

# Angela Merkel's National Role Conceptions on the migration crisis in Europe

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## **Abstract**

In the summer of 2015 Angela Merkel used the phrase “Wir Schaffen das” (we can do it), to motivate the European Union (EU) to deal with the migration crisis together. The media have pictured the progressive stance of Angela Merkel on the migration crisis as unusual for Germany and therefore it seems that there is a change in the German EU politics on migration policy. This thesis researches the theoretical relation relationship between changing NRCs of leaders and a changing role of the state as assumed in the introduction of this thesis Therefore this research tries to map the National Role Conceptions (NRCs) of Angela Merkel’s leaderships style and compares the NRCs to find out if there is change in the NRCs of Angela Merkel over time. To find out to what extend the NRCs of Angela Merkel have changed a case study design is used for this. Additionally, content analysis is used to analyze speeches of Angela Merkel in the European Union on migration policy. The results of this research showed that there is no visible trend in the change in NRCs of Angela Merkel. Additionally, the NRCs of Angela Merkel in the European Union on migration policy did not change substantively since the migration crisis of 2015

## **Problem statement**

In 1999, the basis for European migration and asylum policies were created at the European Council meeting in Finland (Mushaben, 2011, p. 380). However, since the migration crisis of 2015 the migration policies are a sensitive subject in Europe. In the summer of 2015 Angela Merkel used the phrase “Wir Schaffen das” (we can do it), to motivate the European Union (EU) to deal with this migration crisis together. It is remarkable that Angela Merkel used such clear language to state Germany’s stance on solving the migration crisis in the summer of 2015. Germany took a leading role in trying to solve the migration crisis. Not only a diplomatic role but also a bigger active role than other EU member states. For example Germany sheltered relatively the biggest amount of refugees compared to other EU member states (Guild, 2015, p.3). Since Germany is one of the biggest countries in Europe with one of the currently strongest economies one could naturally expect Germany to take a leading role in Europe (Leithner, 2009, p.11). However, Germany’s past and the WOII legacy have most often resulted in a non-leading role for Germany. Frequently Germany took a consolidating or mediation role in the EU (Leithner, 2009, p.11). Therefore it is interesting to see that Germany is on the forefront of policymaking and finding a solution for the migration crisis. The media have pictured the progressive stance of Angela Merkel on the migration crisis as unusual for Germany and therefore it seems that there is a change in the German EU politics on migration policy. There are overall several explanations for this changing role of Germany in the European Union, for example a change can be found in a changing leadership style of Angela Merkel, changing discourse of Germany, or framing through the public opinion. However, this change can be explained by many different factors, this thesis does not cover all possible explanations of a change in German EU politics on immigration policy.

This research is constructed upon the assumption that a changing role of a state is influenced by changing National Role Conceptions (NRCs) of leaders. To find out if this assumption is adaptable this research tries to map the NRCs of Angela Merkel’s leaderships style and compares the NRCs to find out if there is change in the NRCs of Angela Merkel over time. This research is academically relevant because research on NRCs of leadership style is not found frequently in Foreign Policy Analysis. Additionally, there is not a good framework that can measure role types of states by measuring NRCs. This research provides a framework to measure NRC by analyzing leadership style. Although this thesis only examines the NRC of Angela Merkel and thereby of Germany, this framework might be useful for further research in creating an overview of NRCs of multiple states.

To find out if the changing role of Germany is influenced by changing NRCs of Angela Merkel this thesis tries to answer the following question: To what extent are the National Role Conceptions of Angela Merkel in the European Union changing concerning immigration policy since the migration crisis of 2015? Finding out to what extent the NRCs of Angela Merkel are changing is important because it helps to understand why Angela Merkel used progressive statements to take a lead in solving the migration crisis of Europe. To be able to answer the main question, speeches of Angela Merkel on migration policy in the EU will be analyzed on leadership characteristics of Angela Merkel.

## Literature review

The next section gives a description of role theory and of the most important concepts of this theory. Additionally the section discusses different stances on leadership analysis and reasoning styles.

### Role theory

The balance of power theory, formed during the Cold War, assumes that there are three different roles for states; namely the role of the ‘aggressor’, the ‘defender’ and the ‘balancer’ (Holsti, 1970, p.234). Thereby this theory postulates that when one of these roles is not fulfilled there is an imbalance of power in the system. However this theory seems plausible, it misses out some other roles that states can play in the international system according to Holsti (Holsti, 1970, p.234). Therefore Holsti developed a theory on NRCs, with nine possible national roles played by states in the international system. Holsti’s research has been done by analyzing the discourse of a great number of speeches, debates, radio broadcasts and press conferences from 71 different states (Holsti, 1970, p.256).

A role according to Holsti is: *“A set of norms of behavior which are thought to apply to a person occupying a given position”* (Holsti, 1970, p.238). In this way a role refers to behavior and not to a position (Holsti, 1970, p.238). Therefore, the role of Germany in the EU is not a position but depends on behavior of the state and its actors. Chafetz, Abramson & Grillot heightens this concept by arguing that a role is a combination of the way an actor thinks it should behave and the situation in which a role is acted out (Chafetz, Abramson & Grillot, 1996, p.733). Therefore according to Chafetz, Abramson & Grillot roles are behaviour of states whereby they simplify their demands and expected attitudes in the international system (Chafetz, Abramson & Grillot, 1996, p.733). The role of Germany exemplifies the demands and attitudes of Germany in the international system. When Holsti performed this research, the standard view of literature was that a state had one single role in the national and international environment (Holsti, 1970, p.254). However, Holsti proves in his research that states do not have one single role in the international system. Whereby Holsti’s research emphasized the importance and the variation of diplomatic behavior in the international and regional system (Holsti, 1970, p.289). By exemplifying NRCs, Holsti shows that behavior occurs in multiple role situations and that actors behavior varies in their different roles. Holsti uses four important concepts to outline his role theory. Namely, (1) National role performance, (2) National Role Conceptions, (3) Role prescriptions and the (4) Position or states of states (Holsti, 1970, p.239-244). Only the first two concepts are important for this research be will be outlined here.

*National role performance:* is defined by Holsti as the behavior of a government in general. National role performance includes attitudes, decisions and policies implemented by the state or acted out by the state (Holsti, 1970, p.245).

*National Role Conceptions:* are the policymakers own definitions of how the state should function domestically and in relation to other states and the international system (Holsti, 1970, p.246). According to Hudson the role conception includes both the psychology and the environment of the actor (Hudson, 2005, p.7).

Since Holsti's typology was written for the political arena of 1970, Chafetz, Abramson & Grillot have modified the role types of Holsti in their research. As visible in figure 1, some role types have been left out in the research of Chafetz, Abramson & Grillot (Chafetz, Abramson & Grillot, 1996, p.734); for example, the Bastion of revolution-Liberator and the Anti-imperialist agent. On the other hand Chafetz, Abramson & Grillot added some role types, for example the Independent, the Global System Leader and the Global System Collaborator. The Global System Leader and Global System Collaborator have been added to the scheme because of the changing world order after the Cold War. According to Chafetz, Abramson & Grillot the Global System leader and Global system Collaborator seemed more relevant in comparison to the roles System Leaders and System Collaborators (Chafetz, Abramson & Grillot, 1996, p.734).

*Figure 1: Holsti's typology of National Role Conceptions (Holsti, 1970, p.260-271)*

1. Bastion of revolution-liberator\*
2. Regional leader
3. Global system Leader (only relevant post-Cold War)
4. Regional protector
5. Active independent
6. Liberation supporter\*
7. Anti-imperialist agent\*
8. Defender of the faith\*
9. Mediator-integrator
10. Regional-subsystem collaborator
11. Developer\*
12. Bridge
13. Faithfull ally\*
14. Example

15. Internal Development
16. Isolate\*
17. Protégée

Note: \* Role types that have been left out by the research of Chafetz, Abramson & Grillot (1996)

Holsti concludes that his research showed that states can have sometimes incompatible NRCs. These incompatible role conceptions show that roles of the state differ in different situations and relations (Holsti, 1970, p.303). Chafetz, Abramson & Grillot argue, like Holsti, that states have different roles in different international organizations. As mentioned above, this explains different stances of countries on different policy domains. A state can be progressive on one topic and conservative on another. For example Germany has a leading position in the economy of the EU. On the other hand, due to the legacy of the WOII, Germany takes a restraint position on the military terrain (Leithner, 2009, p.11). However, besides the fact that the success of a role conception depends on whether the role fits the social setting, Chafetz, Abramson & Grillot stressed that it also depends on the way the actor views his role (Chafetz, Abramson & Grillot, 1996, p.736). Therefore, the setting of the European Union and the most important actors within the European Union play an important role in the forming of a role. Consequentially, to understand the roles of states in international organizations it is important to research the role conceptions of individuals that play important roles in forming the role of a state.

### **Leadership analysis**

In line with what is mentioned above, Holsti states that role theory does not only explain behavior of states by studying the perception and goals of the state but it also explains the behavior of policymakers in the state (Holsti, 1970, p.247). Therefore, one should ideally study both the personality of state leaders or most highest level decision makers as well as the role of the state as an actor (Holsti, 1970, p.239). In practice this implies that one studies the national role performance and the NRCs of states. Wish produced a study concerning NRCs and defined them as decision makers' personal understanding of their nations aims (Wish, 1980, p.532). According to Wish, role theory involves an understanding of the social psychology of the relationships between nations. When role theory is seen as a social creation, studying the motivations of decision makers of states is very important (Wish, 1980, p.33). According to Kaarbo, analyzing leadership style is an important method to analyze the, ways

of working and the motivation of leaders (Kaarbo, 1997, p.553). Both the studies of Wish and Kaarbo are useful for studying the leadership style and leaders motivations for decision making. Therefore these studies are useful for mapping NRCs of leadership style in this research. Cognitive analyses of leadership is also researched by Young and Schafer. Young and Schafer assume that decision makers use public speeches to explain and justify their actions (Young & Schafer, 1998, p. 67). The research of Chafetz, Abramson & Grillot showed that political leaders or highest level decision makers do have influence on the changing role of their states (Chafetz, Abramson & Grillot, 1996, p.748). Since political leaders or highest level decision makers articulate national role performance by statements, they form and articulate NRCs themselves (Chafetz, Abramson & Grillot, 1996, p.748). This confirms the arguments of Holsti and Wish that it is useful to study the NRCs of political leaders. As well as it underlies the motivation why studying NRCs of Angela Merkel is useful for this research. Since Angela forms and articulates NRCs herself by performing national role performance. Mushaben researched Angela Merkel's pro-active strategy on migration by analyzing different concepts of personal leader style. For example, Merkel's origin, gender, education and working method (Mushaben, 2011, p.378). According to Mushaben, Merkel uses consolidation and negotiation skills to pursue her colleagues. Additionally, Merkel prefers to have *power with* instead of *power over* her political colleagues (Mushaben, 2011, p.378). Important for Germany considering migration in the European union are social inclusion and personal responsibility as stated by to Mushaben (Mushaben, 2011, p.379). Finally, Breuning has researched reasoning styles of leaders and how these reasoning styles influence decision maker's perceptions (Breuning, 2003, p.231). The purpose of Breunings research was gain insight in which reasoning styles where used in speeches of parliament. Breuning used three different reasoning categories to categorize reasoning styles, namely 1. Case-based reasoning 2. Explanation based reasoning and 3. Model-based reasoning (Breuning, 2003, p.234). Case-based or historical reasoning is especially interesting for this research because, according to Leithner, German foreign policy is still shaped by the historical memory of WOII (Leithner, 2009, p.2).

To conclude, the literature and theory discussed in this section form the basis for the research of this thesis. The theoretical relation researched in this thesis is the relationship between changing NRCs of leaders and a changing role of the state as assumed in the introduction of this thesis. Through researching this theoretical relation it is possible to answer the research question of this research. Namely, to what extent are the NRCs of Germany in the European Union changing concerning immigration policy since the migration crisis of 2015?

Additionally this thesis tries to solve a research gap in the literature of Role theory by providing a framework for researching changing NRCs of leaders by analyzing Leadership style. Since Holsti and Chafetz, Abramson & Grillot only presented a scheme of National role types and not a framework to measure which NRCs leads to which Role type of a state. The provided framework in this research is not only useful to answer the research question of this thesis but might also be useful for further research on changing NRCs when it is applied to more states.

## **Theoretical Framework**

In this research the focus is on the National Role Conceptions (NRC) of leadership's characteristics and Foreign Policy behavior. The dependent variable of this research is the NRCs of leaders. NRCs are defined as decision maker's own perceptions about how the state should function, both internally and externally (Holsti, 1970, p.246). The variable leadership style and NRCs are combined in one variable, called NRCs of leaders. The dependent variable will be further mentioned as the NRCs. The national role conception of Angela Merkel will be measured by four different indicators of leadership style. Namely, Motivation for leading, Motivation for system change, Problem solving strategy and Reasoning style. These different indicators all consist of different categories of leadership characteristics. The combination of different leaderships characteristics form the NRCs of a leader.

In the following section the different indicators of leadership style and the categories of leadership characteristics are firstly shown in table 1, which form the basis of this research. In the second part of this theoretical framework the different indicators and categories will be outlined more precisely.

*Table 1: Indicators for National Role Conceptions of Leaders*

*Indicators for leadership style* *Categories*

<b>Motivations for leading</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Goal-orientated motivations</li> <li>- Group-orientated motivations</li> <li>- Individual motivations</li> <li>- Cooperative motivations</li> <li>- Competitive motivations</li> </ul>
<b>Motivation for system change</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- No motivation for change, maintenance of the status quo</li> <li>- Minimal motivation for change</li> <li>- Moderate motivation for change</li> <li>- High motivation for change, complete system change</li> </ul>
<b>Problem solving strategy</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The mediator/consensus strategy</li> <li>- The not involved strategy</li> <li>- The self-concerned strategy</li> <li>- Conflict leader/Chart puller strategy</li> </ul>
<b>Reasoning style</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Historical reasoning</li> <li>- Explanation based reasoning</li> <li>- Model based reasoning</li> </ul>

### **Indicator 1: Motivation for leading**

Both Wish and Kaarbo use a variable that is almost the same. For example, Kaarbo uses in her leadership style analysis, the indicator *leaders task orientation*. Since personal motivations are hard to measure, Kaarbo uses leaders task orientation as the indicator for motivation (Kaarbo, 1997, p.565). The indicator *task orientation* is divided into Goal-orientated decision makers and Group-orientated decision makers (Kaarbo, 1997, p.565). Goal-orientated decision makers strive for a policy or personal goal, while Group-orientated decision makers focus on cooperation and relations (Kaarbo, 1997, p.565). Wish uses in her study of NRCs a variable called *motivations of a decision maker*. Thereby the amount of motivation is divided into Cooperative, Competitive and Individualistic motivations of decision makers (Wish, 1980, p.538). A combination of the variables of Wish and Kaarbo results in the indicator *motivation for leading*, which contains five different categories of motivations: Goal-orientated, Group-orientated, Individual, Cooperative and Competitive motivations. This variable will be used to determine the motivations for leading of Angela Merkel in the European Union. Researching the motivation for leading of Angela Merkel in the European Union is important because it can influence Angela Merkel's NRCs. For example, the chance of Germany to take a leading role in the European Union is bigger when Angela Merkel has a cooperative motivation for leading then when Merkel has an individual or competitive motivation for leading.

### **Indicator 2: Motivation for system change**

The indicator *motivation for system change* of decision makers is used in the research of Wish. A major motivation for change will lead more likely to changes of the contemporary system in comparison to a cooperative motivation for change (Wish, 1980, p.539). It is useful for this research to find out what the motivations of Angela Merkel for change are, since a big motivation influences Angela Merkel's NRCs on how Germany should act in the international system. If Angela Merkel has a high motivation for change the chance is bigger that Germany takes a leading role in changing the system. On the other hand, if Angela Merkel has no motivation for change, a leading role in changing the system seems unlikely. To measure this indicator four different categories of motivation for change will be used namely: No motivation for change, Minimal motivation for change, Moderate motivation for change and High motivation for change (Wish, 1980, p.539).

### **Indicator 3: Problem solving strategy**

The indicator, strategy for managing conflicts, was used in the research of Kaarbo. This indicator shows how a decision maker solves for example a conflict in cabinet or parliament. However, this indicator can also show how a decision maker solves a conflict on the international level or in the EU. The strategy of a decision maker in a conflict situation, as part of their leadership style, is of great importance, because it can influence the behaviour of a state in an international conflict (Kaarbo, 1997, p.566). Therefore this indicator is applicable to this research to find out which problem solving strategy Angela Merkel used to solve the migration crisis. Although the migration crisis is mentioned as a crisis, it can be researched with the same indicator as Kaarbo used to indicate strategies for managing conflict. The indicator strategy for managing conflict will be further mentioned in this research as the indicator *problem solving strategy*. The indicator will be measured by different strategies that a decision maker can use to manage a crisis, namely: the Mediator strategy, the Mediator/Consensus builder strategy, the Not-involved leader strategy and the Self-concerned leader strategy (Kaarbo, 1997, p.566).

### **Indicator 4: Reasoning style**

The fourth indicator that forms the National Role Conception of Angela Merkel is the indicator *reasoning style*. As explained in the previous section, Breuning has researched the use of different reasoning styles by decision makers. This indicator examines which reasoning styles are used in the speeches of Angela Merkel (Breuning, 2003, p.243). The three reasoning categories used in this research will be Historical reasoning, Model-based reasoning and Explanation-based reasoning. Historical reasoning can be defined as reasoning by analogy or reasoning by historical cases. Model-based reasoning is for based on specific theories that are important to deal with the situation or the problem. Explanation-based reasoning relies more on the causal effects of an event (Breuning, 2003, p.233). Measuring this indicator gives insight in the use of Historical reasoning of Angela Merkel in her speeches. This is important, because the use of Historical reasoning can influence Angela Merkel's NRC and leadership style. For example solutions, strategies or motivations of Germany in prior crisis in the EU can influence the solutions of Germany current on the migration crisis.

## **Research method**

This section outlines what research methods are used to collect and analyze the data in order to answer the research question. Additionally this section explains why the chosen case is important.

## **Methodology**

To discover to what extent the NRCs of Angela Merkel are changing a case study design is used for this research. This design is chosen as research method, because performing a case study gives the opportunity to map NRCs of leaders, so a framework can be designed to analyse the role of states. Additionally, a single-case design is chosen for this research. The reasoning for a single-case study design is that a single-case study entails a detailed focus on one single case (Bryman, 2008, p.69). Choosing a single-case study for this research results in a detailed focus on the NRC of Angela Merkel. Consequentially, this gives a detailed view on how the NRCs of Angela Merkel on the migration crisis have changed. A qualitative research design is used along with this single-case study design. The purpose of this research is to explain content and discourse aspects of the speeches and analyzing the nature and the characteristic of a leader. This research goal implies indebt research in Angela Merkel's leadership style and therefore a qualitative research design is useful. Additionally, content analysis will be used to analyze the text of the speeches of Angela Merkel in the European Union on migration policy. Content analysis gives the opportunity to compare and categorize different indicators out of the data researched (Bryman, 2008, p.304). Content analysis makes it possible to find out, which NRCs are most suitable for Angela Merkel at a certain time.

## **Case selection**

The case selected for this research is Angela Merkel, because she is the head of German government since 2005. Firstly, with this case is assumed that Angela Merkel, as chancellor of Germany, has the authority to make state-related statements that are reliable (Chafetz, Abramson & Grillot, 1996, p.741). Secondly it is assumed that if NRCs of leaders were to be articulated by statements, then the statements of Angela Merkel will reflect her NRCs. With these two assumptions it is possible to state that Angela Merkel is the right person to analyze NRCs and to find out to what extent these NRCs have changed since the migration crisis of 2015. The chosen case for this research is important to academic research, because there has been done no research on the NRC of Angela Merkel on migration policy in the EU before. Additionally, the case of Angela Merkel is an example of how research to changing NRCs of leaders can be preformed.

## Data selection

In this research speeches of Angela Merkel given in the German parliament about the EU council meetings, as well as a speech given by Angela Merkel in 2015 in the European Parliament were analyzed. The EU council meets four times every year. Therefore Angela Merkel gives generally four government declarations per year about the EU council meeting in the German Parliament; mostly in March, June, October and December. For this research the government declarations from 2011 until 2015 were studied. Analysing speeches from 2011 gave the opportunity to determine if the migration crisis of 2015 was already a topic of interest for the EU before 2015, as this would make those speeches useful in this research. Finally the data for this research consisted of six speeches of Angela Merkel between 2011 and 2017. In all those speeches the migration crisis is a topic of interest for the EU. In a speech of March 2011 the topic of migration and the war in Libya and Syria was addressed for the first time, which made it the first speech analysed. The last speech that has been analyzed is the speech of March 2017, because this is currently the last speech given by Angela Merkel about the migration crisis. This speech was used to picture the current situation of the migration crisis. All the data used in this research are speeches and therefore secondary sources.

## **Results**

This section outlines the results of the content analysis of this research. Table 3 shows the results of the content analysis. Firstly, the four indicators and categories are presented in the table, as well as the data researched. Secondly, in the section of the empirical analysis the findings will be discussed per indicator for Leadership style. With the purpose to find out to what extent there is change in the categories of Leadership style. Consequentially to what extent the NRCs of Angela Merkel have changed.

Table 3: Results of content analyze National Role Conceptions of Leaders

Leadership style Indicators	Motivation for leading					Motivation for system change				Problem solving strategy				Reasoning style		
	<i>Group orientated</i>	<i>Goal orientated</i>	<i>Individual</i>	<i>Cooperative</i>	<i>Competitive</i>	<i>No motivation</i>	<i>Minimal motivation</i>	<i>Moderate motivation</i>	<i>High motivation</i>	<i>The mediator/conse nsus strategy</i>	<i>The not involved strategy</i>	<i>The self-concerned strategy</i>	<i>Conflict leader Strategy</i>	<i>Historical reasoning</i>	<i>Explanation based reasoning</i>	<i>Model based reasoning</i>
March 2011	x	x	x	x					x	x			x		x	
June 2013		x	x	x					x			x	x	x	x	
March 2015		x		x						x					x	
October 2015	x	x		x					x	x			x	x	x	x
December 2015	x			x					x	x		x	x	x	x	
March 2017		x		x					x				x	x	x	x

## **Empirical analysis**

### **Motivation for leading**

Cooperative motivations are the motivations for leading most frequently measured in this research. Table 3 shows that cooperative motivations are measured in every speech analyzed. These cooperative motivations are for example found when Angela Merkel mentions that the EU member states have to solve the refugee crisis as a united Europe. On the other hand, individual motivations of Germany are also visible, for example in the speech of March 2011. In this speech Angela Merkel shows an individual motivation of Germany in abstaining from a United Nations resolution to supply Libya with weapons. Although Germany does not take part in delivering weapons to solve the conflict in Libya, Merkel does support the goal of the resolution. Thus, both individual and cooperative motivations are found in this speech. The individual choice of Germany for not supplying weapons is also visible in the speech of June 2013. In this speech Merkel critiques her allies, The United States, France and Great Britain, for supplying weapons to the war in Syria and Libya without having the certainty that this helps solving the war. The third and fourth category of the indicator motivation for leading, Goal-orientated motivations and Group-orientated motivations, are measured in the researched speeches as well. Despite the differentiation in the theory between Group-orientated leaders and Goal-orientated leaders, this research showed that leaders can be both Group- and Goal-orientated at the same time. As shown in table 3, in the speech of March 2011 and the speech of October 2013 Angela Merkel is both Goal-orientated and Group-orientated. A possible explanation for the combination of these motivations is that Angela Merkel is on one hand Group-orientated because she wants to solve the migration crises with the other European countries. On the other hand Merkel is also Goal-orientated because there is a policy solution from the European union to solve the migration crisis needed. Therefore a combination of Goal-orientated and Group-orientated leaders is possible.

Nonetheless, table 3 shows that most of the time Group-orientated and Goal-orientated motivations are not found in combination in the same speech. Group-orientated motivations can for example be found in the speech of October 2015. In this speech the relationship and consonance between the leaders of Germany and France is emphasized and both leaders emphasize cooperation in Europe.

The last category, the Competitive motivations for leading, is not measured in the speeches researched. The meaning of this is that Angela Merkel does not have or does not use competitive motivations in her leadership. This is in consonance with the frequently found

cooperative motivations of Angela Merkel because competitive and cooperative motivations are likely to exclude each other.

Finally, the combination of the different categories for Angela Merkel's motivations for leading are different in every speech analyzed. In the speech of March 2011 all four different motivations for leading were found whereas in 2017 only two of the four motivations were measured. In spite of these differences the indicator cooperative motivation for leading is found in all the speeches and therefore this indicator showed that cooperation amongst European Union members is the most consequent motivation for leading for Angela Merkel.

### **Motivation for system change**

The indicator motivation for system change is measured by different categories of motivation for change. This section makes several notions about these findings. Firstly, table 3 demonstrates that Angela Merkel shows in the great majority of her speeches a high motivation for change. A possible explanation for this finding is that in case of a political crisis, there is most often a solution, which results in a policy change or a system change. Therefore a high motivation for system change of Angela Merkel for solving the migration crisis is not surprising. This high motivation for change is for example visible in the speech from the European Parliament in 2015, where Merkel mentions the European Dublin treaty about asylum in the European Union. According to Merkel this European Dublin treaty is outdated and needs replacement. On one hand it is possible to argue that Merkel's wish to replace the Dublin treaty entails a high motivation for change. However, on the other hand the current Dublin treaty does not work properly with the distribution of migrants in the current migration crisis. Therefore it is not surprising that Angela Merkel wishes a new treaty on asylum for the European Union.

Secondly, a motivation for change is not found in the speech of March 2015. A possible explanation for this finding is the very briefly mentioning of the migration crisis in this speech, without any designation of motivation for change in the few paragraphs.

Finally, it is worth to mention that Angela Merkel is not only highly motivated to change the system, but that she also criticizes the current EU asylum system. For example, already in 2011 Merkel mentions that Europe is not in accordance with each other on how to solve the problems in Libya. This discontent about the decisiveness of the European Union also appears in later speeches. Remarkable is that Merkel gets more persistent about the lack of unity within the EU to deal with the crisis. In 2017 Merkel declares that the system needs drastically change and that European Union has to start acting more persistent and decisive.

This critical attitude of Germany can be explained by the bigger need for Europe to work together, since the crisis is getting more severe. In 2011 the attitude of Merkel was not as critical as in 2017. Therefore a united and decisive Europe on asylum policies is more necessary in 2017. Additionally a lack of this unity in 2017 is more criticized.

To conclude, table 3 shows that the indicator motivation for change is measured as a high motivation for change. According to Angela Merkel, the asylum policies in Europe need to change to solve the migration crisis. Furthermore, there has been found a critical attitude of Angela Merkel towards the inability of the European union to act decisively in the European Union has by measuring this indicator. In addition to the fact that there has been found a high motivation for change in all speeches, analysis of this criticism shows that Angela Merkel gets more critical about the decisiveness of the EU along the crisis seizes.

### **Problem solving strategy**

The problem solving strategy is measured by four different problem solving strategies. Firstly, as table 3 shows, the problem solving strategy most frequently used by Angela Merkel in her statements is the conflict leader strategy. Germany takes a leading role in dealing with the migration crisis in all the speeches analyzed. The conflict leader strategy is visible for example in the fact that Germany, unlike her allies, detains from using arms the in Libya and Syria. Germany stays with her own values about using arms in and only supports economical and diplomatic measures to solve the conflict. This shows individual leadership and clearly another strategy than Germany's allies as mentioned earlier in this thesis, France, Great-Brittan and the United States. The conditions of Germany for mediating and taking the lead in solving the conflict are very clear. Controversially, it is possible to say that since Germany stays with its own values about supplying weapons, Germany does not use a conflict leader strategy but a not-involved leader strategy. However, on the other hand, taking the lead under your own conditions is not the same as being a not-involved leader. Since Germany takes a leading role in solving the conflict under Germany's own conditions, Germany can be determined as using a conflict leader strategy.

Secondly, the mediating strategy most often used in combination with the conflict leader strategy (table 3). The mediating strategy is visible trough the emphasis in the speeches on Germany relations with other countries in Europe and outside Europe, for example the relation between France and Germany. The combination of the mediating strategy and the conflict leader are explainable trough the fact that the leading position of Germany to deal with the migration crisis is based on cooperation and mediation in Europa. Germany does take

a leading role in leading the negotiations and bringing together the European countries, this however does not mean that Germany takes a stance above the other EU countries.

Thirdly, it is remarkable that in the speech of December 2015 a combination of the self-concerned strategy, the mediator strategy and the conflict leader strategy is found. This is interesting because a combination of the self-concerned strategy and a mediation strategy does not seem very self-evident. However, this is explainable through the fact that since the speech of October 2015 Merkel lays more emphasis on the self-concern and self-interest of Germany.

Germany is the strongest economy in Europe and has therefore a responsibility to take the lead according to Angela Merkel. Not only in the interest of Europe but also in the interest of Germany itself. Solidarity and willingness to compromise are important to keep the European and German values up to their standards according to Merkel. It is remarkable that Angela Merkel clearly emphasizes the role and the importance of the EU for Germany itself. A possible explanation for this is that this speech is given in December 2015 directly after all the criticism Merkel received from Germany and Europe on her welcoming attitude towards refugees. Merkel needed to stress that what she tries to accomplish by giving refugees a warm welcome is also good for Germany itself.

To sum up, the problem solving strategy most frequently used by Angela Merkel in her statements is the conflict leader strategy. However this strategy is always used in combination with the mediator strategy of the self-concerned strategy. Additionally, table 3 shows that in almost every speech the combination of problem solving strategies is different.

### **Reasoning strategy**

This indicator has been measured by three different categories. As table 3 shows is the reasoning strategy most frequently measured in the statements of Angela Merkel Explanation based reasoning. This is explainable through the fact that Angela Merkel uses a lot of abstract facts and descriptions of recent situations in her statements. These abstract facts are used to explain why it is necessary for the European Union to take action to find a solution for the migration crisis. It is possible to say that Angela Merkel affect the other EU member states by emphasizing the disastrous situations in the warzones. However, not only Explanation based reasoning is measured in the speeches. Historical and Model based reasoning strategies are used by Angela Merkel as well. What has mainly been found with the Historical reasoning strategy is Historical reasoning on the basis of the accomplished goals of the European Union. For example in the speech of October 2015 Merkel mentions how proud European countries

should be at the European values and accomplishments. Angela Merkel emphasizes that EU member states have to acknowledge that the welfare Europe has now would not have been possible for Europe without the European union. Additionally Merkel stresses that this argument also counts for Germany itself.

The third category, Model based reasoning is measured less frequently. Additionally this reasoning style is only measured in combination with both other reasoning styles. As table 3 shows Model based reasoning is found in the speeches of October 2017 and March 2017. In these two speeches Merkel emphasizes that European values need to be behold.

In short, the Explanation based reasoning strategy is measured in all the speeches from 2011 to 2017. Additionally, Historical based reasoning is visible in the speeches that concern mostly the European Migration crisis. Finally it is Explanation bases reasoning is the most constant measured reasoning style of this indicator. There is no pattern in the other two reasoning styles measured.

## Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to find an answer to the following question: To what extent are the National Role Conceptions of Germany in the European Union changing concerning immigration policy since the migration crisis of 2015? In order to answer this question several speeches of Angela Merkel were analyzed, using different categories of indicators for leadership style. In this study was found that in every speech analyzed the combination of indicators was different. Consequentially, this makes the NRC of Angela Merkel different for every speech. Nonetheless, the differences between the NRCs of Angela Merkel seems not that substantial. There has not been seen a visible trend or a visible change in the NRC of Angela Merkel, which would be for example a change from a very competitive behavior of Germany to very cooperative behavior of Germany.

Considering the assumption of this research, namely that changing NRCs of leaders influence the behavior of a state, there can be stated the following. Since this research has shown no significant changes in the NRC of Angela Merkel, as well as no big change in the behavior of Germany itself, it is not convincing to adapt this assumption. In other words, the change in NRC of Angela Merkel is too small to state that a possible shift in the behavior of Germany is due to these change.

This research question contributed to researching the relationship between NRCs of leaders and Foreign Policy behavior. However, based on the assumption, there was expected to find explicit change in the NRCs of Angela Merkel to underline this assumption. This thesis has not explicitly showed this relationship due to minor changes in NRCs of Angela Merkel.

Further, the lack of major changes in NRCs of Angela Merkel leads to the fact that role of Germany in the European Union on migration policy did not change substantively since the migration crisis of 2015. As the results showed, Angela Merkel already took a progressive stance on migration policy in the speeches of 2011 and 2013. Whereas, a change that did occur during the period of time the speeches where given, was that Angela Merkel arguments turned more critical about the decisiveness of the EU along the crisis seized. Additionally, after the critics Germany received in the summer of 2015 about Angela Merkel's progressive stance on sheltering refugees Merkel more clearly emphasized the self-interest of Germany in her speeches.

## Discussion

The indicators that have been used in this research to determine the change in NRCs of leaders have not all been evenly successful. For example, the indicator *reasoning style* was an indicator that was difficult to measure. The reason for this difficulty is that the reasoning style in a speech sometimes differs per paragraph. Therefore it is inadequate to measure one reasoning style for one speech. Additionally reasoning style might be not a prior indicator in determining changing NRCs of leaders. Therefore focusing on other indicators in further research is possibly more important. For example, the indicator *motivation for leading* and the indicator *problem solving strategy* are very strong indicators for measuring the NRCs of leaders. These variables have been clearly defined and found in every speech researched. Additionally, these variables contribute more to the NRCs of leaders than for example reasoning style. These two indicators are therefore useful to deepen in further research.

Further, something remarkable about the data used occurred during research of the data. The first speech used for this research was from 2011 and the last from 2017. Whereas the migration problem in 2011 already started, the subject of the migration crisis in the statements of Angela Merkel stayed very rare until the summer of 2015. It seems that the migration crisis was until the summer of 2015 not a substantial subject in the EU. While conversely, after the summer of 2015 the crisis turned to be the most important subject on the European agenda. For example, in October 2015 Angela Merkel dedicates a whole speech to the migration crisis in the European Parliament. For further research it is therefore interesting to find out why the migration crisis is mentioned so little until the crisis really seizes. Another reason for further academic research on the migration crisis is the fact that the research on the migration crisis of 2015 is still rare, possibly because the migration crisis of 2015 is that the crisis started only two years ago.

Besides further research on the migration crisis there is also more research needed on the designing a theoretical framework to research changing National Role Conceptions. As mentioned in the literature review, if NRCs are studied, ideally both the personality of state leaders and the role of the state as an actor should be studied (Holsti, 1970, p.239). However, this thesis did not study the national role performance of the state, but the NRCs of leaders. Therefore a possible application for further research is a researching a combination of both national role performance (role types) and NRCs of leaders. Additionally, this thesis tried to overcome a research gap in the research design of role types by Holsti and Chafetz, Abramson & Grillot. By designing a framework to measure change in NRCs via leadership style this research tried to take the research of Foreign Policy Behavior a step further. Through

researching the changing NRCs of leaders a Role type of a state can be assigned to states via a academic theory. However the framework presented in this study is not perfect, it can be a guideline for further research in researching changing NRCs. If in further research the change in NRCs of states leaders is measured more systematically and for more states, a more reliable framework can be designed to measure change in NRCs of leaders. Through creating a more reliable framework for researching NRCs, the Role types designed by Holsti's and Chafetz, Abramson & Grillot can be assigned to states on a more systematical basis. Consequentially, that makes more effective for the study of Foreign Policy Behavior to study the Role type of states.

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