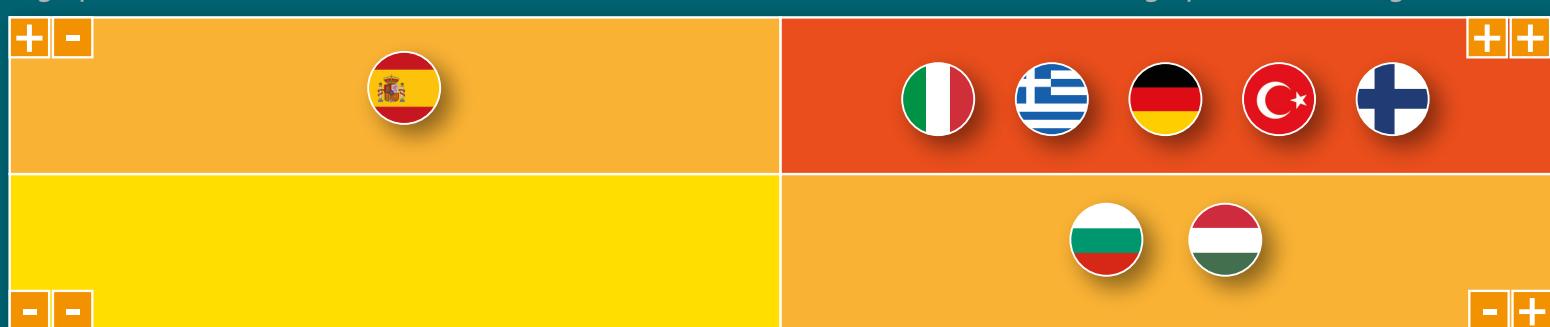


CEASEVAL Factsheets

Patterns of politicisation on refugees and policy responses

High polarisation/low salience

High polarisation/high salience



The Project receives funding from the
EU's Horizon 2020 Programme for Research
and Innovation under grant agreement No 770037.

CEASEVAL Factsheets

Patterns of politicisation on refugees and policy responses

The politicisation of refugee issues has strongly influenced policy development throughout the European Union, yet to a varying degree. The research which led to these factsheets analysed shifts in public opinion, media and parliamentary debates regarding the issue of refugee reception and relocation of asylum seekers in eight countries. The results of the analysis were condensed into a four-field typology of politicisation processes along the two main criteria of politicisation, which are salience of an issue and polarisation of opinions.

Published in December 2018.



Learn more at ceaseval.eu



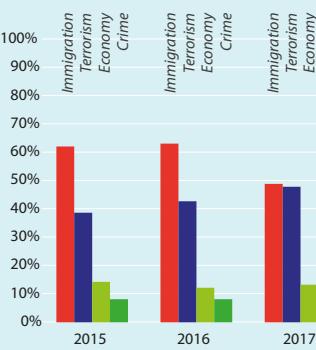


Population (2017): 7,075,990
Foreign born population (2017): 2%
GDP (2017): 58,221 million \$
GDP per capita (2017): 8,228 \$
Unemployment (2017): 4.92%
Government: Right-wing minority coalition (GERB + NSFB)

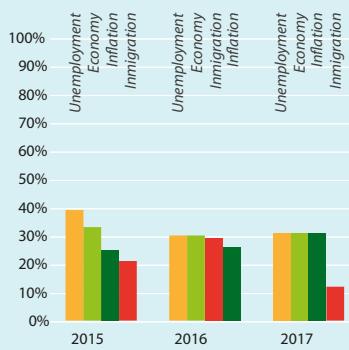
In a context of decreasing immigrant flows, the debate on the relocation quota was marked by a shift from politicisation (high salience + high polarisation) to mainstreaming/hegemonisation (high salience + low polarisation). Beyond their ideological differences, parties' stances towards the relocation quota and other migration-related matters converged towards anti-immigration and anti-European positions. This came along with the marginalization of alternative voices in the public and political debates. The hegemonisation pattern culminated in de-responsabilisation and de-Europeanisation of asylum policy in which government and opposition, left-wing, right-wing, and far-right converged.

PUBLIC OPINION

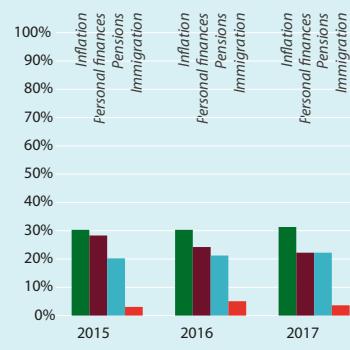
1. What are the main problems at the EU level? (2015-2017, %)



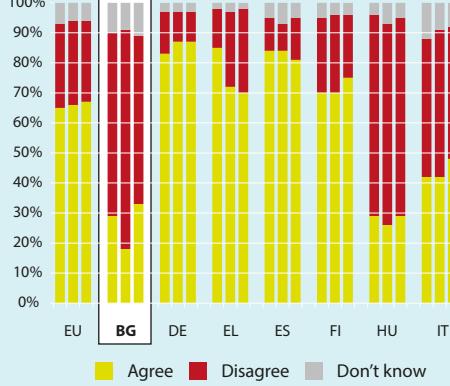
2. What are the main problems of your country? (2015-2017, %)



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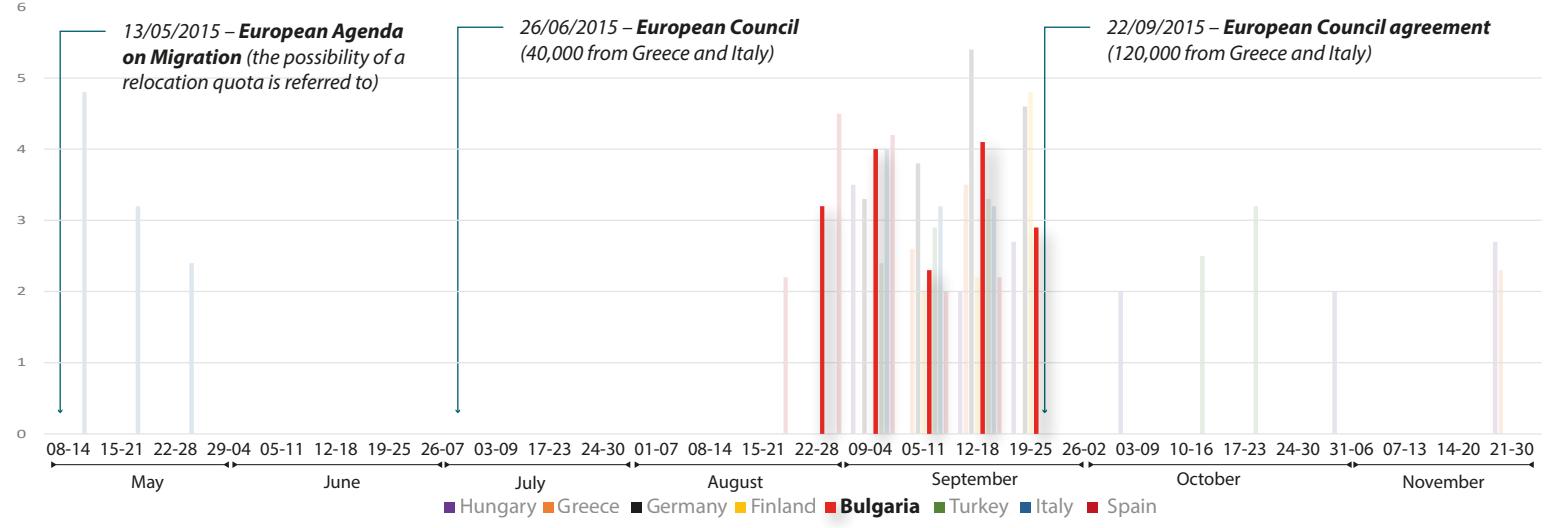


4. Should our country help refugees? (2015-2017, %)



MEDIA DEBATE/SALIENCE

Rate of relocation quota related articles (at least two times above the country average) between 01/05/2015 and 31/11/2015

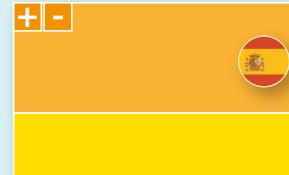


POLITICISATION

Polarisation vs. salience in the political discourse: where do the countries stand?

Country position captures the degree of both polarisation and salience of the political debate about the relocation quota (and other important migration-related matters) between May 2015 and September 2018.

High polarisation/low salience



Low polarisation/low salience

High polarisation/high salience



Low polarisation/high salience



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Created by CIDOB. Sources: World Bank, Ceaseval Papers, EUROSTAT, UNHCR, Economic Development Foundation, "EU Support and EU Perception in Turkish public opinion", Standard Eurobarometers 84, 86 and 88 (Autumn).

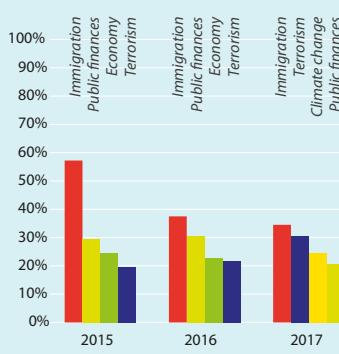


Population (2017): 5,503,297
Foreign born population (2017): 6.3%
GDP (2017): 251,885 million \$
GDP per capita (2017): 45,703 \$
Unemployment (2017): 8.3%
Government: right-wing coalition led by the Finns party

Politicisation is observed in both the parliamentary arena and the media scape. In these two "sites" politicisation was successive rather than parallel. Media debates contributed to the formation of public opinion by harnessing a rationalist frame centered on the (economic and social) pros and cons of international migration. The dominant frame in the political debate - ensured by the large majority of the Finns party - stressed the need to respect the global system of sovereign states as well as their autonomy and decisional power. This stance went along with the denial of decision imposed by supranational actors and emphasized the importance of voluntary participation in international agreements.

PUBLIC OPINION

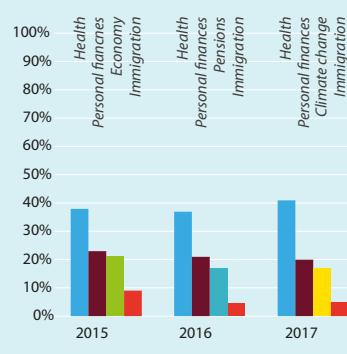
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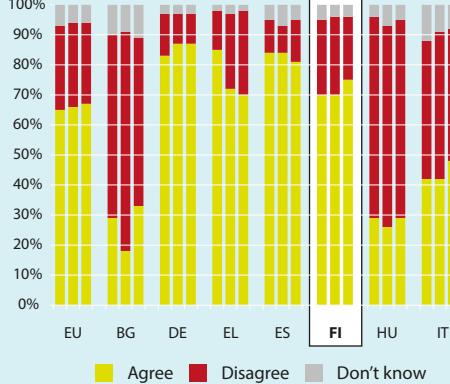
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3. What are your main personal problems? (2015-2017, %)

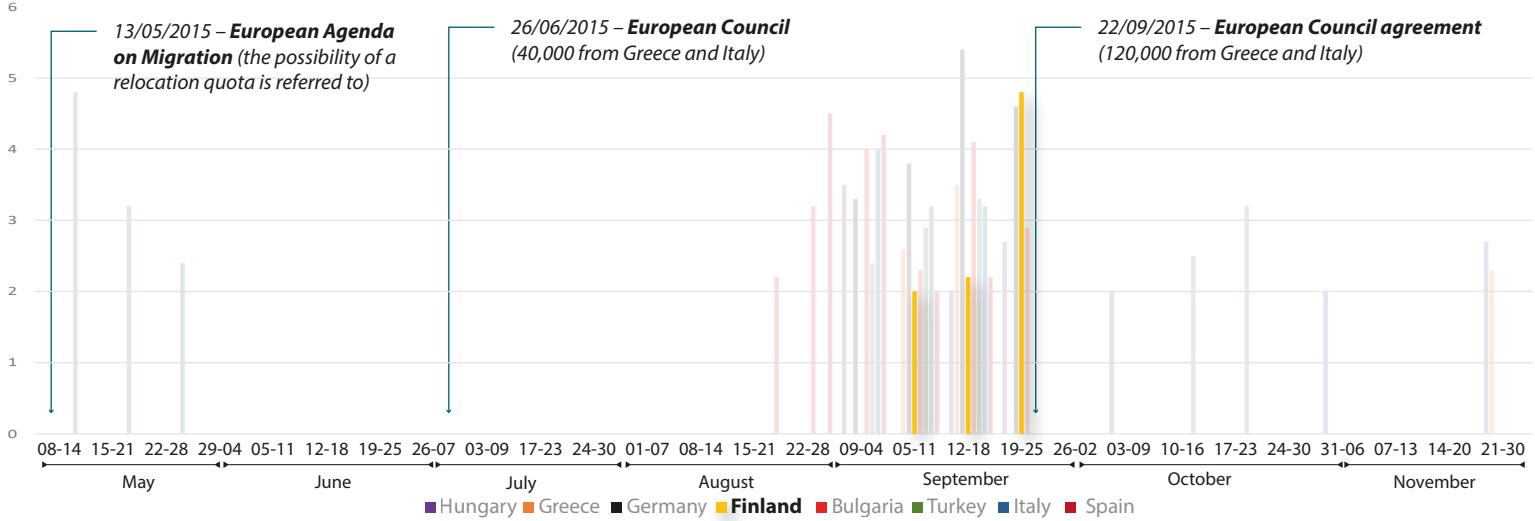


4. Should our country help refugees? (2015-2017, %)



MEDIA DEBATE/SALIENCE

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Low polarisation/low salience

High polarisation/high salience

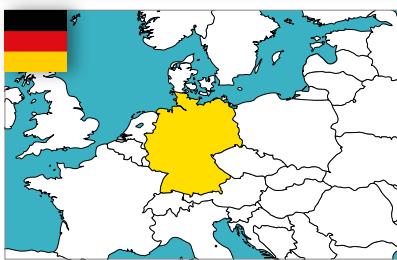


Low polarisation/high salience



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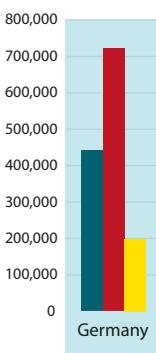
Created by CIDOB. Sources: World Bank, Ceaseval Papers, EUROSTAT, UNHCR, Economic Development Foundation, "EU Support and EU Perception in Turkish public opinion", Standard Eurobarometers 84, 86 and 88 (Autumn).



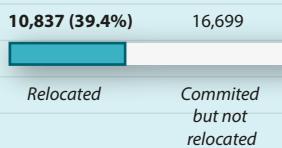
Population (2017): 82,521,653
Foreign born population (2017): 8.8%
GDP (2017): 3,677,439 million \$
GDP per capita (2017): 44,470 \$
Unemployment (2017): 3.8%
Government: Grand coalition (CDU/CSU + SPD)

Growing politicisation is observed in both the parliamentary arena and the media scape. In these two "sites" politicisation occurs in turn rather than in parallel. In 2015 polarization took place particularly in media discourse while parliamentary debates on the relocation quota unfolded without much polarization. Afterwards, non-parliamentary discourse seems to have gradually gained momentum and, finally, to have triggered politicisation in the political debate, where a preventive frame (focused on security) and an integrative one (focused on solidarity) have confronted each other.

No of first time Asylum applicants (2015-2017)

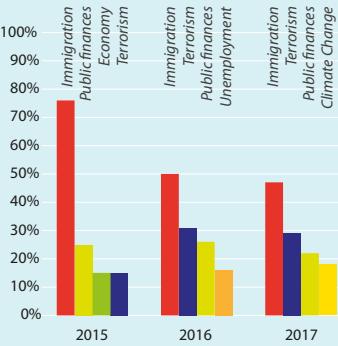


Fulfillment of the relocation quota (Oct. 2018)

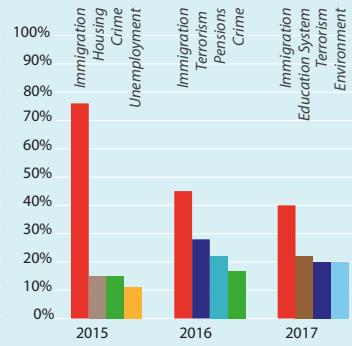


PUBLIC OPINION

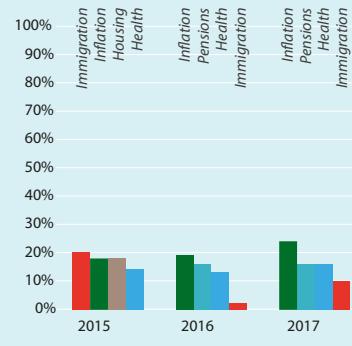
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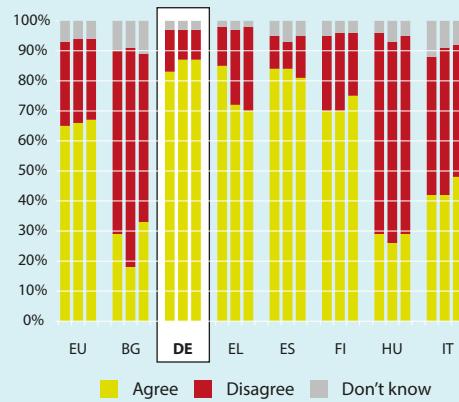
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3. What are your main personal problems? (2015-2017, %)

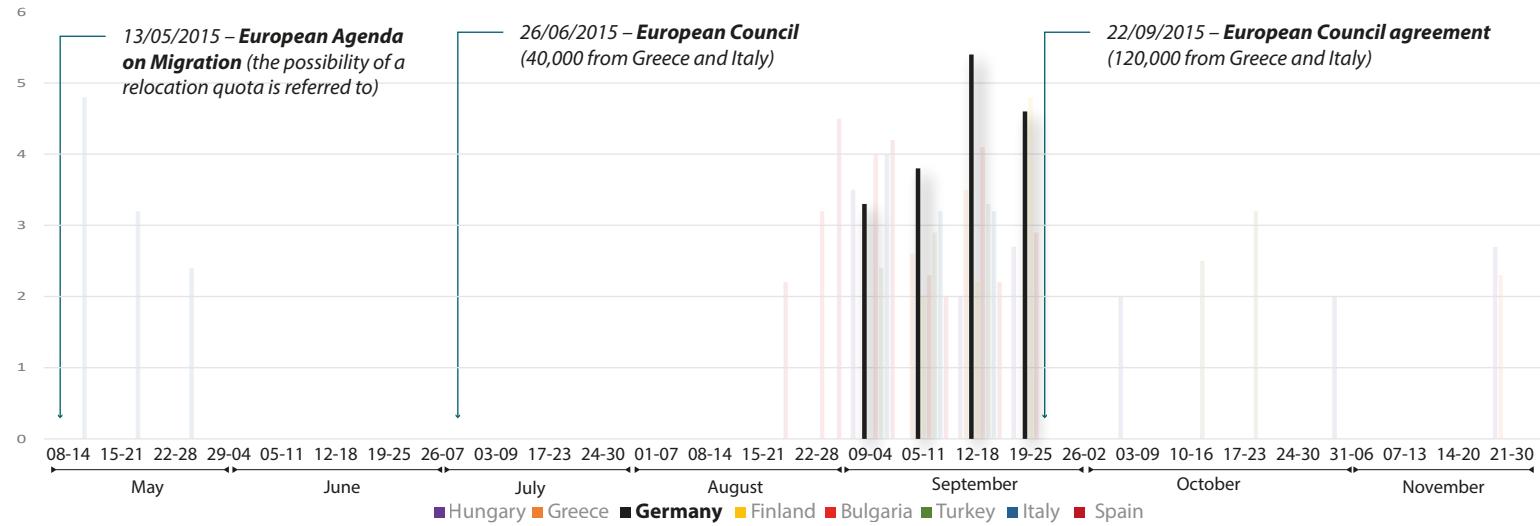


4. Should our country help refugees? (2015-2017, %)



MEDIA DEBATE/SALIENCE

Rate of relocation quota related articles (at least two times above the country average) between 01/05/2015 and 31/11/2015

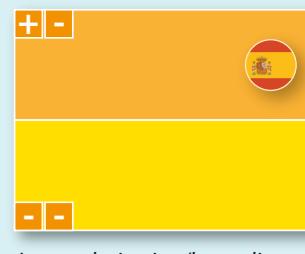


POLITICISATION

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High polarisation/low salience



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Low polarisation/low salience



Low polarisation/high salience



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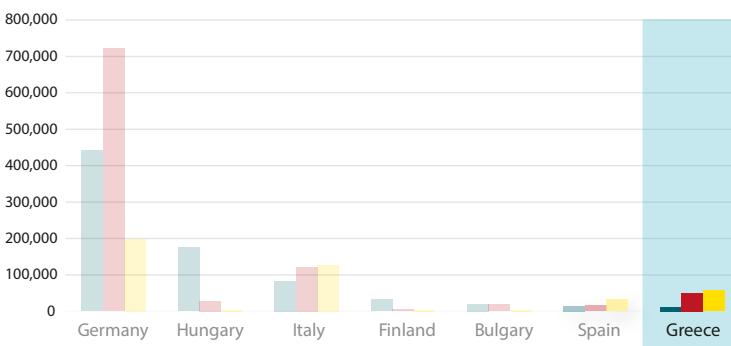
Created by CIDOB. Sources: World Bank, Ceaseval Papers, EUROSTAT, UNHCR, Economic Development Foundation, "EU Support and EU Perception in Turkish public opinion", Standard Eurobarometers 84, 86 and 88 (Autumn).



Population (2017): 10,768,193
Foreign born population (2017): 11.6%
GDP (2017): 200,288 million \$
GDP per capita (2017): 18,613 \$
Unemployment (2017): 21%
Government: left-wing coalition led by Syriza

The debate was characterised by both politicisation and mediatisation of the "refugee crisis". Problems related to the relocation quota and the EU-Turkey Statement - placed in a context of growing dissatisfaction towards the EU, related to the economic crisis and bailout negotiations - were understood as consequences of the EU's faulty normative architecture and of the lack of solidarity among Member States.

Nº of first time Asylum applicants (2015-2017)

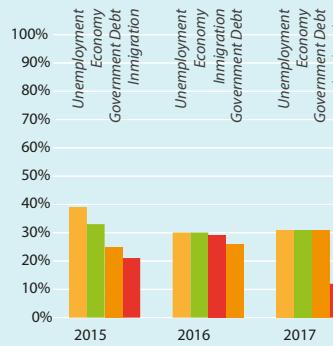


PUBLIC OPINION

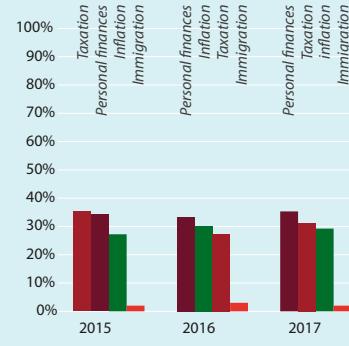
1. What are the main problems at the EU level? (2015-2017, %)



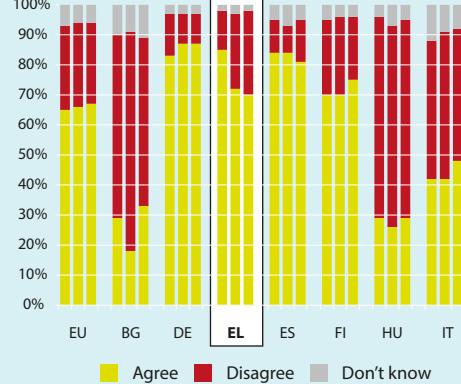
2. What are the main problems of your country? (2015-2017, %)



3. What are your main personal problems? (2015-2017, %)

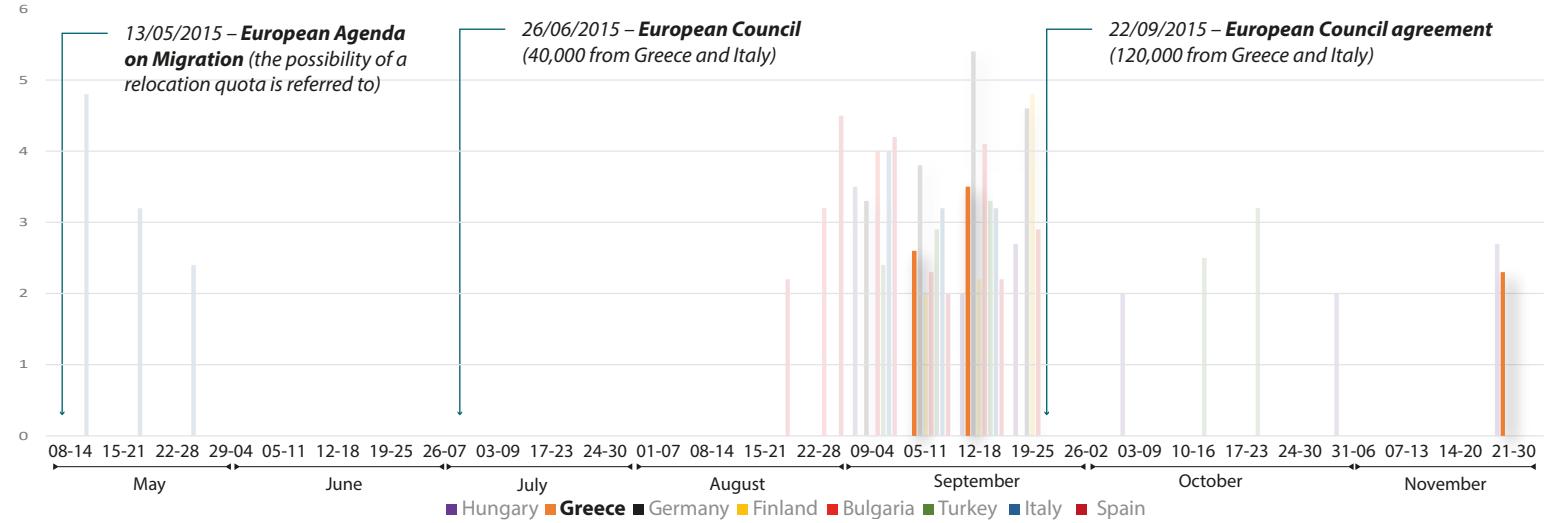


4. Should our country help refugees? (2015-2017, %)



MEDIA DEBATE/SALIENCE

Rate of relocation quota related articles (at least two times above the country average) between 01/05/2015 and 31/11/2015

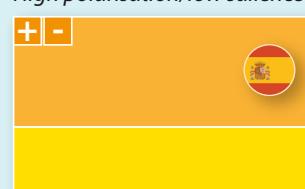


POLITICISATION

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High polarisation/low salience



Low polarisation/low salience

High polarisation/High salience



Low polarisation/high salience



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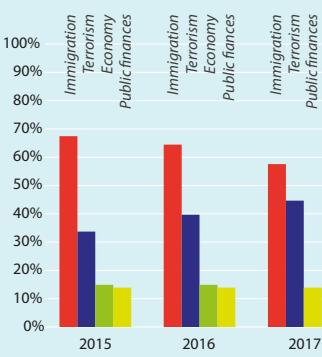


Population (2017): 9,797,561
Foreign born population (2017): 5.2%
GDP (2017): 139,135 million \$
GDP per capita (2017): 14,225 \$
Unemployment (2017): 3.6%
Government: Right-wing coalition led by Fidesz

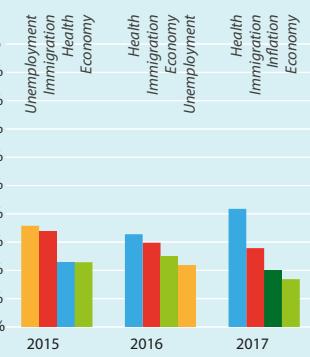
Governmental propaganda dominated the communication sphere. Government's message led the discussion and shaped parliamentary debates, media representation and public opinion on refugees and migration-related matters. Frames and interpretations challenging the official narrative were present but remained circumscribed to "echo chambers" and were not strong and loud enough to influence the course of the process. These dynamics led to a sort of governmental hegemony in which counter-discourses remained suppressed or unsuccessful.

PUBLIC OPINION

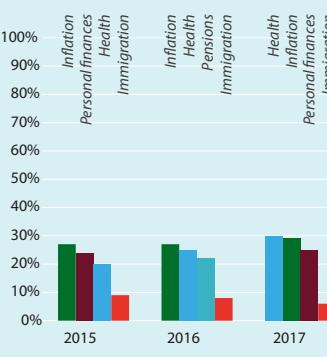
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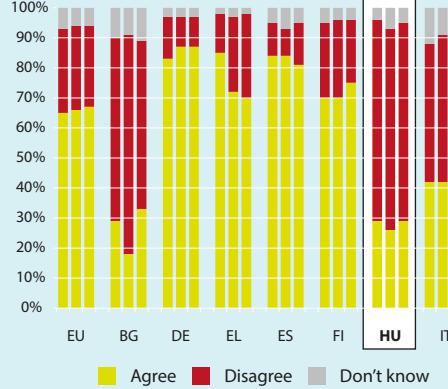
2. What are the main problems of your country? (2015-2017, %)



3. What are your main personal problems? (2015-2017, %)

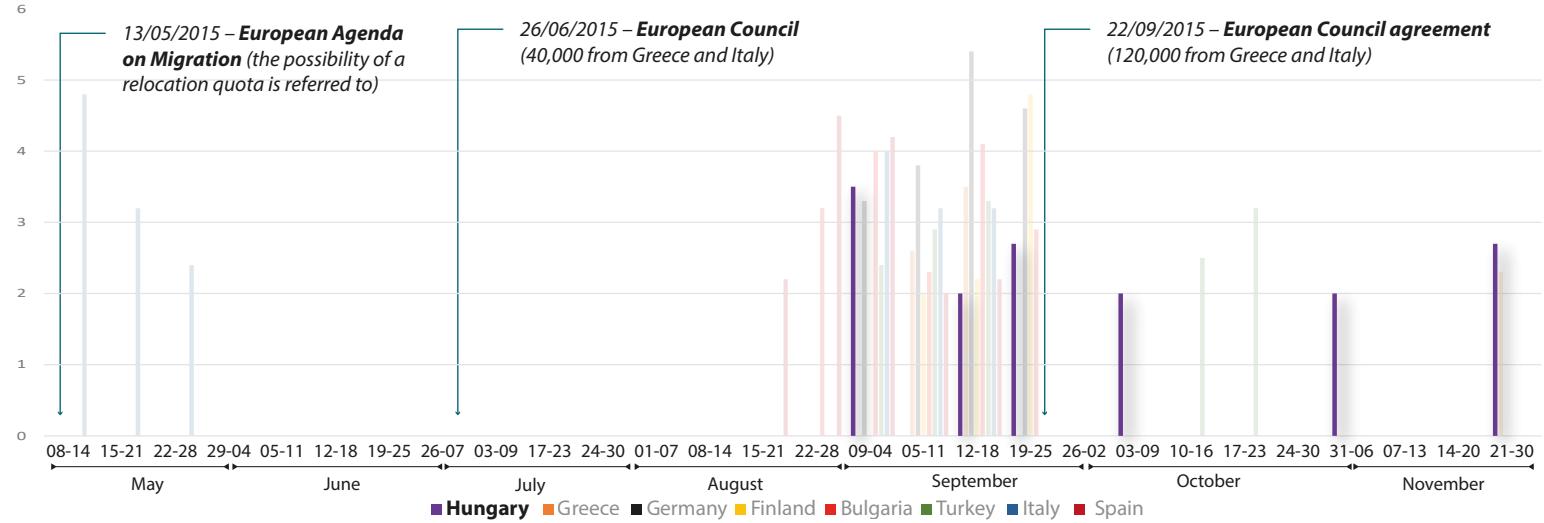


4. Should our country help refugees? (2015-2017, %)



MEDIA DEBATE/SALIENCE

Rate of relocation quota related articles (at least two times above the country average) between 01/05/2015 and 31/11/2015

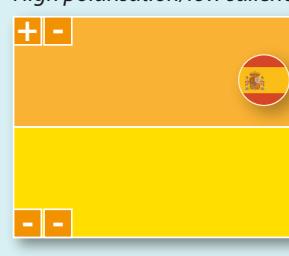


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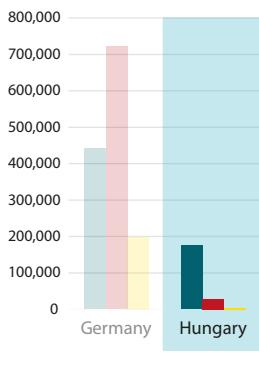


High polarisation/high salience



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No of first time Asylum applicants (2015-2017)



Fulfillment of the relocation quota (Oct. 2018)

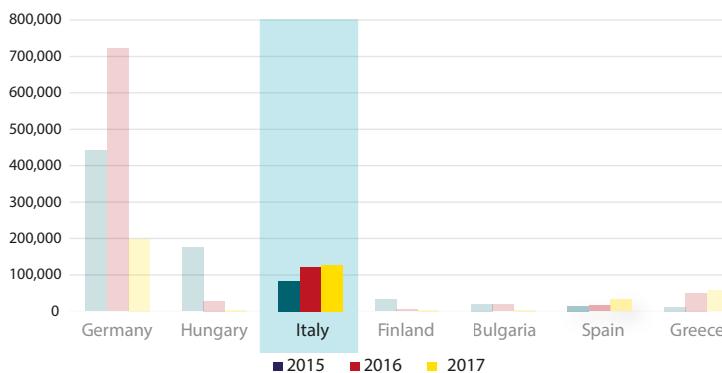




Population (2017): 60,589,445
Foreign born population (2017): 10%
GDP (2017): 1,934,798 million \$
GDP per capita (2017): 31,953 \$
Unemployment (2017): 10.6%
Government: Grand coalition center-left ruled (PD)

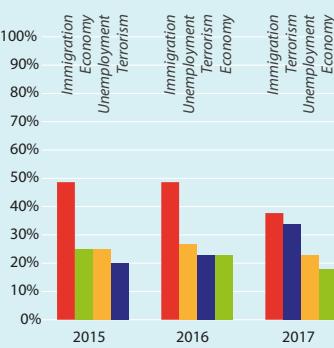
Differently from the majority of the cases analysed - where increasing politicisation is observed in both the political arena and in the media sphere - in Italy politicisation dynamics have shown alternating trends between media and politics. Over the period of time analysed a relative high level of politicisation in one of the two 'sites' has corresponded with a very low level in the other. While during the debate on internal relocation politicisation was observed in the media but not in parliamentary debates, the opposite holds true when the issue at stake was the EU relocation quota.

Nº of first time Asylum applicants (2015-2017)

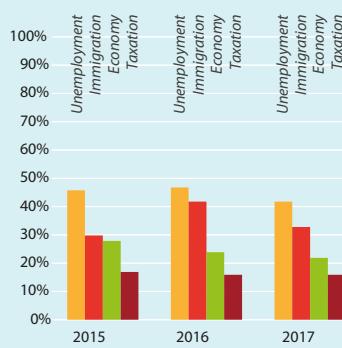


PUBLIC OPINION

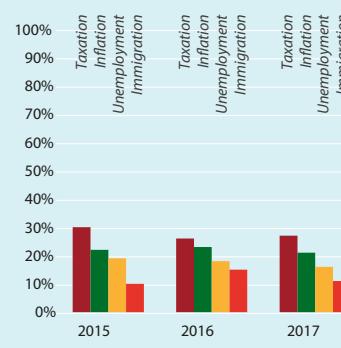
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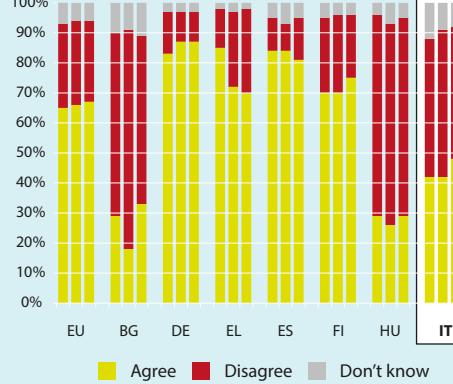
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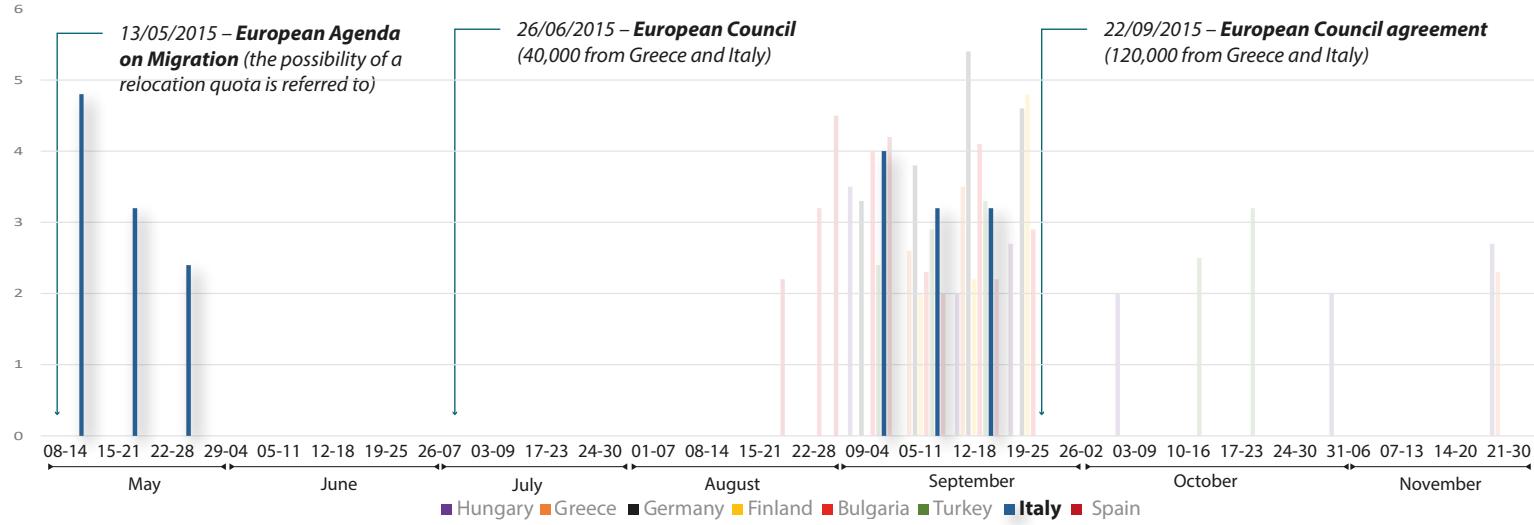


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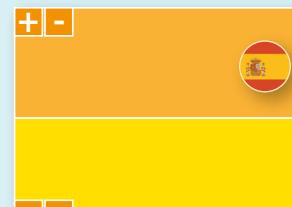


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Low polarisation/low salience

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Low polarisation/high salience



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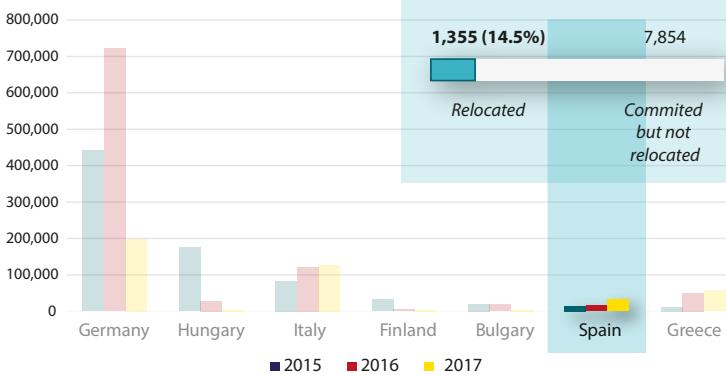
Created by CIDOB. Sources: World Bank, Ceaseval Papers, EUROSTAT, UNHCR, Economic Development Foundation, "EU Support and EU Perception in Turkish public opinion", Standard Eurobarometers 84, 86 and 88 (Autumn).



Population (2017): 46,572,030
Foreign born population (2017): 12.9%
GDP (2017): 1,311,320 million \$
GDP per capita (2017): 28,156 \$
Unemployment (2017): 14.5%
Government: PP: center-right
 From June 2018: PSOE centre-left

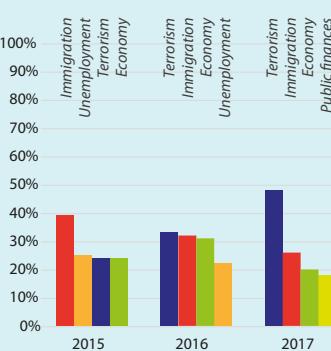
Spain represents an exceptional case: a civil society that was especially mobilised in favour of immigration and refugees; multilevel confrontation between the central state on the one hand, and cities, autonomous communities and civil society on the other; and media coverage that was not always accompanied by in-depth parliamentary discussions or by immigration becoming a crucial topic in electoral debates.

No of first time Asylum applicants (2015-2017)

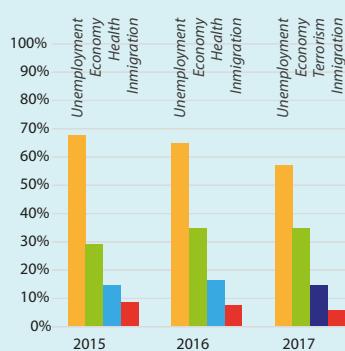


PUBLIC OPINION

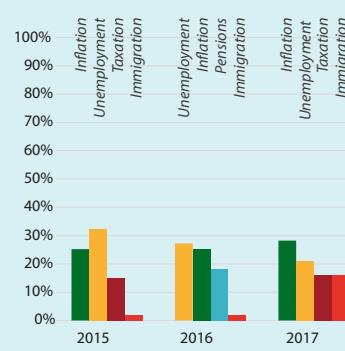
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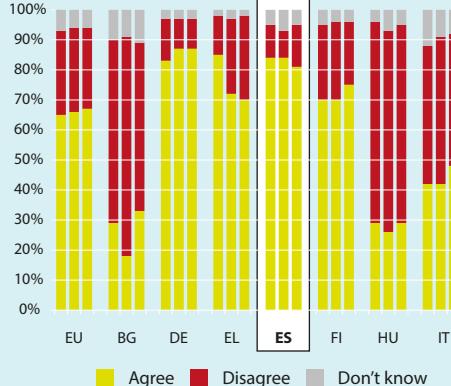
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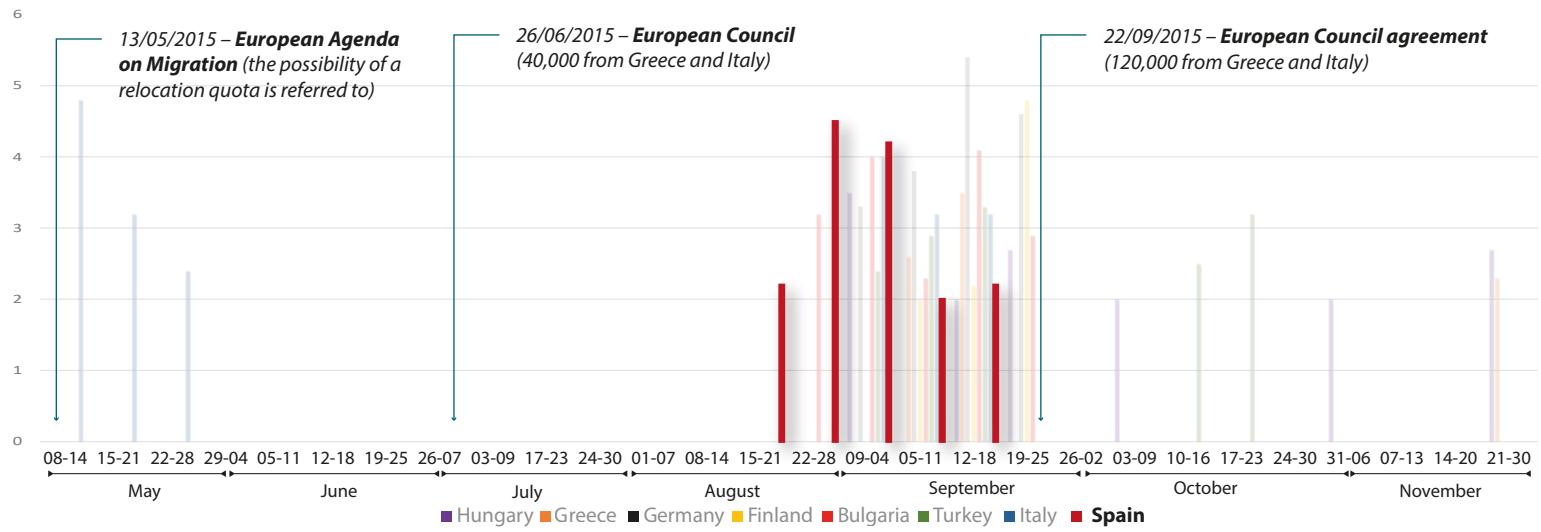


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MEDIA DEBATE/SALIENCE

Rate of relocation quota related articles (at least two times above the country average) between 01/05/2015 and 31/11/2015

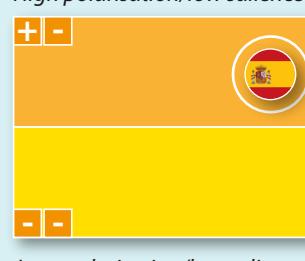


POLITICISATION

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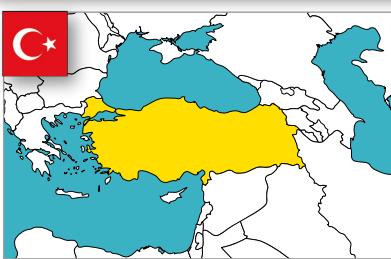


High polarisation/high salience



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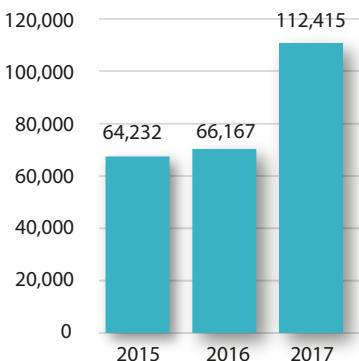


Population (2017): 80,745,000
Foreign born population (2017): 6%
GDP (2017): 851,549 million \$
GDP per capita (2017): 10,546 \$
Unemployment (2017): 11,3%
Government: AKP: right
* Including refugee and refugee-like status

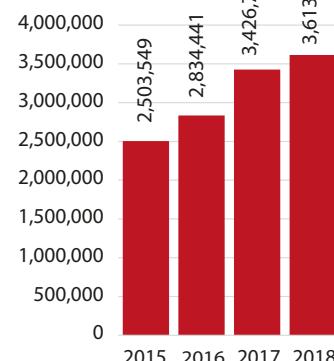
Salience reached its peak between December 2015 and March 2016 when the negotiations between Turkey and the EU were very active, leading up to the March 2016 Statement. Despite a shared consensus on the unequal sharing of responsibility between Turkey and the EU, polarisation has gradually emerged with opposition parties and human rights activists criticising the way in which the government managed the negotiations with the EU. In Turkey, the politicisation of the "refugees issue" has been critically affected by domestic and international incidents and tensions.

No of first time Asylum applicants

Source: Directorate General for Migration Management (DGMM)

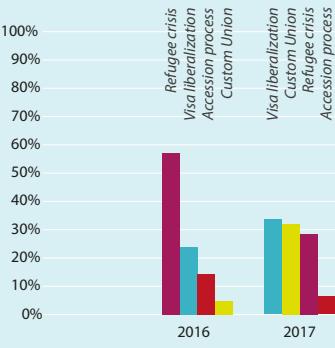


Syrians under temporary protection in Turkey (Dec. 2018)

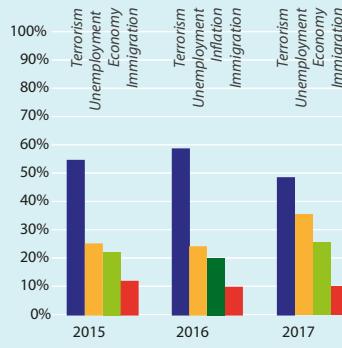


PUBLIC OPINION

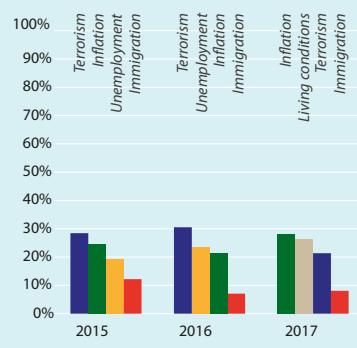
1. What is the most important topic in Turkey-EU relations? (2016-2017, %)



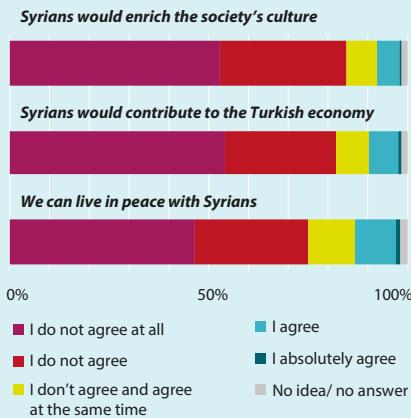
2. What are the main problems of your country? (2015-2017, %)



3. What are your main personal problems? (2015-2017, %)

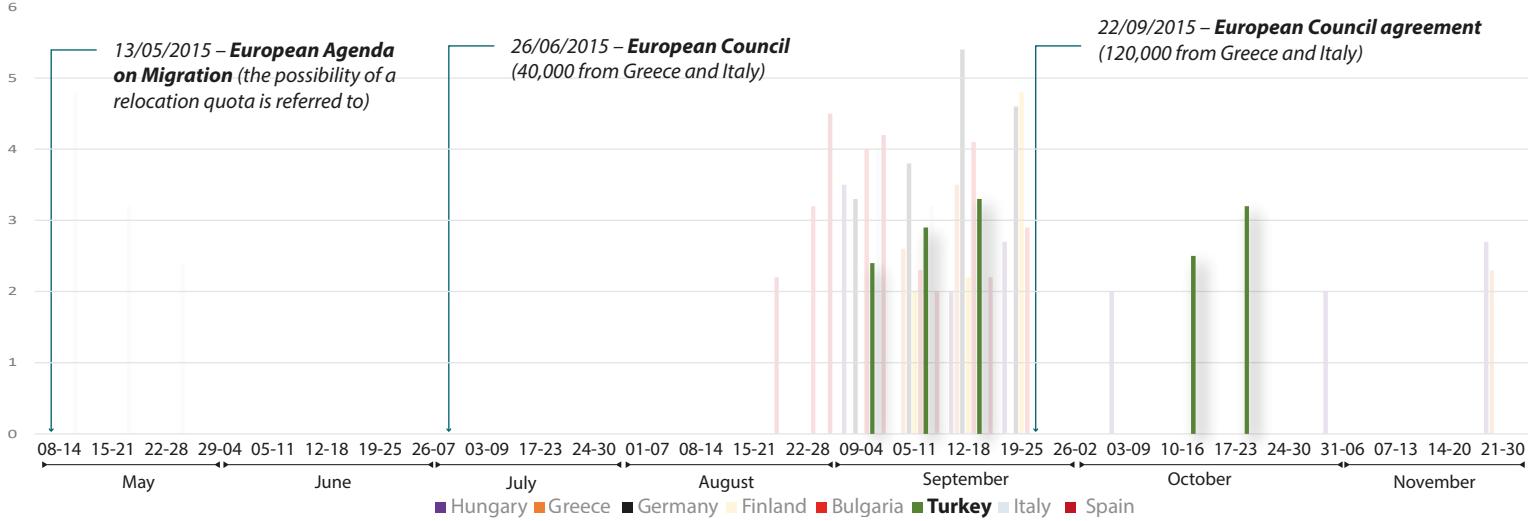


4. How much do you agree with the following statements about the results of Syrians living in our country? (2017, %)



MEDIA DEBATE/SALIENCE

Rate of relocation quota related articles (at least two times above the country average) between 01/05/2015 and 31/11/2015

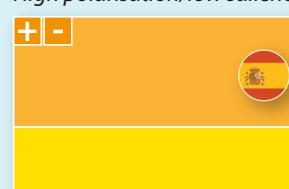


POLITICISATION

Polarisation vs. salience in the political discourse: where do the countries stand? (2015-2016)

Country position captures the degree of both polarisation and salience of the political debate about the relocation quota (and other important migration-related matters) between May 2015 and September 2018.

High polarisation/low salience



-

High polarisation/high salience



+

Low polarisation/low salience



-

Low polarisation/high salience



+



The Project receives funding from the EU's Horizon 2020 Programme for Research and Innovation under grant agreement No 770037.

Created by CIDOB. Sources: World Bank, DG Migration Management, Government of Turkey, Ceaseval Papers, EUROSTAT, UNHCR, Economic Development Foundation, "EU Support and EU Perception in Turkish public opinion", Syrian Barometer, "Erdoğan, Murat (2018) Suriyeliler Uyum İçinde Yaşamın Çerçevesi", İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

CEASEVAL

Evaluation of the Common European Asylum System under Pressure and Recommendations for Further Development

Since 2015, migration to and within Europe has challenged the adequacy of the Common European Asylum System (CEAS). This has affected the implementation of both the CEAS and national asylum systems and called further harmonisation into question. Harmonisation is not a fixed term but incorporates varied meanings and practices. In legal terms, harmonisation has been explained as an approximation process towards minimum standards. In political terms, harmonisation focuses on policy convergence, of which legal harmonisation is only one of many mechanisms of convergence. CEASEVAL will determine what kind of harmonisation and solidarity is possible and necessary.

CEASEVAL aims to:

- Carry out a comprehensive evaluation of the CEAS
- Analyse harmonisation going beyond formal institutions
- Consider actors engaged at local, national and European levels
- Explain the success and failure of coordinated action between these varied actors

CEASEVAL has four objectives:

- Combine multiple disciplines in order to explore different perspectives of the CEAS
- Develop and test a new theoretical framework of multilevel governance of the CEAS
- Provide a critical evaluation of the CEAS by identifying and analysing discrepancies in the transposition and incorporation of European standards in the area of asylum in domestic legislation as well as differences in their implementation
- Elaborate new policies by considering different alternatives of implementing a common European asylum system

Learn more at **ceaseval.eu**



Learn more at: ceaseval.eu



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