, which is not only an essential form of triangulation and reliability of the findings, but is also one of the main goals of applying all four perspectives.

Despite the crisis affecting the dialogue structures, it did not manage to launch drastic policy changes, as it was predicted in the rational or political perspective. After the crisis, external research was left at the margins of policy-making, while in-house research or NCP EMN were mostly involved in data gathering, analysis or evaluation. Both actors, along with policy-makers, claimed that the crisis brought increased interest in evidence-based policy-making. This could be seen in the annual EMN Studies, when Slovakia suggested the labour market integration policy as the main topic of the national reports in order to collect successful stories of labour market integration all over Europe, and to observe the effects the refugee crisis had on the policies, e.g. if focusing more on asylum seekers integration, left labour migrants behind. Issuing a study, however, does not ensure that it will be transferred into policy, but it can indicate interest of policy-makers in research.

In spite the fact, that policy-makers as well as in-house researchers claim that the demand for evidence-based policy-making increased, this interest was often communicated only internally, between themselves, without inviting external researchers. This very close relationship between science and policy might question the independence of researchers, who are embedded in the institutional structure. They are aware of the internal agenda, goals and interests of the Ministry, and thus, their recommendations might be affected by this knowledge.

Excluding some researchers, who might disrupt the bureaucratic procedures and the way of thinking, could be perceived as a strategy of preserving the *status quo* in the law and policies.

Before the crisis, policy-makers did not consider labour market integration policy as their main priority, which still prevailed in the sense that the policy-makers did not show any interest in either financially supporting external researchers, or legally earmarking a budget for implementing the tasks of the annual strategic action plans (The Government of the Slovak Republic, 2015; Ministry of Labour…, 2018a). Moreover, the crisis did not manage to build up enough incentive to centralise the migration and integration policy in one institution. Since 2011, it has been discussed to establish an Immigration and Naturalisation Office, which should be, among others, active in evaluating the implementation of the migration policy (The Government of the Slovak Republic, 2011, p. 16), as a governmental institution in a conventional role of science. Until now, the responsibilities are distributed between different ministries, creating poor coordination of outputs and unnecessary institutional fragmentation.

Regarding the policy changes, the crisis did not deliver fundamental change, mostly only liberalising access to the labour market for specific groups of foreigners. Interestingly, many implemented legal changes were only the transpositions of the secondary European law that Slovakia had to adopt. This signals a lack of political will to actively engage in the debate on labour market integration and to approximate the legislation with the standards in other states outside of the compulsory legal framework set by the EU. It also shows that research is very limited in the potential of policy learning, restraining its possibilities to persuade policy-makers on non-incremental changes. According to an external scientist, the biggest manoeuvre space in developing a new policy approach is even before there is any intention to implement new legislation. If the policy-makers already declare their intention, they usually know how the policy should look like, and thus, scientific arguments can only rarely change their views. Overall, rationalism was not traceable in any of the pre-defined indicators (see Tab. 12).

Tab.12: Causal Mechanisms of the Rational Perspective in Slovakia

Causal mechanism	Indicators and Explanations		Present
Need for more	**Role of knowledge**	Science proved to be active mainly in their role of data gathering, analysing, evaluating, but it was mostly missing in the phase of policy formulation or implementation, the same way as before the crisis. Moreover, evaluation was mostly in the hands of in-house researchers or organisations like IOM.	✗

scientific input		The policy-makers did not support the external research financially, and therefore, many scientists became solely relying on the EU funding[13].	
	New institutes	Except failing centralisation of the policies in the Immigration and Naturalisation Office, there were also talks about establishing Committee for Foreigners Rights, but these intentions are often dismissed due to low number of foreigners. In 2017, "The Institute of Social Policy" was established at the Ministry of Labour, but it was not a directly affected by the refugee crisis.	✗
	New research fields	The policy-makers had already established talks with certain researchers, so the crisis did not have impact on bringing new knowledge.	✗
Policy change	**Single-loop learning**	Many changes do not reflect the proposition of research, which reflects only limited space for policy learning, even when incremental changes come into play.	✗
	Double-loop learning	Refugee crisis did not bring any major changes in law or policy, and therefore, there is no space for policy learning.	✗

Rationalism was not successful in predicting the policy dynamics, but the political perspective could offer an expectation that was in several points colliding with reality (see Tab. 13). Similarly, as in Germany, a shift in the support of advocacy coalitions has been reached in March 2018, when the far-right party entered the parliament for the first time since the Slovak independence with 8% of votes, supported by almost 30% of young people (HNonline.sk, 2016). Political parties generally misused the topic of migration, because the public only strengthened their restrictive views towards immigrants that was already present before the crisis (Filadelfiová et al., 2010, p. 122). The public opinion was not significantly changed by the crisis, but the ethnocentrism and exclusion became more vocal, ensuring success of a far-right party as an advocate of these views.

The anti-immigrant rhetoric was a bonding characteristic of all political parties, and even if policy-makers from lower working levels at the ministries might have not shared this restrictive discourse, the legislation was influenced by political ideology and party politics. In contrast to Germany, research in Slovakia proposing the law and policy to be more inclusive to foreigners then does not have any partners from the side of policy-makers who could have had the resources for the non-incremental policy change. Thus, all policy changes belonged to the secondary aspects, while policy core and deep core elements remained intact, even after the crisis, unlike the predictions according to Sabatier (1998). The main reason was most likely the deeply embedded restrictiveness in the policy, which was only strengthened by public support of restrictive advocacy coalitions. The powerful actors, such as businesses, with liberal views

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[13] For example, projects like Danube Compass launching an information platform for foreigners residing in Slovakia that could clarify complicated and bureaucratic procedure of obtaining residence and work permit, is financed by the EU project INTERREG.

on immigrants who could alter the policy core started to organise in higher capacity only recently, and therefore, the effect of their lobbying on the policy is still not visible.

Both indicators of involving policy brokers or using knowledge as a legitimising tool for the already prepared political views were not traceable. It is most likely connected with the convergent roles of policy and research since the policy-makers elevated themselves to the position of experts already before the crisis. They argued that it was necessary, due to the overall lack of (applicable) research done in the analysed topic, but they still e.g. use data provided by in-house researchers as their own expertise, which indicates that the policy-makers want to preserve their position of representing expertise and policy simultaneously. The highly divergent views on the development of labour market integration policy between science and policy could offer another explanation of missing political ammunition, since in the views of the policy-makers, they simply do not have knowledge at disposal that could support their restrictive views.

Tab.13: Causal Mechanisms of the Political Perspective in Slovakia

Causal mechanism	Indicators and Explanations		Present
Policy change	Public opinion	Anti-immigrant rhetoric was always present in Slovakia but after the crisis it became more vocal. Majority of Slovaks saw migration as an essential topic in the pre-election campaign, while 78% of them declared their intention of protecting Slovakia against immigrants (Median.sk, 2016, p. 9).	✗
	Support for coalitions	Migration and integration issues became highly politicised due to the pre-election campaign, intertwining them with many hoaxes and misconceptions, which resulted in changing a support for advocacy coalition with the success of the far-right party.	✓
	Secondary aspects	Very few changes were present in the secondary aspects, mostly in the case of labour migrants, not refugees.	✓
	Policy core	The policy stayed in general almost the same as before the crisis, so no changes in the policy core were recorded.	✗
	Deep core	No changes occurred.	✗
Actors in advocacy coalitions	Role of research	The science did not play a role of political ammunition. The knowledge is either presented as a data of the policy-makers without connection to the research institute, or it is not used at all.	✗
	Policy brokers	The approach towards immigrants is more or less unified, and therefore, there has not been found anyone in a role of policy broker. The in-house research that keeps close contacts with the policy-makers, exists only for a short period of time, and therefore, it does not have the capacity to be mediator between different advocacy groups, if needed between external research and policy.	✗

Hence, the political perspective proved to be existent only in the case of changing support for certain advocacy coalitions, but not even the far-right party could bring fundamental change because it did not have enough support in the parliament. On the other

hand, the cultural perspective proved to be present in the majority of the predicted indicators. The main reason is the discourse that played a key role in the research-policy dialogue, specifically the ethnocentric discourse that has been structured and institutionalised even before the crisis. It became a basis for maintaining the restrictive measures of the labour market integration. Liberalising the access to the labour market mainly for highly-skilled foreigners, while omitting the integration programme for refugees reflects the idea that Slovakia does not intend to make access to the labour market easier for foreigners when 6% of the native population is unemployed (eTrend.sk, 2018) and especially when refugees coming from Middle East and Africa might threaten Slovak values. According to some researchers, the ethnocentric discourse became often re-affirmed with the failing integration policy of the Roma community, which has different language, culture and identity. The public perceives the cultural differences as a reason for incompatibility in the state, pointing to many parallels with the current inflow of refugees.

Generally, the crisis did not have much effect on the development of this discourse because it was already deeply rooted in public and political life. However, the crisis brought more vocal discourse on securitisation, especially after the Paris terrorist attacks and alleged New Years´ Eve sexual harassment attacks in Köln. The incumbent prime minister Fico contributed to adopting this securitisation discourse, also by claiming that, when "it comes to security, I do not know human rights" (Aktuálne.sk, 2015). Media was often only reporting on the statements of politicians, spreading misconceptions and hoaxes, and shaping the public opinion at the same time. The consequent discourse structuration could be seen in public polls of 2015, indicating that two thirds of Slovaks accepted the connotation of migrant as a threat and perceived that Slovaks are helping refugees already too much (Gallová Kriglerová, 2017, p. 19). The institutionalisation did not become a reality yet, and most likely never will be, because spreading fear among the public was, according to a senior researcher, chosen as one of the pre-election strategies to gather votes. But implementing populist discourse in legislation might face an obstacle not only with passing the votes in the parliament but also because the legislation needs to be compatible with certain standards of the European law that has been already transposed as directives.

The dialogue between research and policy did not become de-institutionalised, as the cultural perspective predicted. On the contrary, it became more or less non-existent. As mentioned earlier, MEKOMIC (Inter-Ministry Expert Committee on Labour Migration and Integration of Foreigners) as an advisory body to the Ministry of Labour was a crucial platform

for the cooperation between research and policy before the crisis, when also representatives of the public, NGO's and migrant communities were invited for discussion on the Integration policy (Ministry of Labour…, 2013). However, after the crisis these meetings started occurring behind closed doors, denying access to some of the researchers who were members before. The relationship between policy and science have not been well-established in the first place, and therefore, the crisis did not bring more informality or *ad hoc* negotiations. It politicised migration and integration issues that prevented researchers to lead a reasonable discussion based on facts, not political ideology. The scientists also do not hold many resources that could sustain their role in policy-making, and thus, as policy-makers claim, they try to focus mostly on the real needs of the actors such as businesses or foreign investors.

Tab.14: Causal Mechanisms of the Cultural Perspective in Slovakia

Causal mechanism	Indicators and Explanations		Present
Specifics of discourse coalition framework	**Context of discourse**	Discourse played very important role before and after the crisis. The ethno-centric discourse keeps many obstacles in the labour market integration in place, which limits the possibilities of science to pursue more liberal approach. After the terrorist attacks, securitisation discourse only intensified the restrictiveness, worsening the position of science.	✓
	Role of knowledge	Science does not hold any cognitive superior position, since policy-makers are rather focused on the cooperation with actors such as trade unions or employers, which law and policy influences in the practice the most.	✓
	Involvement of other actors	The policy-makers started to cooperate more closely with e.g. media on the ethical rules of reporting on migration and integration aiming at preventing hoaxes and misconceptions (Ministry of Labour…, 2018b), with trade unions, regions, employers, except the external researchers. Some meetings became closed to the public or research, but it was not a result of inviting more stakeholders into the debate, it was more a decision of the policy-makers not to include external researchers who could be very vocal opponent of the governmental actions.	✗
Policy change	**Discourse structuration**	Securitisation discourse became structured in the public opinions rather quickly but so far, an integration programme for refugees is missing, which makes it difficult to predict if this discourse becomes also institutionalised in the document.	✓
	Discourse institutiona-lisation	The ethno-centric discourse could be observed in the policy measures even before the crisis, either by the priority check or by malfunctioning system of recognition for qualifications. Some researchers claim that due to this discourse and the fact that there is not a political will to change it, migrants usually face complication coming from already lower bureaucrats who respond to the general public and political mood that Slovakia does not want the immigrants, especially not if they do not assimilate themselves into the society.	✗

As mentioned in the culturalist perspective, Slovakia has a very well embedded ethnocentric discourse, affecting not only public and political debates, but also enforcing the restrictive measures in the labour market integration policy. This institutionalised discourse

was reflected in the institutional perspective, since it played a major role in preserving the path-dependent character of the policy even after the crisis.

The most significant change during the monitored period was the adoption of the Integration Policy in 2014. The policy itself was very visionary, supporting equal opportunities for all, breaking down the structural barriers of accessing the labour market and also creating a programme for managed legal migration of skilled labour such as students, researchers or entrepreneurs (Ministry of Labour…, 2014a, p. 27). The only problem was that it was defined very vaguely and therefore, in 2017, it is still not fully implemented (The Government of the Slovak Republic, 2018). Even if some local actors wish to pursue very inclusive policies towards immigrants, there is no assistance or support from the national actors to do so (Gallová Kriglerová & Chudžíková, 2016). The integration policy lacks precise descriptions of the relationship between local and national levels in the integration issues, while there is still not a centralised organ responsible for this assistance (ibid, p. 63).

Since 2014, only incremental changes in law and policy appeared, mostly transposing the EU directives which indicates a certain apathy or inactivity of Slovak policy-makers in labour market integration. The institutionalisation of the ethnocentric discourse locked the policies in a certain way of thinking of nation and identity, while none of the political parties had enough will to open the topic of integration in a positive light, anchoring the group think of migration as a topic at the margins of their political interest. Moreover, the bureaucratic system of obtaining work and residence permits is built on a premise that Slovakia does not want immigrants, showing the self-referential character of the ethnocentric identity. Knowledge was only accountable for minor changes, supporting institutional layering or institutional conversion. Its lack of resources might have limited their possibility in pursuing their interests.

Tab.15: Causal Mechanisms of the Institutional Perspective in Slovakia

Causal mechanism	Indicators and Explanations		Present
Path-dependency and negative feedback	**Policies locked-in**	Policies on labour market integration are made within the previous institutional logic, in which discourse institutionalisation plays a crucial role.	✓
	Group think	There was not a strong will from political parties to open the issue of migration and integration, especially not after it became politicised by the refugee crisis. Even if political parties open this issue, it is in a negative light, trying to take away the restrictive rhetoric and public support from the far-right party.	✓

	Self-referentiality	State can build its self-referentiality on the institutional procedures, such as bureaucracy, on the channels of formation and culture (Bekkers et. al, 2017, p. 272). Ethnocentric culture determines more restrictive measures to be made against immigrants, since their goal might be to employ first natives who are without a job. Whole bureaucratic system then supports the restrictive discourse by unnecessarily hindering the process of getting work and residence permit (reluctance to help newcomers, poor English language skills, etc.)	✓
	Role of knowledge	Research, especially in-house, contributed to the incremental changes, e.g. adopting an exception from priority checks in the bottleneck professions.	✓
	Institutional layering	There only very small changes recorded, as in obtaining easier work and residence permit for highly-skilled foreigners. The strategy for people with international protection is, however, still missing.	✓
	Institutional conversion	There was not a specific budget allocated to tackle the consequences of the refugee crisis, or to improve the integration process, but the policy-makers changed their position towards gaps in profession who are difficult to fill by native population, so-called bottleneck professions, for which a priority check is not necessary anymore.	✓

5.2. Conclusion

The analysis showed which indicators were found in the real research-policy dialogue in Slovakia, and hence, which perspectives prove to have more explanatory power. Again, as in the case of Germany, a mixture of indicators of different perspectives has been present in the data. On the one hand, rationalism was not traceable in any of the causal mechanisms, but institutionalism was found in all. The political perspective has also proven not that useful, as it could only predict the change in the support for advocacy groups, which did not result into non-incremental changes in the policy or deep core, as initially expected. The cultural perspective predicted accurately that the discourse will significantly affect the role of the research. The ethnocentric discourse was already restricting knowledge transfer to the actual policies before the crisis started, but after 2015, it was also supplemented by the securitisation discourse, worsening the position of science.

The theoretical perspectives were mostly expecting that the refugee crisis will pose as a critical juncture, delivering many fundamental changes in policies but also discourse or power relations. While all the other perspectives have focused on policy change, only institutionalism counted with policy stability or potential path-dependency preserved despite the increasing number of newcomers. Therefore, unlike in Germany, many indicators could not predict the actual development of the policy dynamics and the research-policy dialogues.

Institutionalism, as a perspective, is traceable in all of the indicators of the negative feedback, which is built on a premise from the cultural perspective. The ethnocentric discourse is deeply rooted in the understanding of the nation as a homogenous group with its values, culture and language, reflecting the restrictiveness towards newcomers in politics, media but also in institutional setting and legislation. This discourse then sustains the self-referential character of the policy and institutions, while it restricts the role of the research.

Even though, that path-dependent pattern was found in the policy change, it does not mean that path-dependency could be also present in the dialogue structures. The politicisation of migration brought by the crisis, excluded certain researchers from the dialogue, while policy-makers started to cooperate closely with the in-house researchers or the IOM. The lack of policy change could be justified by a relatively rigid and slow bureaucratic system that was not able to react appropriately in 3 years since the crisis erupted. However, the alteration of the dialogue structure, inclusion of the business lobby and acknowledging the economic problems connected with the rapid ageing population might consequently account for liberalising the policy in the near future.

None of the perspectives predicted such a development, either considering engineering or coping model as the outcome of their ideal scenario. Why? Simply because the approaches work with two main groups of actors in the research-policy nexus, respectively the policy and the expertise. However, in the case of Slovakia, research, especially external research, is not regarded as a cognitive authority that policy should follow, or as an equal partner in the process of powering and puzzling, but their position is downgraded and replaced by other powerful actors, such as businesses, or even policy-makers who perceive themselves as being experts.

The results of the analysis of the research-policy dialogues of Slovakia and Germany are often divergent, most likely due to the dissimilar character of the case studies, but the theoretical perspectives managed to uncover some of the similarities that could be used for a broader generalisation to other countries. The next chapter will look more closely into the comparison of the cases and what future implications the analysis carries.

6. Comparison of the Case Studies

In this chapter, the results of the analysis from both cases of Slovakia and Germany will be compared in order to find similarities between the dissimilar case study design, that could be then used for broader generalisation. Since the research-policy dialogues are coming from a different background, possible reasons standing behind the different outcomes of the analysis will be clarified, such as the early/late politicisation, (non-)institutionalised dialogue structure between research and policy or specific national characteristics that influenced the research findings.

The crisis extracted a very unique process of interaction between research and policy in a contested environment that was expected to account for visible difference between the two already dissimilar cases of Germany and Slovakia, but also for non-incremental changes in the study of the within-cases. Four theoretical perspectives were applied in order to explain the policy change and understand the interaction between research and policy from different points of view. The combination of their predictions appeared to be the most-suitable approach for the case study design since all of them proved to have some explanatory power, casting more light on the research-policy nexus and policy change.

Fig.6: Visualisation of the Shift in the Dialogue Structures in Germany and Slovakia[14]

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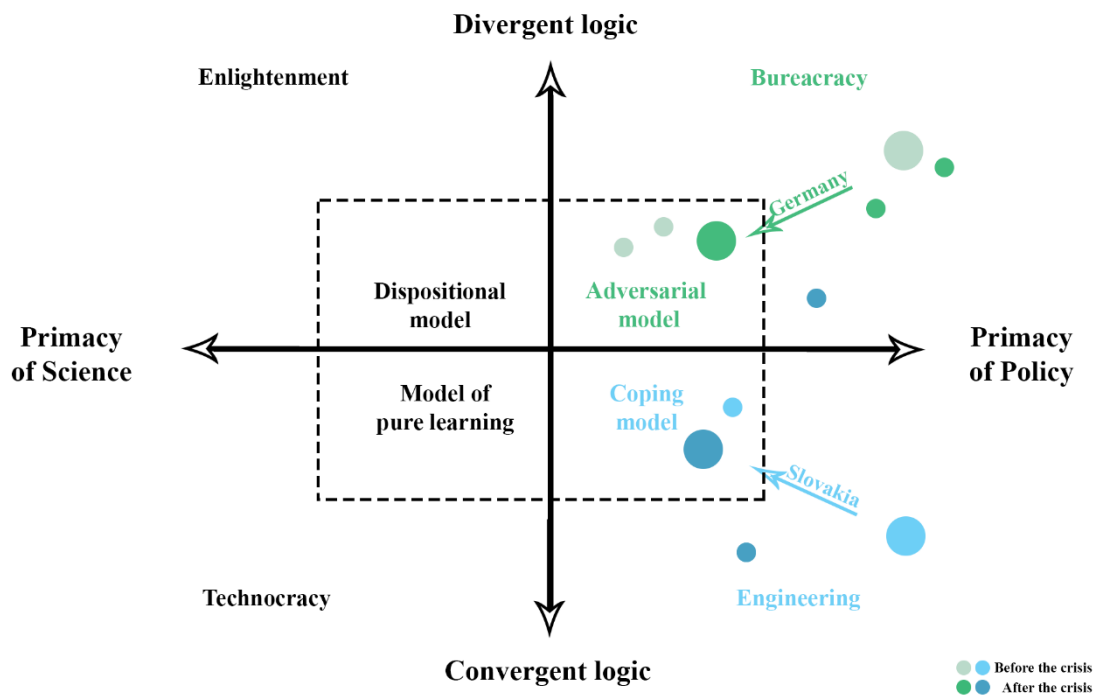
[14] Bigger circles in the diagram depict the dominant model of the dialogue structures which majority of the indicators point to, while smaller circles characterise diffused indicators from other models.

Despite the fact, that Slovakia and Germany were defined as dissimilar cases, the analysis uncovered many analogies in the reconstructed process around the focus event of the refugee crisis. In both countries, the contestation of integration policies caused inclination towards a dialogue where policy-makers do not necessarily hold a superior position and where any relevant stakeholders can advocate their positions. The crisis put the issue in the centre of the attention and policy-makers appeared to be under constant scrutiny of the public to develop policies that are effective. In Germany, effective policies are reached through discussion with research, building it on a premise of evidence-based policy-making. Therefore, the Ministry of Labour (BMAS), but also other ministries, started supporting either financially or politically knowledge production by establishing new institutes, launching new projects or networking different research fields that should reflect the multi-disciplinary nature of migration and integration policies. On the contrary, policy-makers in Slovakia followed the idea that effective policy should be easily implemented in practice, and therefore, they only recently started focusing on the cooperation with employers, foreign investors and businesses as the "practitioners" who call for the liberalisation of the labour market integration policy and whose demands policy should eventually reflect because of their powerful position.

The contestation then resulted in the involvement of more actors with different dialogue structure´s position into the process of policy-making, preventing the regular claiming primacy of policy within an environment where a strong lobby of diverse stakeholders against political action can be mobilised. It did not unnecessarily result in de-institutionalisation of the dialogue, as culturalism predicted, but on the other hand, it has led to an increasingly institutionalised cooperation between policy and research in Germany, and between policy and businesses in Slovakia, while leaving the external researchers at the margins of the policy-making process. This difference could be explained by the fact that in Slovakia, migration and integration policies have been left at the periphery of political interest, and thus, migration and integration in general became largely politicised for the first time with the refugee crisis. Germany on the other hand, experienced an early politicisation in 2000's when a paradigm shift in the migration discussion has been adopted (Scholten & Verbeek, 2015).

The combination of late politicisation and lack of institutionalised dialogue of research and policy accounted for the abolishment of any cooperation research and policy might have before the crisis in order to simultaneously manifest the superiority of the policy-makers over research and their obedience to the general public concerns. This finding could be applicable for a diverse array of cases. As Hoppe (2005) predicted the politicised setting could create very

unfavourable conditions for research if they concentrate too much power in their hands since it could be 'interpreted as a threat to political primacy'. If the research then does not have a well-established dialogue with the policy-makers, it could, in a sudden politicised environment, lose its possibilities for expanding knowledge production or ensuring knowledge transfer.

The politicisation revived the institutionalised discourse, widely accepted by public and policy-makers, affecting not only the policy changes, but also the dialogue structures. Discourse affects how people understand migration, or what policy solutions are acceptable for them and thus, it is only a logical process when public resorts to the discourse to find answers for a higher inflow of immigrants. Generally, discourse played an enormous role both in Germany that found itself in a position of accepting hundreds of thousands of refugees, and Slovakia that was only under the threat of refugees coming in but in reality, it accepted only 149 of them. The mere existence of a threat, especially for an ethnocentric country, experiencing the politicisation for the first time, provoked the restrictive discourse into overtaking any reasonable discussions policy-makers might have with the research.

Since politicisation in Slovakia has left external researchers at the margins of the policy-making, rationalism was untraceable in any of the indicators, signalling an unwillingness of policy-makers to support evidence-based policy-making. The policy dynamics could be, therefore, explained mainly through the mix of the remaining three perspectives. In Germany on the other hand, politicisation induced an institutionalised dialogue and very open financial and political support of knowledge production. This way, rationalism brought more evidence into the discussions on the integration, that cannot be so easily overruled by political ideology and party politics. The indicators of rationalism balanced the power of cultural or political perspectives, unlike in Slovakia.

Slovakia lacks a well-established dialogue between research and policy, because the country is often only a passive actor in the labour market integration policy, transposing the secondary law of the EU without having clearly defined and implemented their own policy goals. The policy-makers do not see the issue as their priority, which prevents embedding the research in the policy-making process and investing enough in the development of the migration and integration research, as well as in implementation of the strategic documents. Despite the fact, that an indication of increasing institutional cooperation between research and policy appeared during the drafting of the Integration Policy in 2014, it was later halted due to the wave of panic that the crisis incited.

One of the main findings of the analysis is that the crisis was less likely to politicise the labour market integration policy when there was already a well-established dialogue in place between research and policy, and when the research-policy nexus was not affected in such an extent by the crisis because it had already experienced politicisation early on. Germany went through the first period of politicisation of issue in 2000's, which changed the perception of migration and Germany as an immigrant country (Scholten & Verbeek, 2015). It has a decades-long tradition of funding not only research recruited by the administration, but also independent scientists at the universities and research institutes (Rueschemeyer and van Rossem 1996: 136; Boswell, 2009, p. 161). It is common practice of policy-makers to constantly evaluate their policy solutions in order to find out if they still respond to the current needs, and if they are efficient and effective. This proved to be of upmost importance when the dialogue between research and policy should be sustained also within a politicised setting.

So far, Slovakia did not show any policy impetus to develop strong independent research capacity. Unlike in Germany, there are, firstly, not many universities that could take the leading role in migration and integration research and raise new professionals in the field, and secondly, they do not have a sufficient budget to finance such research because most of the scientists are solely relying on EU funding. According to some researchers, cooperation is often based on a good individual relationship, they have with the policy-makers, but policy stays "on top" and research "on tap". The crisis, at least, evoked interest of researchers and academia to map out public opinion in these issues, as well as analyse political and media discourse, creating a better understanding on the topic that was before left at the margins of the political discourse, and building a more powerful expertise that the policy-makers might eventually invite to the policy-making process.

So far, Slovak research was not so successful in accomplishing their interests because they lack general resources that could make them a powerful actor that policy-makers need to include into the policy-making process. Before the crisis, the policy-makers were attempting to fill in this intellectual vacuum by delegating themselves into the position of expertise as well, indicating a convergent role between research and policy. In Germany, the established dialogue structure with researchers demonstrated divergent logics in which policy and research act mostly in their conventional roles.

One of the main differences between Slovakia and Germany is the activity of research. In Slovakia, the politicisation transferred the external research into the passive position of mere

bystanders with restricted access to the meetings with the policy-makers, since they do not have enough resources to pursue their own interests. Employers and businesses as powerful actors replaced science in proposing growingly liberalised labour market access conditions. As Freeman (1995) predicted in 'client politics', public as a diffused bearer of the costs will probably not be able to prevent changing the *status quo*, not even with a far-right party in the parliament. The Slovak economy is highly dependent on foreign car industry companies, with almost 44% share of all industrial production (Webnoviny.sk, 2018), putting the businesses in the privileged position as an important partner to policy-makers. This relationship might be problematic in the long run, because the employers are mostly focused on labour migrants, who could fill in the gaps at the labour market easier, while legislation on the labour market integration of persons with international protection might become neglected if the policy-makers themselves do not show interest in solving their position in society.

In Germany, science was very actively engaged in policy, lobbied for implementing their ideas and built advocacy coalitions with the policy-makers in order to aggregate resources and become a more powerful actor. It could have derived this position from the well-embedded dialogue with the policy-makers, and also from the established reputation in the scientific world. Many researchers were greatly affected by the general political discourse that became in many cases manipulated by the populist rhetoric advocating for more restrictiveness towards newcomers and they tried to pose as a counterbalance of such conversation, mandating themselves as actors who bring scientific knowledge into the discussion, but also who would oppose the implementation of exclusive legislation because it deviates from their internal mantra as a research institute. Hence, expertise with well-developed capacity and experience in carrying out long-term research in the labour market integration policy is taken more seriously by policy-makers, which helps with their position in the research-policy dialogue. The contestation of policy can activate these researchers to engage in the debate more, either directly within the institutionalised dialogue, or indirectly through media, which generates a potential for reasonable discussion, not so much influenced by populist slogans.

Interestingly, both countries held elections after the crisis erupted, when it would be expected that the politicisation will be more visible, since parties often misuse the migration and integration policy for collecting the unsatisfied voters that are "forgotten" by the other political parties. Even though that the public opinion remains roughly the same in both countries, in Slovakia restrictive, and in Germany fairly balanced, the support in the advocacy group has changed in both cases, when the far-right parties entered the parliaments. The parties

collected discontent voters, not only from the issues of migration, but in case of Slovakia, one of the main reasons for voting the far-right party was also the fight against corruption (DenníkN.sk, 2016).

Despite the public opinion being more or less constant, the change in the advocacy coalition could appear, unlike the predictions from the political perspective. Moreover, Germany altered its policy core in the labour market integration, but it was not caused by supporting a new advocacy coalition, as expected, but due to the initial positive atmosphere in public and politics to implement a more liberal approach towards refugees. According to a senior researcher, it is highly likely that the legislation would not be favouring refugees in such an extent if the new law on integration was discussed after the elections when the AfD strongly opposed the welcome culture. Hence, only the mere existence of a far-right party causes other parties of the political mainstream to lean towards right-wing rhetoric, especially before elections, with the aim of mobilising a broader public support. It is necessary to note that even though the institutionalised dialogue might be resistant to change even in the politicised setting, the migration and integration policy is still a very controversial topic, in which political ideology and party politics control policy outcomes. Primacy of policy is particularly manifested with the higher-ranking policy-makers which restrict the possibilities of a dialogue. Hence, a certain political agenda cannot be overruled only by scientific knowledge and facts.

A strategy of policy-makers in both cases on how to be more inclusive to expertise, while also preserving the primacy of policy, is resorting to employing more in-house research. In the case of Slovakia, the Institute of Social Policy was established in 2017, in Germany, the research for BAMF was also recruited by the Research Centre. The researchers are commissioned by the government to produce knowledge that is later used as political ammunition, because their recommendations are most likely not contradicting the governmental path, and if they do, they are only communicated internally, which restricts their independence and impartiality. The policy-makers then selectively choose which data supports their claims and the rest they leave hidden from the public. Boswell (2009, p. 249) called this attempt of the policy-makers to publicly support evidence-based policy-making while only implementing the evidence that fits to the political agenda, as a "myth of instrumental use" of knowledge. To uphold this myth, BAMF also invited several consultancy agencies to evaluate policy content and offer policy advice. Inclusion of such actors that many researchers do not consider as part of expertise, is very controversial, because they do not have any long-term experience in the topic, and their independence is questionable as well.

The crisis induced the inclusion of these semi-independent structures that can uphold the myth of evidence-based policy-making, while also justifying the position of the administration, by potentially using it against any opposing scientific arguments. Ordinary people usually trust science more than politics (Hendriks and Bromme, 2016; OECD, 2017), also because they pose as an impartial cognitive authority above the political manipulation. To legitimise the policy goals by knowledge proves to be a beneficial strategy, because people are in many cases not aware of the potential influences of administration, and therefore, even in a contested setting, policy solutions with support of scientific knowledge seems to have more cognitive value.

The crisis did not cause many non-incremental changes and therefore, the policy dynamics in both countries was mostly path-dependent. In Germany, it was due to long-term experience with migration, during which it could develop a well-functioning system of integration. In Slovakia, the most probable reason was the lack of policy interest to even open this issue, while there was not an actor powerful enough who could lobby for non-incremental policy change soon enough after the crisis, which could be still recorded in the analysed period. Most importantly, in both cases, the path-dependent character of policy was based on the institutionalised discourse that shapes the whole policy. Germany, however, in the Integration Policy from 2016, adopted a drastic policy change by introducing the concept of early intervention and suspending the priority checks in 133 out of 156, since it was very openly favouring refugees who were not impeded by being third-country nationals, as it was a practice before. The crisis brought more attention to the issue, to which many Germans answered with expressions of solidarity that very much pushed a more liberal approach into practice.

Did the policy character of labour market integration affect the research-policy dialogue? Both policy-makers and researchers in Germany claimed that due to the controversial character of the policy that is connected with migration and integration, the policy-makers might be less likely to implement scientific data, contradicting their political goals, rather than in example of integration of women or handicapped people to the labour market. These policies usually do not have strong opposition, and therefore, the policy-makers apply the primacy of policy less often than in the case of integration policies, that are very much affected by the political ideology. Slovakia, on the other hand, is not very active in adopting its own strategic goals in the labour market integration policy, and therefore, it mostly updates its legislation according to the European law. However, the liberalisation of the labour market integration policies is in the interest of businesses or employers who recently become more organised and

lobbied for a policy change. This policy, specifically, is different than any other integration policy that usually does not directly affect them and thus, they are less likely to lobby for amending the legislation.

7. Conclusion

The thesis focused on better understanding and explaining the boundary work between research and policy in the labour market integration policy when conditions for their cooperation change and become politicised. It is important to study this phenomenon because it offers deeper insight into how two important actors in the policy-making cooperate together when the issue gets into the attention of the public and media, if their interaction is influenced more by power struggles, institutionalised discourse or demand for anchoring new policies in scientific data. The causal inference deducted from the analysis could then help expertise, but also other actors in the dialogue structure, to improve their position in the policy-making process by either finding a powerful ally, producing good quality research or challenging the institutional setting.

To answer the main research question, four theoretical approaches, namely rational, political, cultural and institutional perspectives have been applied to the study design, grasping the complexity of interactions between the key actors, their motivations and perceptions. The predictions that fit to the logic of specific theories have been constructed according to the congruence analysis that goes beyond the usual format of hypothesis, addressing the broader theoretical discourse. This method has been supplemented by the process-tracing analysis as a case-centred approach, since the study applies the theoretical matrix on two dissimilar cases, Germany and Slovakia. The observations of both countries have been analysed by the direct content analysis and compared with the process, anticipated according to the theories, which showed which parts of the theories have some explanatory power.

Despite the fact that the cases are of the dissimilar nature, many parallel scenarios could be found in both instances. How did the contested environment then change the research-policy dialogue? Firstly, the politicisation induced a shift from an apparent primacy of policy to more dialogue with an analogous logic. The policy-makers appeared to be under the persistent public scrutiny when the migration and integration policy caught wider media and public attention. On the one hand, it was expected of them to prepare effective policies, and on the other hand, more actors became involved in the policy-making process that restricted possibilities of the policy-makers to claim the primacy of policy, at least at the lower level of the ministries.

Secondly, the primacy of policy was specifically still preserved at the positions of higher-ranking policy-makers because the labour market integration policy is a controversial issue after all, and therefore, the policy-makers cannot look like they lost their control over the agenda, especially not in the times of crisis. To uphold the myth of evidence-based policy-making and to maintain the primacy of policy, policy-makers utilised in-house researchers, as in case of Slovakia, or the Research Centre at the BAMF, alongside the consultancy agencies in Germany. Recruiting researchers at the service of the administration might be perceived as a well-planned strategy of policy-makers to include mainly researchers who are already embedded in the governmental structure because it could prevent disrupting the governmental way of thinking of integration, while research could be mostly used as political ammunition, selectively employed for manifesting evidence-based policy-making. The politicisation then generated more cooperation between these semi-independent structures that could not challenge the governmental path but could be utilised as a scientific argument against external researchers, if necessary.

Thirdly, the real effect of the refugee crisis or the lack thereof, had the same outcome for both cases in the political and cultural perspective. The crisis collided with the pre-election campaigns during which the issue became increasingly politicised after the parties often misused it as a strategy to gather enough electoral support. Slovakia only dealt with a threat of migration, without providing a real contribution to the crisis, but it still extracted the main arguments on the labour market integration from the institutionalised discourse on ethnocentrism, facilitating the rise of the far-right party. The analogical process happened in Germany with the success of the AfD, which utilised the discourse of Germany restraining itself from contributions to the crisis.

The observed cases are still of dissimilar nature, and therefore, many differences appeared in the reconstructed process. Firstly, it has been found out that the contested environment impedes the position of research in the case where it is not already a well-established research-policy nexus and when science finds itself in the late period of the politicisation. The debate on labour market integration becomes influenced mainly by political and cultural perspectives, when populism and anti-immigrant sentiment swamps any reasonable scientific arguments, that leaves the research at the margins of policy-making. If an institutionalised dialogue is already in place, and if the politicisation already happened long before the refugee crisis, cooperation between research and policy becomes more institutionalised and science more demanded. This expands the scope of rationalism, balancing

the elements of cultural and political perspective, empowering the position of science in the boundary arrangements and in the policy-making process.

Secondly, the experience with the labour market integration policy causes a different approach to science, that could be on the one hand, financially and politically supported by the state, or it could uncover a lack of any established tradition of the state promoting research capacity. The politicisation then activated the research that has over the years created a strong position towards policy-makers, lobbying for its own interests or posing as a counterbalance to populist and restrictive rhetoric. The research lacking funding and power resources becomes impeded in the contested environment because it does not have the capacity to convince policy-makers to include them in the policy-making process.

Thirdly, fundamental policy changes could be implemented in the contested setting, only when they found enough public and political support. Early or late politicisation, as well as a well-established dialogue or lack thereof, did not prove to have any significant effect on the policy change. Only Germany adopted a change in the policy norms that began to very openly favour refugees at the labour market integration, due to an already institutionalised discourse of the welcome culture that became only intensified by the politicisation. Slovakia might eventually follow the same process as Germany did, when in 2000's politicisation gathered enough interest of policy-makers to focus on the migration and integration issues more, inducing the period of institutionalisation of the dialogue. However, this development is highly dependent on the will of policy-makers to support evidence-based policy-making.

What are then lessons learnt for researchers that find themselves in the contested environment, but they lack firmly established dialogue with the policy? Firstly, if the research cannot find its way to the policy-makers who generally do not support the position of science, it should rather focus on partnering up with actors who share the same view on the issue and who have more resources in the boundary work. Stakeholders like employers, businesses or foreign investors are usually very open proponents of liberalising the labour market accession regulations, that are more likely to organise quicker and lobby for their interests easier than the diffused public. After the issue becomes politicised, their close and direct relationship with the policy-makers is sustained due to the economic revenue they generate for the state, which makes them a powerful ally.

Secondly, research can focus on actors who do not have the same ideas on migration but could be convinced easier because they are not affected by the political ideology or party

politics to such an extent. This could be e.g. local administration that plays an important role in the implementation of the integration and who might be more open to a dialogue. As an example, in Slovakia a research centre CVEK is currently organising a project KapaCity that induces involvement of regions into the integration policy, while introducing the best practices in the policy and raising an interest of regions to become more active in the policy (CVEK, 2018), to eventually lobby for more liberal legislation after they could appreciate the benefits foreigners can bring to their region.

Thirdly, research can focus on convincing the public after the politicisation of migration and integration policy becomes at the centre of their attention. Researchers have often voiced a concern that political parties only blindly follow the public opinion, and therefore, it might be in the long run, more effective to educate the public, to lead a wide public discussion and guide the debate by scientific information. Structuring a discourse on foreigners around positive effects which migration has on the economy or society can change the position of policy-makers who might be then more open to fundamental policy change and institutionalising the dialogue with science.

Theoretical perspectives enabled a deeper understanding of the relationship between research and policy in the contested environment, or of the effect the refugee crisis might have on the policy dynamics. In Germany, the expectations of rationalism and institutionalism proved to overlap with reality the most, in all of the indicators. Culturalism and the political perspective were tractable only partially, in the both case studies. Unlike in Germany, rationalism in Slovakia did not have any explanatory power, while institutionalism was traceable in all of the indicators. This means that the policy dynamics evolved more around power relations, discourse or institutional framework, rather than science. However, it has been clear that in spite of the demand for knowledge production after the crisis has risen, knowledge transfer was still halted by other forces that were in place, such as the restrictive institutionalised discourse or success of the anti-immigrant political rhetoric.

This shows that some perspectives are more extensive in the explanation of the cases (like rationalism or institutionalism), while the explanatory power of others (political and cultural perspectives) might be limited because their expectations have been proven only partially. Nevertheless, they still give a complimentary vision of the reality that creates a coherent idea of the policy dynamics and the research-policy dialogues in the contested environment.

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