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Creating different (regional) orders? The EU's and US engagement with their Southern Neighbours in the context of recurring migration crisis

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Today

1. *Pax Americana* vs. *Pax Europea*?

2. Regional order as a narrative

3. Regional order as a structure

1. Pax Americana vs. Pax Europea

Ponjaert, 2014)

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How similar/different are the regional orders that the EU/US aimed to create in their southern neighborhoods after 2014?

"Regions are … social entities, born out of imagination, discourse and socialisation" (A. Acharaya, 2013)

2. Regional order as a narrative

Strategic narrative? (Miskimmon, O'Loughlin, Roselle 2017)

Forward-looking stories that connect the past, present and future, and articulate a distinctive position on a specific issue or in general on the country's place within the international system.

Narratives that the actors tell about themselves and the world around them **FOR** others

System narrative: How does the world is structured?

Identity narrative: What is the history of the state / nation / actor, what are its values and objectives?

Issue narrative: Why is the policy necessary and (normatively) desirable, and how will it be successfully implemented or achieved?

| Rupture | Disorder | Order |

A. Rupture (2014/2015?)

If something was not done, "the Western hemisphere [would] feel the consequences" (Biden,2015)

Our wider region has become more unstable and more insecure. The crises within and beyond our borders are affecting directly our citizens' lives (European Commission, 2016)

B. Disorder

C. Order

Is

Neighbourhood >> source of insecurity (*interdependence*)

„Roots of insecurity">> not only security-related!

Similar "prescriptions" >> roadmaps

- The recipe:
    - Governance (good, decentralized, transparent)
    - Competetiveness
    - Employment (emphasis on youth)
    - Security reforms…

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Competitors found the Western hemisphere (2017-2021)

Is

Transformación (>> migration management >> stabilization?) vs. stabilization

Confronting these challenges requires nothing less than systemic change, which we in the United States have a direct interest in helping to bring about. (Biden, 2015)

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Regional challenges – threat to the very existance (2015)

In the next three to five years, the most urgent challenge in many parts of the neighbourhood is stabilisation (EC, 2015)
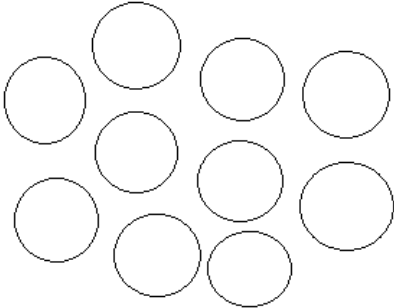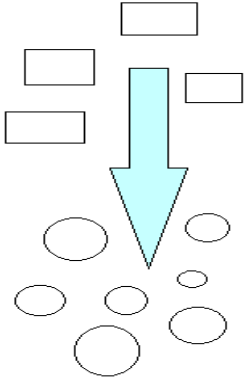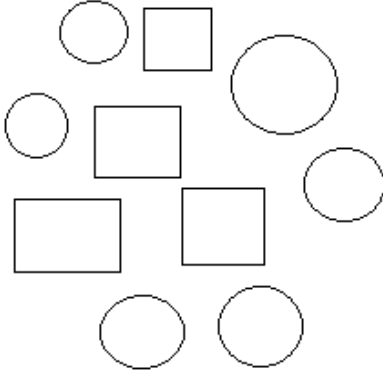
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Any regional order is a social structure defined as a „multidimensional space of different social positions among which a population is distributed" (Blau, 1977, p. 4)

3. Regional order as… an order
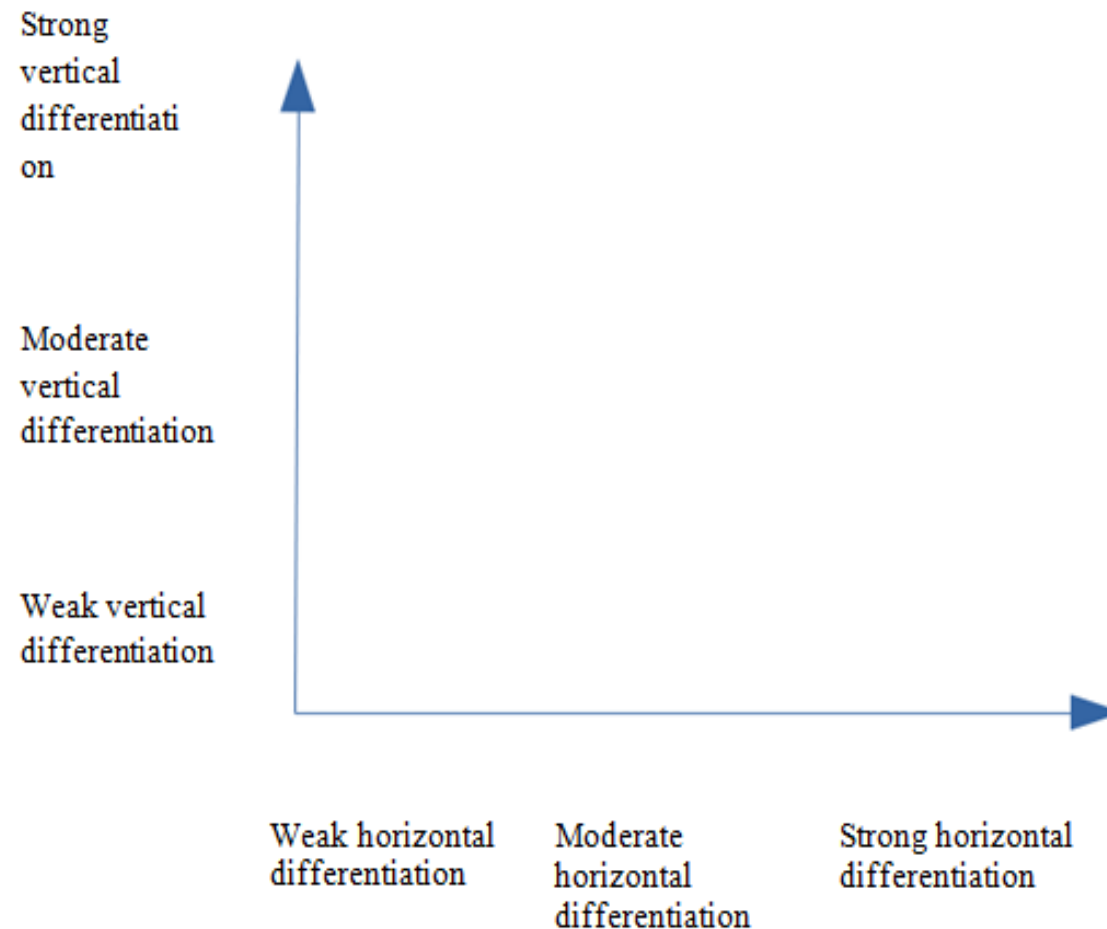**(2014-2017-*2022*?)**

Differentiation theory

Differentiation establishes if components of the system are essentially the same, or are they distinguishable by status, capability, or function?

Segmentary/egalitarian differentiation	Vertical/stratificatory differentiation	Horizontal/functional differentiation
Westphalian state system	*Great power system*	*Regional security complex*

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Policy convergence
number of spheres
+
Scope
(domestic vs. foreign)
+
Intensity of the request
(one time? As a foreign policy goal? Conditional?)
+
Negotiated?

Strong vertical differentiation

Moderate vertical differentiation

Weak vertical differentiation

Weak horizontal differentiation

Moderate horizontal differentiation

Strong horizontal differentiation

Functions taken: sponsorship (resource transfer, production of regional public goods), mediation/coordination + Institutionalization of (various) spheres in the region

	Weak horizontal differentiation	Moderate horizontal differentiation	Strong horizontal differentiation
Strong vertical differentiation			
Moderate vertical differentiation		**US (beginning of the period of analysis):** • Requests for policy convergence in 5 spheres (domestic policy + documented); • Conditionality (both negative and positive) foreseen (preference for positive); • Regional strategy >> joint endeavor; • A part of the region (but only to some extent); • Finances regional public goods; • Redistributes resources through ODA (flows unstable and politicized); • Weak support institutionalization of the region;	**EU (beginning of the period of analysis):** • Requests for policy convergence in 5 spheres (domestic policy + documented). • Conditionality (both negative and positive) foreseen (preference for positive). • Pathways to the uptake of necessities and preferences of partnering countries. • A part of the region • Finances regional public goods • Redistributes resources through ODA (significant and stable amounts) and partially through trade (preferential agreements); • Supports a wide variety of regional organizations and thematic exchange frameworks;
Weak vertical differentiation			

"Conclusions"

- Can we talk about "The Western vision of the Southern Regions"?

Yes!

- Source of disorder requiring "ordering."
- *Intermestic* issues (**migration**) at the heart of the policies.

- Can we talk about differences between the regional *Pax Americana* vs. *Pax Europea*?

Yes!

- EU is putting aside the *transformative agenda*
- *"Institutionalization* of the region"
- Region as a part of the identity (would it be truth with the Eastern Neighborhood)?

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Thank you!