CEASEVAL

Working Paper

Public opinion on immigration and refugees and patterns of politicisation
Evidence from the Eurobarometer

Birgit Glorius
Professor of Human Geography with Focus on European Migration Research, TU Chemnitz

August 2018

European Commission

Public opinion on immigration and refugees and patterns of politicisation

Birgit Glorius,
Professor of Human Geography with Focus on European Migration Research, TU Chemnitz
Birgit.glorius@phil.tu-chemnitz.de

Abstract

Since the arrival of large numbers of asylum seekers during the year 2015, the question how to deal with asylum seeking immigrants in political but also in practical terms has become one of the most important policy issues on all governance levels throughout Europe. Practical struggles how to distribute, accommodate and integrate asylum seekers were paralleled by increasing public and media discourses, polarization processes and the development of sometimes diverging governance strategies on this issue.

The analysis presented in this paper will particularly investigate, from a comparative and longitudinal perspective (from fall 2015 onwards), the development of public opinion towards asylum, refugee integration, burden sharing and connected issues for the respective countries with reference to contextual characteristics. As a result, it will identify country clusters with regards to politicization patterns and deliver a first estimation why those clusters developed. Furthermore, it will examine if and how the development of public opinion on refugees and their reception is paralleled by changes of the public opinion towards other topics (as for example evaluation of the European integration process, renationalization tendencies etc.). The analysis of this issue will prepare the ground for further research in the field of politicization, notably the analysis of parliamentary debates and media articles on the topic of responsibility sharing and relocation.

Keywords: Asylum, Europe, Governance, Politicisation, Public Opinion, Refugees

1. Introduction

Since the arrival of large numbers of asylum seekers during the year 2015, the question how to deal with asylum seeking immigrants in political but also in practical terms has become one of the most important policy issues on all governance levels throughout Europe. Faced with rapidly increasing numbers of migrants travelling over the Balkan route but also over the central Mediterranean route in 2015, countries along those routes, as well as the most important reception countries developed numerous pragmatic approaches on local and regional level to accept, distribute and accommodate asylum seekers, while on the national and EU-level, there was a reinforcement of debates about how to arrive at a fair distribution of asylum seekers among EU countries, and how to harmonize the reception process and the processing of asylum application, in order to reduce incentives for onward-movements of asylum seekers.

This process was paralleled by an increased politicization of the issues of migration, integration, and the reception of asylum seekers. Politicization means "an increase in salience and diversity of opinions on specific societal topics", and it develops when "issues become more contested and there are increasing public demands on public policy" (De Wilde 2011, 561). While this is a general pattern, there is still considerable variation throughout European states, and over time:

1) While some countries which were not affected by recent refugee migration such as the Czech Republic, Slovakia or Poland resist the idea of a fair burden sharing among EU member states and frame their argumentation with culturalist arguments,[1] others, such as Spain, France or the Netherlands, seem to stand for rather pragmatic responses towards the challenge of refugee migration, relying on significant experiences with prior immigration and integration periods.

2) While we can see changes of public mood and the rise of populist, anti-immigrant parties in many European countries, a closer look on immigration data reveals that opinion and policy changes are not necessarily a consequence of large arrival numbers. Regarding the question of national responsibility to help refugees, in Greece, where (according to Frontex) 885,400 migrants arrived in 2015 and which is a hotspot of arrivals since then, an overwhelming majority of respondents saw a national responsibility for helping refugees throughout the years 2015-2017, albeit with slight decrease from 2015 (85%) to 2017 (70%) (EU 2016, 2017a, 2017b). On the other hand, in Bulgaria, which was much less affected by migration movements and recorded a total of 61,705 asylum applications between 2013 and 2017, the public mood is much less supporting the reception of asylum seekers, with an approval rate of 33% in 2017.

3) Also, political developments, for example the rise of populist parties or the adoption of restrictive or more proactive policies regarding the reception and integration of asylum seekers, developed at an uneven pace throughout Europe, and were framed by differing discourses and developments on other policy fields.

Given the necessity of a joint European approach towards the reception and distribution of asylum seekers in the EU, it is necessary to assess how such a joint approach can come about, and what obstacles it might face, differentiated by levels of governance and type of political actors. Also, we

---

[1] Such as for example the Polish position to only accept asylum seekers of Christian believe in the context of relocation programs.

need to keep in mind that the reform of the CEAS might serve as a litmus test for the further European integration (or disintegration) process.

In the light of these considerations, and embedded in a larger research project on the evaluation of the Common European Asylum System (CEASEVAL),[2] this paper aims to constitute the empirical basis for the research of politicization patterns and policy response concerning immigration and refugee reception in a selection of European countries. It will conduct a secondary analysis of cross-national survey data and relevant research reports, which will be followed (in later steps of the project) by an analysis of parliamentary debates and media reports. By this, we aim to comparatively examine politicization processes in three different groups of actors, which is the public, (via opinion polls) the policy makers (via parliamentary debates) and the media (via media analysis), and to identify drivers of politicization as well as interactions and mutual influences between those levels (fig. 1).

Figure 1: Research concept for the investigation of politicization processes
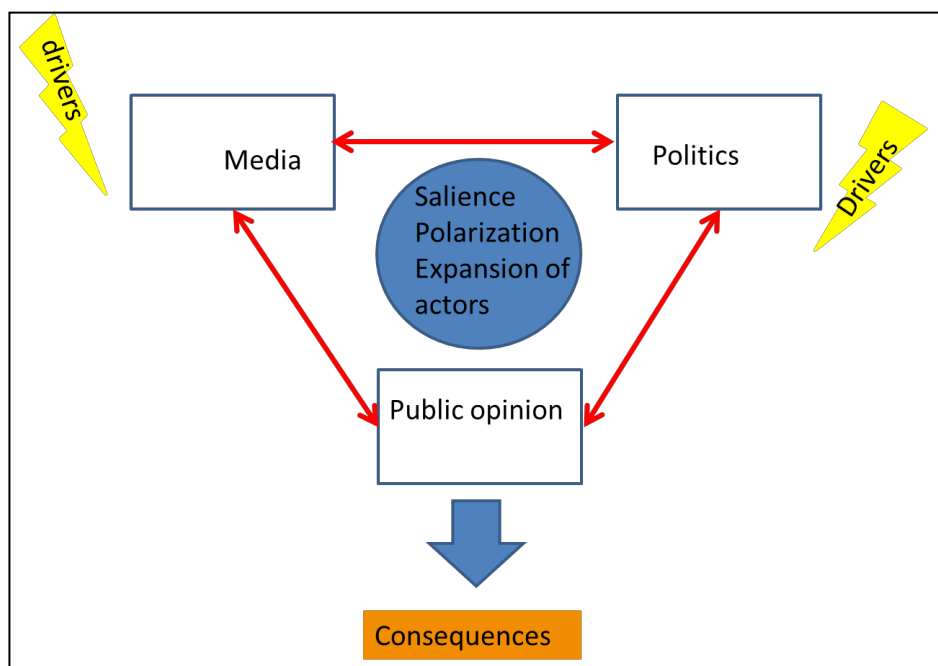
Source: own design, Birgit Glorius 2018

The selection of countries represents major arrival countries in Western and Northern Europe (Germany-DE, Finland-FI), European member states bordering the Mediterranean and thus serving as major entry gates for all kinds of irregular migration (Italy-I, Greece-EL, Spain-ES), countries representing Central and Eastern European new member states (Bulgaria-BG, Hungary-HU), and Turkey (TR), as important gateway country to the EU. By this, we not only cover all geographical situations of the EU, but also the different stages of membership, of political developments

---

considering the systems change of 1989/90, as well as the varying affectedness from the economic and financial crisis of 2008, which all might serve as important framing variables for explaining variances of public opinion formation and policy development.

The analysis presented in this paper will particularly investigate, from a comparative and longitudinal perspective (from fall 2015 onwards), the development of public opinion towards asylum, refugee integration, burden sharing and connected issues for the respective countries with reference to contextual characteristics. As a result, it will identify country clusters with regards to politicization patterns and deliver a first estimation why those clusters developed. Furthermore, it will try to investigate the question if the development of public opinion on refugees and their reception is paralleled by changes of the public opinion towards other topics (as for example evaluation of the European integration process, renationalization tendencies etc.). The analysis of this issue will prepare the ground for further research in the field of politicization, notably the analysis of parliamentary debates and media articles on the topic of responsibility sharing and relocation.

The paper is organized as follows: The introductory part (chapter 1) is followed by conceptual considerations and a short description of the research methodology (chapter 2). Chapter 3 presents a literature review on the public opinion on refugees and relating politicization processes in Europe. Chapter 4 is the empirical chapter. Based on an analysis of Eurobarometer data, it analyzes patterns of politicization on refugees and investigates topical framings of this policy issue. It examines the salience of "immigration" in comparison to other policy issues on personal, national and European level (4.1, 4.2), followed by an analysis of concepts of "immigration" and corresponding perceptions (4.3), an overview of perceptions on national and EU policy making with respect to irregular migration and refugee migration (4.4), and an assessment of trust levels with respect to the various governance levels and stakeholders. Chapter 5 wraps up the results from the descriptive analysis and interprets them with the aim to find explanations for variations among countries' respondents. It also develops a provisional typology of country clusters, highlighting converging and diverging aspects of politicization in Europe, and suggests avenues for further in-depth research.

2. Theoretical Concept and Methodology

Politicization is most commonly understood as "an increase in polarisation of opinions, interests or values and the extent to which they are publicly advanced towards the process of policy formulation" in a specific political entity, as for example the EU (De Wilde 2011, 560). The term politicization has been extensively used for the analysis of the European polity and governance processes (De Wilde 2011; De Wilde and Zürn 2012; Green-Pedersen 2012; Hutter and Grande 2014; Statham and Trenz 2013; Zürn et al. 2012). However, until today there is no established research concept for its analysis. Instead, as De Wilde points out, there are varying research frames, based on varying disciplinary foci. For the empirical observation of politicization, De Wilde (2011) suggests to focus on three components: 1) an increase in salience, resulting from societal actors' increasing attention to a specific issue, 2) a diversity of opinions on a specific societal topic, leading to the polarisation of opinions, and 3) an expansion of actors and audiences engaging in the process of opinion formation (de Wilde 2016, 4). Salience and polarization are two analytically independent however related components of politicization. Only if both occur with respect to a specific societal topic and moment in time, we can speak of politicization (see Consterdine 2018, 3). The expansion of public actors implies a multiplication and diversification of engagement, entailing direct participation, debate, or public protest (De Wilde et al. 2016, 6). These manifestations of engagement are time and space

specific, and they can be triggered by specific instances, so called "episodes of contention" (see Tilly and Tarrow 2017, in De Wilde 2011, 563, following Consterdine 2018, 4). Consterdine, in her overview of political science literature on public attitudes, concludes that public opinion may not determine policy outcomes, but that it sets boundaries within which policymakers shape their policy response (Consterdine 2018, 5, following Freeman, Hansen and Leal 2013). The contingency of politicization in terms of time, place, and actor constellation can result in different patterns "with respect to the relative strength of salience and polarization in various settings, the specific constellation of actors and audiences, the behavioural manifestation of politicisation and its substantive content" (De Wilde 2016 et al., 6). Considering the effects of increased politicization, recent research with reference to the European integration process has revealed that increased politicization does not result in invariable support for European governance, as politicization is rather driven by Eurosceptical than by supportive actors (ibd.).

For addressing the questions raised above, this paper will perform a literature analysis of recent research literature on the topic and secondary analysis of research reports from major cross-national opinion polls such as the ESS, the EVS and the GAS (tab. 1). It will summarize the main approaches, results and implications. This will prepare the ground for an analysis of the Eurobarometer, concentrating on the issues EB 82, EB 84, EB 86 and EB 88, which were conducted in fall of the years 2014, 2015, 2016 and 2017 (EU 2015, 2016, 2017a, 2017b).

Table 1: Relevant opinion polls for measuring the public opinion on refugees and the European governance

European Social Survey (ESS): The European Social Survey (ESS) is an academically driven cross-national survey that has been conducted across Europe since its establishment in 2001. Every two years, face-to-face interviews are conducted with newly selected, cross-sectional samples. The survey measures the attitudes, beliefs and behavior patterns of diverse populations in more than thirty nations. We will include the waves of 2014 and 2016 in our analysis.
European Values Study (EVS): The European Values Study is a large-scale, cross-national, and longitudinal survey research program on basic human values. It provides insights into the ideas, beliefs, preferences, attitudes, values and opinions of citizens all over Europe.
Eurobarometer: Since the early seventies the European Commission's Standard Eurobarometer are regularly monitoring the public opinion in the European Union member countries. Interviews are conducted face-to-face, in each spring and each autumn, at all times based on new samples ("repeated cross-section" design). The standard modules ask for attitudes towards European unification, institutions and policies, complemented by measurements for general socio-political orientations, as well as by respondent and household demographics.

Source: own compilation

3. Overview over relevant research literature on the public opinion on refugees and politicization processes in Europe

In a first step of this research, we will give an overview on the existing pieces of research. This will not only offer a summary of the main results regarding the development of public opinion, but will also reveal the specific approaches in conceptual terms. Both will be used for the construction of a data analysis strategy for the EB data, which will be presented in chapter 4.

In her state-of-the-art-report on public attitudes, political discourses and media coverage on the arrival of refugees, Consterdine (2018, 5) presents a typology of pieces of literature on public attitudes towards immigration, differentiating explanatory approaches and research perspectives. Concerning the explanatory approaches, she finds rationalist vs. constructivist approaches, with economic, realistic conflict and instrumental arguments on one side, and social identity and culture explanations and symbolism on the other. The rationalist approach for example applies realistic conflict theory and explains salience on the refugee crisis with competition for scarce resources, which stimulates hostile inter-group attitudes, while the social identity approaches stress the effect of individual and collective identity processes, thus drawing on long-standing affective predispositions and perceptions of relative deprivation as source for hostile public attitudes (Heitmeyer 2010, Küpper and Zick 2010, Pettigrew 2001). A further differentiation was found in the research perspectives, which reach from the analysis of individual level characteristics (for example individual economic situation) to those that look at broader contextual factors (such as real or perceived impacts of immigration on the own country's economy or culture. The reviewed pieces of literature present a variety of explanatory factors for the development of hostile attitudes, among them a deteriorating individual economic situation, collective perception of relative deprivation, social identity and culture, contact with foreigners, age and education. However, as Consterdine (2018, 5) points out, none of those factors was found as crucial or unidirectional in its explanatory power. A major shortcoming of most studies and surveys was the lacking definition of the concept of "immigration" or "migrant". Therefore, the results were not able to show a differentiated picture of respondents' perceptions regarding labor migrations, educational migrants, or refugees.

Messing and Ságvári (2018) investigate potential factors behind cross-country differences of anti-migrant attitudes in Europe, using data from the ESS which was compiled in fall 2014 and spring 2015, plus additional data. They construct three indexes to inform their analysis: social distance index, fear index, and rejection index, and analyze it with respect to various explanatory variables on micro- and macro-level. First result of their analyses is that the presence of third country national (TCN) negatively correlates with the complete rejection of TCN migrants (Messing and Ságvári 2018, 8f). Among the EU-countries under study, Hungarian respondents show the strongest rejection (48%). As macro-level explanatory variables, they use economic, social/educational and migration policy factors. The analysis shows that in more economically developed countries (defined via GDP/capita), the acceptance of migrants is generally higher (ibd., 11). Also, the general levels of trust (trust in institution, low level of corruption) correlates with the acceptance of migrants. Furthermore, as already mentioned above, the share of TCN migrants in a country correlates with the social distance index, meaning that the more migrants there are, the less social distance can be observed. These correlations are even stronger when examined on the micro-level: The fear index, on the individual level, is strongly dependent on the level of interpersonal and institutional trust and trust in the physical surroundings (item: "feeling safe when walking alone in the dark"). Further explanatory value was found in the education level (the better educated, the lower the fear index), and the occurrence of interethnic contact (ibd., 20f). They also showed the influence of public policy on migrants and migration issues and media discourses on the public attitudes. Rejection of migrants correlates with the presence of negative media reports (at the top: again Hungary), while a decent inclusionary strategy with respect to labor market, education, political participation, health, residence and anti-discrimination significantly lowers the level of migrant rejection in the population (ibd., 15f).

An important conclusion from their analysis is that it is not exclusively the perception of migration, but the general "social health" of a society, that translates into a feeling of safety and stability which "allows acceptance of and solidarity with migrants" (ibd., 27). Thus, Messing and Ságvári conclude "migrants are only a perfect target to express their fears, especially if they have little personal experience with them." (ibd., 28)

Bansak et al. (2017) conducted a survey asking 18,000 citizens of 15 European countries about their preferences regarding different mechanisms for allocating asylum seekers across countries. The survey was carried out in February/March 2016. Generally, only a minority of respondents would willingly accept more asylum seekers, with a range between Czech respondents with approx. 10% and Spanish respondents with approx. 35 per cent. The authors highlight that policy makers on national level seeking re-election will refrain from supporting the idea of taking in more asylum seekers, even though the member states as such would generally profit if there was a functioning and fair institutionalized distribution system. Being confronted with three options, that is 1) proportional allocation of asylum seekers in proportion to the members states' relevant capacities, 2) equal allocation and 3) sticking with the status quo, a large majority (72 per cent) of respondents preferred proportional allocation. This overwhelming support holds in every country, ranging between 58 per cent (Germany) and 87 per cent (Greece). This suggests that respondents are strongly attracted to the norm of proportional equality. In stark contrast, only 18 per cent of voters prefer the country of first entry, even though this has been the status quo since the introduction of the Dublin system in the 1990s. In addition, only 10 per cent of respondents prefer an equal allocation, suggesting that few voters are attracted to the alternative fairness principle of numerical equality in this context (Bansak et al. 2017, 3).

As a further elaboration of the willingness of responsibility sharing, the interviewers confronted a sub-sample of interviewees with information on the allocation of asylum seekers and gave an estimation of the numbers a country would have to take in, if the principle of fair burden sharing would be implemented. These two informational inputs changed the response behavior in two aspects: 1) prompting respondents with the consequences has an important impact on support for proportional allocation. If their country benefits from proportional allocation, provision of the actual numbers increases support, while if their country faces a higher responsibility under proportional allocation, provision of the numbers reduces support. This relationship holds for each of the 15 countries and suggests that consequentialist considerations play a significant role in shaping preferences for the allocation of asylum seekers. 2) even when respondents see the implied numbers, a majority of 56 per cent of respondents still prefer proportional allocation, despite the fact that it would increase the number of asylum seekers for most countries. In contrast, only 27 per cent of respondents prefer the status quo allocation and only 17 per cent of respondents prefer an equal allocation under this condition; in fact, a higher percentage supports equal allocation over the status quo in several countries (ibd., 4). Even in the three countries that prefer the status quo (the Czech Republic, Poland and the United Kingdom), there is still meaningful support, with more than 25 per cent of respondents in each country preferring proportional allocation (ibd., 5).

The study arrives at two important conclusions, referring to the theoretical level and to the policy level: For theory, the results provide evidence that in the context of a highly salient international policy decision – where voters have strong preferences and stakes are high – the norm of proportional equality can preponderate over narrow consequentialist considerations. Voters care not only about the consequences of this policy reform, but also about the inherent fairness of the design

of the asylum system (ibd., 6). Second, the results suggest that voters would tolerate an increase in the number of asylum seekers allocated to their own country as long as responsibilities are fairly shared across Europe. This argument points to a viable pan-European consensus to move towards a responsibility-sharing mechanism that allocates asylum seekers in proportion to the countries' capacities (ibd.).

Simonovits and Bernát (2016) give an in-depth view of the European refugee crisis 2015 and of its repercussions in Hungary. The research aimed – among other objectives – to explore and assess changes in the majority's attitudes towards migrants (with a special focus on asylum seekers), based on two waves of data collections (October 2015 and January 2016) on representative samples. Referring to cross-national data like the ESS or the EB, the study highlights that most of the EU population (85 per cent) agreed that "additional measures should be taken to fight illegal immigration of people from outside the EU" and three fourth of them would also support "a common European policy on migration". Hungary was one of those countries (next to Denmark and Estonia) with above average support for additional measures to fight illegal migration, and below average support for a common European migration policy.

Using a series of opinion surveys, the study revealed that in April 2015, right after the start of the government's anti-immigration campaign in early 2015 and the first wave of mass immigration from Kosovo in late 2014, the level of xenophobia in the Hungarian population immediately increased and reached – after a period of indifference with both xenophobia and xenophilia decreasing – an all-time high, while xenophilia practically disappeared. Also, the level of rejection confronted with possible reasons for flight (e.g. due to war or civil war, being persecuted on the grounds of religion or ethnicity etc.) increased in January 2016 as compared to the levels found in October. The results correlated with several socio-demographic indicators (level of education, age) and indicated that place of residence (meaning geographical location and type of settlement), and party preference play a significant role in welcoming or rejecting attitudes. The same correlations were found for fear levels concerning immigration and the phenomenon of welfare chauvinism. Furthermore, welfare chauvinism was strongly related to the rejection of the idea of an open society.

Regarding the preferred policy approach to react to the migration crisis, the study found that the overwhelming majority of the respondents agree with the ideas of tightening the Hungarian asylum and immigration policy. The public support for the immigration policy formulated in the spirit of "law and order" is highly correlating with the perceived threats, both realistic (volume and irregularity) and symbolic (cultural and religious aspects).

Simonovits and Bernát (2016) then investigated the results from the seventh round of the European Social Survey, focusing on "Attitudes towards Immigration and their Antecedents". The publication delivers a comparative dataset of attitudes towards immigration for 21 countries. Data from round 7 (2014) are compared to round 1 (2002). It explores attitudes towards immigration and enables to explore attitudes towards different groups of migrants (regarding ethnicity, wealth level etc.), the criteria for accepting or excluding different sorts of migrants, the intensity of contact to migrants and perceptions on costs and benefits of migration.

The level of support of migration was asked by evaluating whether one's own country turns into a better or worse place as a result of migration. Even though migration increased in a number of countries since 2002, the perceptions didn't change a lot, and they mostly changed towards a slightly more positive perception (Simonovits and Bernát 2016, 4). The distribution of opinions displays a pattern where the Nordic countries tend to be more positive, while the Eastern European countries

are more negative. An exception from this pattern is Poland with a relatively positive position towards immigration. This might stem from the large emigration experience of Poles which might have shaped the opinions. Asking for the reasons of these perceptions, the intensity of contact to migrants as well as the economic situation of a country is usually addressed. However, the survey finds that behind those fairly positive positions there can be found an increasing polarization of societies about immigration.

Also the ESS results show that public attitudes towards immigration vary with respect to the subjective perception of migrants' characteristics. Results show a clear hierarchy of acceptance regarding the ethnicity and economic/cultural background of migrants – with "people from the same race or ethnic group" preferred most, with Jews being usually more welcome than Muslims and Roma people being the least welcome of all groups. People from poorer countries outside Europe are about as welcome or unwelcome as Muslims. Regarding the rounds 2002 to 2014, the number of respondents who rejected immigration increased for all types of migrants, especially the rejection of migrants from poorer countries outside Europe (increase from 11 to 20%). The increase in polarization was most pronounced in many Western European countries which experienced large increases of migration since 2002, such as Austria, Finland, Spain, Sweden and UK, but also some Eastern European countries with rather low immigration levels (Poland, Slovenia). A closer look into the drivers of polarization with respect to social characteristics revealed the highest divergence of opinions between the younger and the older respondents and between the low and high educated respondents. In combination of these two characteristics, older and low educated respondents displayed the most critical views towards immigration, while the younger and highly educated respondents are more favorable to immigration. This might display a generational difference, with a rather immobile older generation and the younger "generation ERASMUS" who had the opportunity to travel and develop a more cosmopolitan view of the world (Simonovits and Bernát 2016, 11).

Regarding the costs and benefits of migration for various spheres of life, we can again see a growing polarization insofar as both positive and negative perceptions of the effects of immigration have increased between 2002 and 2014: The most positive attitudes were expressed for the effects for cultural life (around 50% in 2014), while the negative effects were seen lowest in this sphere (around 27% in 2014). The question if immigrants take jobs away or help to create new jobs received almost equal shares of positive and negative votes (around one third each, 2014), while the question if migrants are rather a burden or a stabilizing factor for the social systems received much more negative than positive votes. The highest share of negative votes, albeit declining between 2002 and 2014, received the perception of immigration in relation to crime.

As a conclusions, the authors address the gap between policy-makers and European citizens regarding those issues that receive the highest salience in the context of immigration: while on the policy level, many debates until the year 2015 were concentrated on the overall economic impact of migration, the European public was more concerned about the practical effects of migration which might affect their daily lives, such as the competition for social services or increasing crime rates.

Summarizing the research literature reviewed above, several conclusions can be drawn which impact on the research design for the Eurobarometer analysis:

The framing of immigration, notably asylum migration, varies between countries and respondents, in relation to individual factors such as age, education and wealth, but also on the societal level, in relation to economic and political stability of a country and its level of diversity. Thus, hostile attitudes develop in societies where few experiences with migrants were made, where economic and

social security systems are unstable and where a low level of interpersonal and institutional trust is present. Migrants, as Messing and Sagvari (2018) point out, may serve as a target to express all kinds of fears regarding one's own livelihood. And, as the ESS results show, the (real or perceived) effects of immigration – such as a competition for social services in times of neoliberalisation – may cause xenophobic reactions.

Regarding the politicization of the "migration crisis", the example of Hungary shows that relative deprivation in combination with national and welfare chauvinism nurtures xenophobic reactions and the call for a strong nation state. Notwithstanding, as Bansak et al. 2017 showed in their study, Europeans, when confronted with adequate information about the regulations concerning the allocation of asylum seekers, have a strong sense of fairness that is directly connected to the idea of proportional burden sharing. That is, European citizens rely on the stability of the EU as economic and political player and accept European solutions for their own countries, if they were made on grounds of solidarity and trust.

4. Patterns of politicization on refugees and the European governance – results from the Eurobarometer

From the perspective of Eurobarometer report EB 88 (EU 2017), we reconstruct the developments of public opinion and analyze opinion changes related to migration and regulation issues in retrospect, using a selection of questions which are regularly addressed in the surveys (tab. 2). We take a specific interest in the perceived importance of policy issues and the policy level where those issues should be addressed (supranational vs. national vs. local) as well as the level of trust in political institutions on supranational, national and local level. The analysis first addresses the public opinion of all respondents (the EU28-perspective) over a longer period of time, and then turns to our countries under study (BG, DE, EL, ES, FI, HU, IT, TR) and regards specifics of public opinion development concerning to migration issues.

Table 2: Overview of analyzed items from Eurobarometer Survey

What do you think are the two most important issues facing the EU at the moment?
What do you think are the two most important issues facing (YOUR COUNTRY) at the moment?
What do you think are the two most important issues you are facing at the moment?
Please tell me, whether each of the following statements evokes a positive or negative feeling for you.   – Immigration of people from outside the EU.   – Immigration of people from other EU member states.
In your opinion, should additional measures be taken to fight illegal immigration of people from outside the EU?
To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements: – (OUR COUNTRY) should help refugees.   – Immigrants contribute a lot to (OUR COUNTRY).
In your opinion, should additional measures be taken to fight irregular immigration of people

| |
|---|
| from outside of the EU? |
| What is your opinion on the following statement: A common European policy on migration. |
| On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in (OUR COUNTRY).

 And how about the way democracy works in the EU? |
| I would like to ask you a question about how much trust you have in certain media and institutions. For each of the following media and institutions, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it.

 – The (NATIONAL) government

 – Regional or local public authorities

 – The European Union |

Source: Own compilation, based on EB surveys

4.1 Salience of "Immigration" in comparison to other policy issues on personal, national and European level

In order to estimate the development of salience for specific topics, the EB regularly asks what the respondents perceive as most important issues, giving a list of possible categories and the possibility for an open answer. Respondents are asked this question referring to the EU versus the national level and have to give an estimation what factors are most influential for their individual situation. An observation of those answers over time and an analysis of the differences between EU, national and personal level can give further insight into the development of politicization of specific issues and possible connections of topics.

Observing the development of topical issues for the total of EU28 respondents over a longer period of time, we can see significant shifts both on the EU and on the national level (see. fig. 2 and 3). While before 2014, the economic situation, unemployment and the state of members states' public finances were the three most frequently mentioned issues, the ranking changed since then, with immigration and terrorism being the two most important issues on EU level. However, the economic situation and the state of member states' public finances are still issues that many respondents are concerned about.

Figure 2: "What do you think are the two most important issues facing the EU at the moment?" (Two answers maximum, 6 most mentioned items 2010-2017; in %)
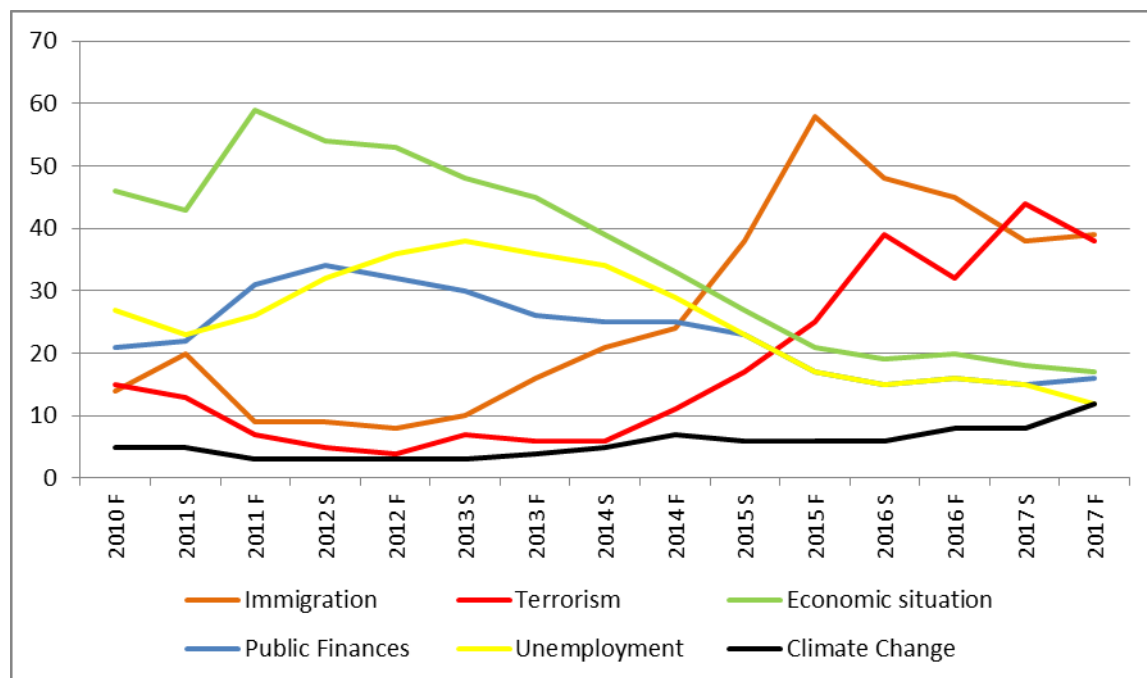
Data Source: EB 88, Question QA5

Regarding the question of most important issues on the national level, domestic issues are clearly in the foreground (fig. 3). Concerns about unemployment and the economic situation were very high before 2014, but still range on the top of most important issues. Only in fall 2015, concerns about unemployment were equally pronounced than immigration (both 36%). However, health, social security, rising prices and inflation are more important concerns than terrorism on the national level (EU 2017b, 9).

Figure 3: "What do you think are the two most important issues facing [OUR COUNTRY] at the moment?" in %
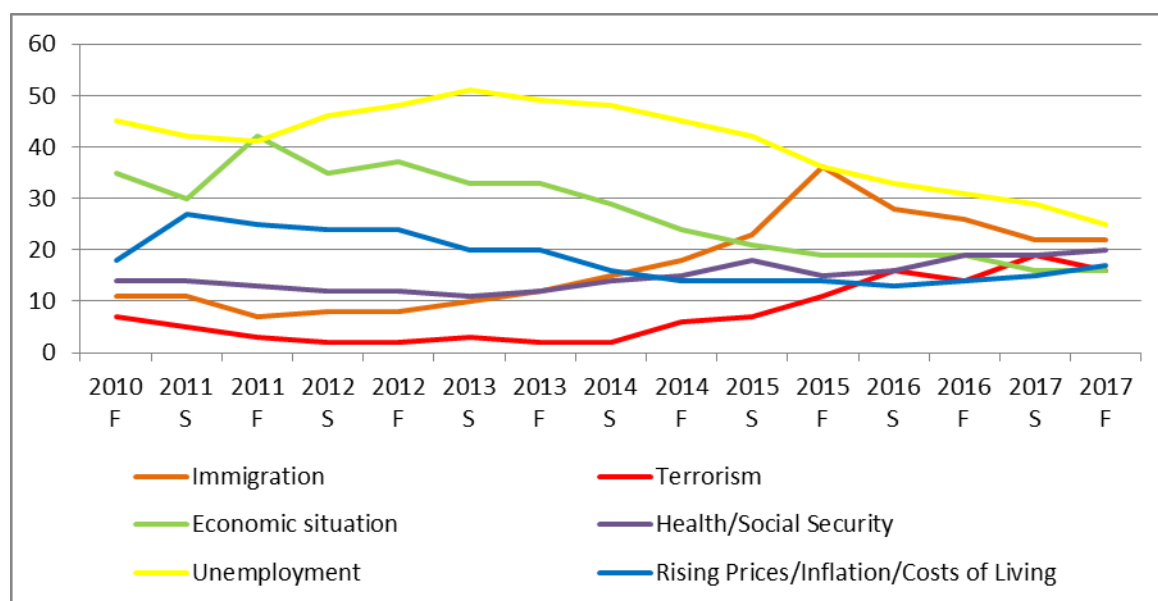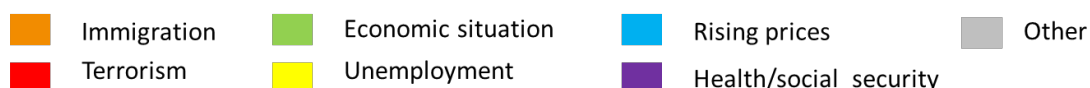

Data Source: EB 88, Question QA3a

Turning to our selection of countries, the results vary: Throughout the observation period, unemployment is the most salient issue on the national level, with usually more than half of respondents choosing this item as one of two most important issues (fig. 4). This is often combined with the "economic situation of our country" as important issue, or related domestic issues such as "rising prices, inflation, costs of living" or "health and social security", showing that respondents are deeply concerned about the economic stability in their country of residence as the basis for further developments, also in terms of capacities for integrating newcomers. Exceptions are Germany, where "immigration" is named as most important issue throughout the observation period, and Turkey, where the population is most concerned about terrorism, followed by unemployment.

Figure 4: "What are the two most important issues facing [OUR COUNTRY] at the moment?" (% of respondents)
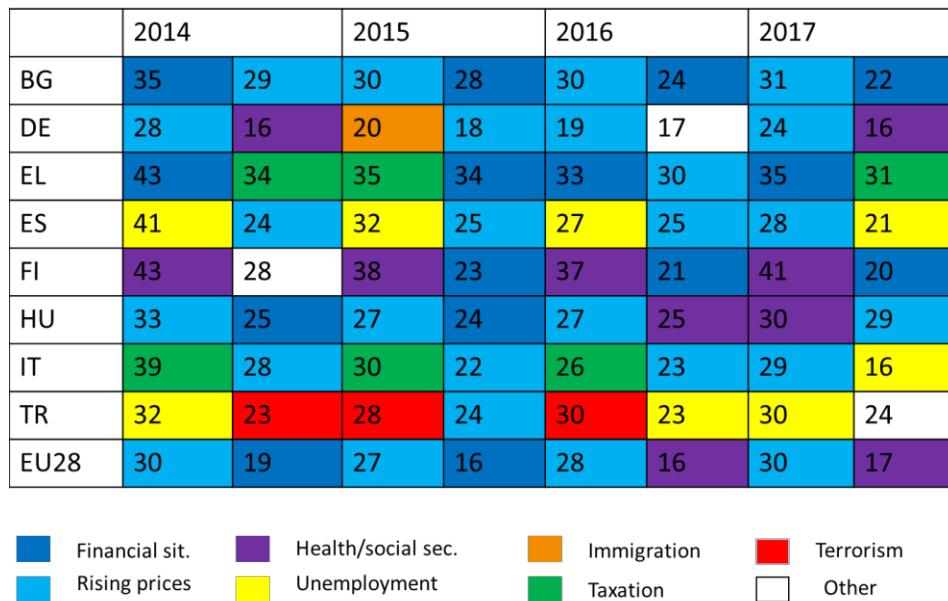
	2014		2015		2016		2017	
BG	49	44	39	33	30	30	31	31
DE	37	17	76	15	45	28	40	22
EL	60	46	55	45	55	40	49	44
ES	78	36	69	29	66	34	58	34
FI	49	36	42	41	40	33	41	26
HU	50	30	36	34	33	30	42	28
IT	60	37	36	30	47	42	42	33
TR	45	40	54	25	58	24	48	35
EU28	45	24	36	36	31	26	25	22

🟧 Immigration	🟩 Economic situation	🟦 Rising prices	⬜ Other
🟥 Terrorism	🟨 Unemployment	🟪 Health/social security	

Source: own design, based on EB 82, 84, 86, 88

This is also reflected by asking for a judgement on the personal level, where the financial situation of one's own household, rising prices and inflation, health and social security and unemployment are most frequently mentioned throughout the countries under observation (fig. 5). However, all items received lower response rates than above, showing that there is more diversity concerning the individual assessment of one's own situation. Interestingly, "immigration" only appears in one of the answers – Germany –, while in Turkey, concerns of being personally affected by terrorist attacks were most salient in the years 2015 and 2016.
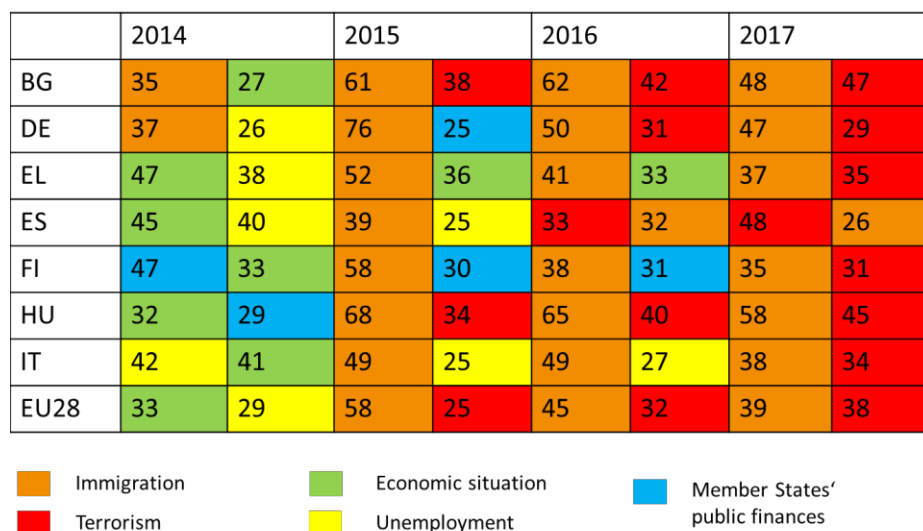
Figure 5: "What are the two most important issues you are facing at the moment?" (% of respondents)

	2014		2015		2016		2017	
BG	35	29	30	28	30	24	31	22
DE	28	16	20	18	19	17	24	16
EL	43	34	35	34	33	30	35	31
ES	41	24	32	25	27	25	28	21
FI	43	28	38	23	37	21	41	20
HU	33	25	27	24	27	25	30	29
IT	39	28	30	22	26	23	29	16
TR	32	23	28	24	30	23	30	24
EU28	30	19	27	16	28	16	30	17

Legend:
- Financial sit. (dark blue)
- Rising prices (light blue)
- Health/social sec. (purple)
- Unemployment (yellow)
- Immigration (orange)
- Taxation (green)
- Terrorism (red)
- Other (white)

Source: own design, based on EB 82, 84, 86, 88

Turning the question to the EU-level, the response pattern changes significantly. Regarding the most important issues facing the EU as supranational governance level, "immigration" appears on the top of the agenda in most countries under observation starting from year 2015, followed by "terrorism", which first appears in 2015 among the top 2 issues (fig. 6). In 2017 however, all respondents from the countries under observation, as well as the total of EU28 respondents, named "immigration" and "terrorism" as the two most important issues on EU level, pushing concerns about the economic situation of EU member states (including taxation, public finances and unemployment) in the background. Thus, we can see a convergence regarding the salience of immigration on the EU level, but not on the national or individual level.

Figure 6: "What are the two most important issues facing the EU at the moment?" (% of respondents)

	2014		2015		2016		2017	
BG	35	27	61	38	62	42	48	47
DE	37	26	76	25	50	31	47	29
EL	47	38	52	36	41	33	37	35
ES	45	40	39	25	33	32	48	26
FI	47	33	58	30	38	31	35	31
HU	32	29	68	34	65	40	58	45
IT	42	41	49	25	49	27	38	34
EU28	33	29	58	25	45	32	39	38

Legend:
- Immigration (orange)
- Terrorism (red)
- Economic situation (green)
- Unemployment (yellow)
- Member States' public finances (light blue)

Source: own design, based on EB 82, 84, 86, 88

4.2 Salience of "immigration" as important issue on EU, national and individual level

As we already showed, the salience of "immigration" came to the foreground just recently, and it is closely connected to the development of refugee flows (fig. 7). The perception of respondents that this issue needs to be addressed on European level is especially strong: Over the whole period of observation since fall 2014, there was always an about 20 percentage-points higher awareness of this issue as crucial for the EU governance level rather than being a domestic issue. The awareness level for both, EU and domestic perspective, developed parallel to the refugee flows, peaking in fall 2015 and decreasing since then, but still in fall 2017, 40 per cent of all respondents see immigration as most important issue on EU level, and 20 per cent on domestic level.

Figure 7: Perception of "Immigration" as important issue facing the EU or (YOUR COUNTRY) at the moment, 2014-2017, in %
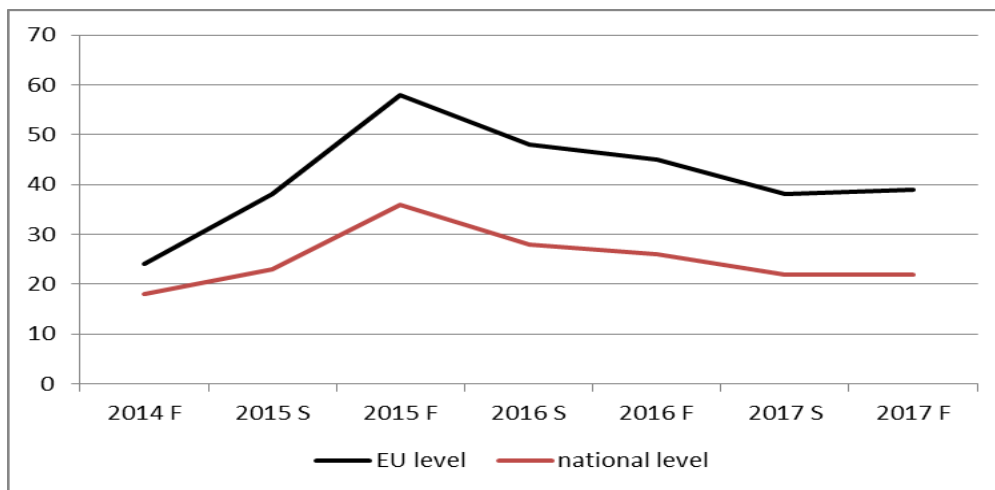
Data Source: EB 88, Question QA5

In fall 2014, attention for immigration as an issue that would affect one's own country was rather low throughout the European Union, reaching 18 per cent for the total of EU28 respondents (fig. 8). In 2014, only in three countries immigration was perceived as most important domestic issue, however not necessarily connected to refugee migration: This is true for Germany (37%), where in 2014 there were huge discussions about so-called poverty immigration from Bulgaria and Romania (paralleling the date both countries reached full freedom of movement at January 01 2014), and the UK (38%), where by this time EU internal movements to the country was already critically discussed and significantly contributed to the BREXIT vote one year later (Dennison & Geddes 2018, Glorius 2015). Malta (57%) was the only EU country in 2014 where public awareness for immigration was high due to asylum seeking migrants, who increasingly arrived over the central Mediterranean route already since 2004.[3] Given that also Italy experienced rising numbers of refugees via the Mediterranean since 2014,[4] the low significance which was given to "immigration" in 2014 by the EB respondents (18%) is quite surprising. With respect to the changing migration routes of 2015 and the connected opinion

---

[3] In Malta, sea arrivals of asylum seekers are increasing since 2004 and peaked in 2008 with 2,775. Between 2004 and 2014, rounded 17,000 persons arrived via the Mediterranean (UNHCR Malta 2018).
[4] After a first peak in 2011 with around 63,000 arrivals via the Mediterranean, arrival numbers strongly increased since 2014 with 170,100 sea arrivals in 2014, 153,842 in 2015, 181,436 in 2016 and 119,369 in 2017 (UNHCR 2018).

changes, it is interesting to see that in Greece as well as in Hungary the immigration issue was not yet on the public radar in fall 2014.

Figure 8: Perception of "Immigration" as important issue facing the EU, (OUR COUNTRY) or you personally at the moment, 2014-2017, in %
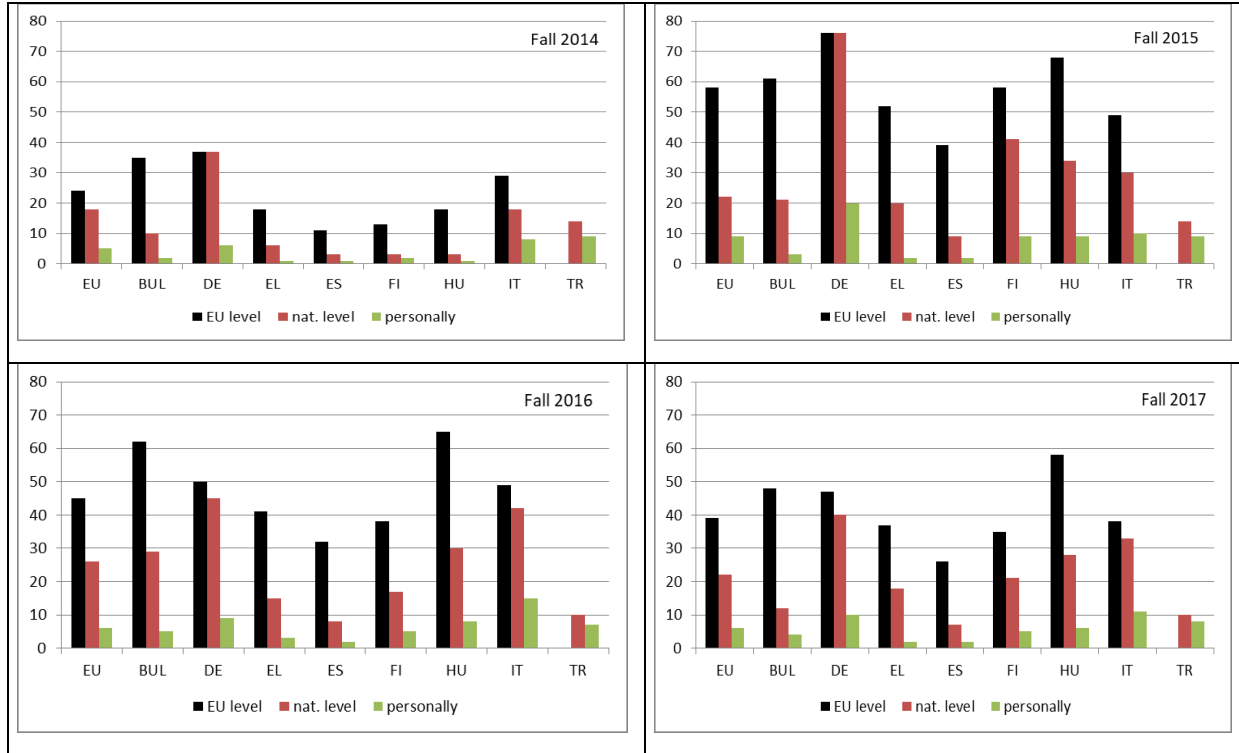
Data Source: EB

This changed in 2015, when salience significantly increased in almost all countries under observation, especially Germany where response to this item more than doubled from 37 to 76 per cent of respondents for the European and the country level. In most countries under observation, strong increases of salience were especially recorded for the European dimension, while the national dimension of immigration stayed well behind. Exceptions from this general trend were Spain with a very moderate increase and Turkey with a slight decrease in comparison to 2014. Comparing the arrival numbers per country with the level of attention, Greek respondents show a disproportional behavior, as the attention increases not extraordinarily – especially for the national dimension – between 2014 and 2015, compared to a manifold increase of migrant arrivals.[5] Apparently, immigration is rather perceived an issue to be dealt with on the EU level, while in the everyday experiences of respondents, the economic situation of the country and the high unemployment seem to be much more relevant. In 2016, response dropped again, except in Bulgaria and Italy, where the salience further increased and only started declining in 2017. Also on EU28 level, the apprehension that immigration was an important issue for one's own country further increased from 2015 to 2016, but dropped in 2017.

In 2017, salience for immigration as national issue dropped in most countries under observation and more or less reached the level from 2014. Exceptions are Greece and Finland, where response to this issue – after having decreased from 2015 to 2016 – increased again and remained on a significantly

---

[5] According to FRONTEX, the number of migrants who irregularly crossed the border into Greece increased from 50,800 in 2014 to 885,400 in 2015 and remained high in 2016 with 182,534.

higher level than 2014. Also in Hungary and Italy, salience rested on a significantly higher level than prior to the "refugee crisis", but dropped in comparison to 2016. The difference for these two countries is, that the salience in Hungary remains high even though the immigration numbers dropped, while in Italy, salience remains rather low, considering how strongly the country is affected by immigration over the central Mediterranean route, which strongly increased again in 2016 in comparison to 2015 (cp. Annex 1).

As a first summary, we can state that even though migration is perceived as important issue for the national and European policy level, there are "internal" issues which are perceived as even more important, such as unemployment, the general economic landscape and how this translates into personal livelihoods. On the individual level, immigration is not perceived as utmost important. The differences in salience regarding the EU and the national level suggest that the respondents see the EU governance level responsible to give immigration a framing which is compatible with domestic tasks and developments.

Methodologically we need to point out that the design of the Eurobarometer does not give any clue to the individual concept of "immigration" – regarding migration motive, ethnic group or religion – and how this steers the response behavior. This certainly weakens the exploitability of the Eurobarometer in this respect. We will try to solve this shortcoming by integrating further questions from the Eurobarometer, which address the opinion on immigration regarding various groups pf migrants and the perception on the benefits of immigration.

4.3 Concepts of "immigration" and corresponding perceptions

Regarding the consequences of European free movement, there is an increasingly positive response (fig. 9). In most countries and times of observation, more than half of all respondents have positive feelings towards the immigration of people from other EU member states, thus supporting the European idea of free movement. The positive response is increasing between 2015 and 2017 among all EU respondents and in the countries under observation. Especially high positive responses can be observed for Spain and Finland, while especially Italian respondents are more reluctant towards this issue. Also Greek and Hungarian respondents show below average support; but while in Hungary, positive response is increasing above EU average in 2017, positive response towards immigration of EU citizens is dropping in Greece in 2017 compared to 2016 (fig. 9).

Figure 9: Feeling towards immigration of people from other EU member states, 2015-2017, in %
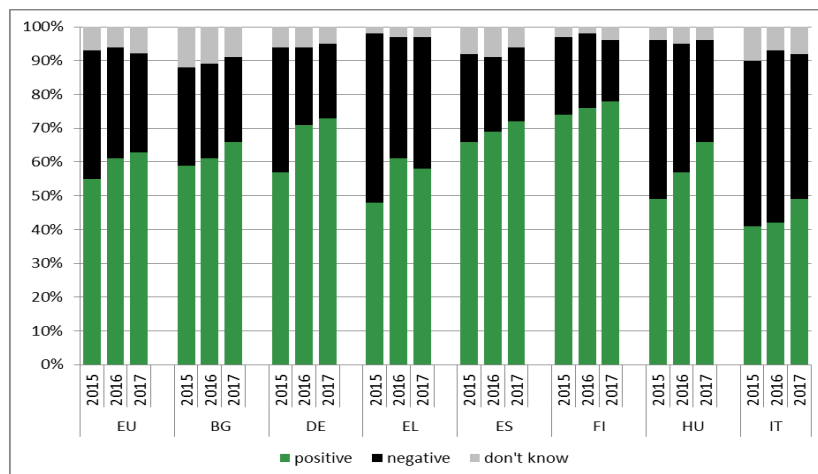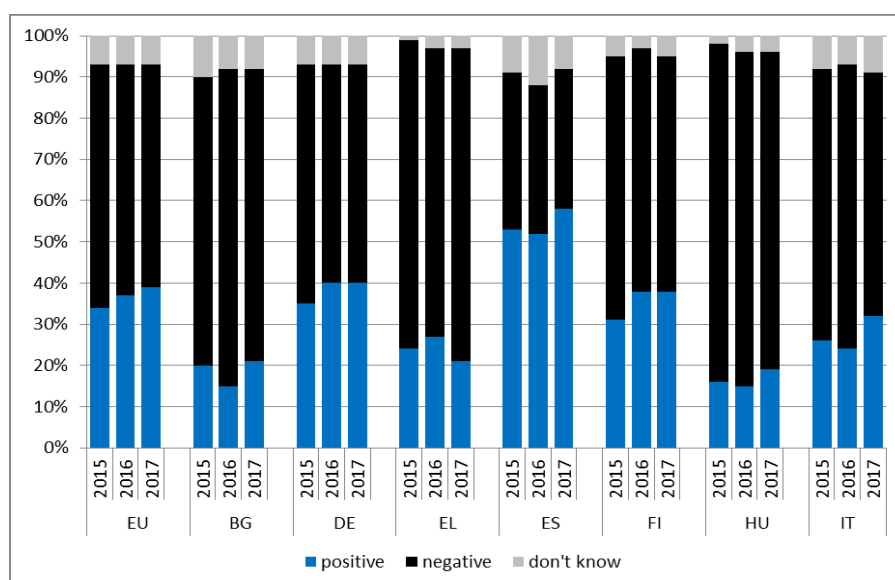

Data Source: EB 84, 86, 88

Turning now to the question how immigration from third countries is perceived, we can first of all see a much stronger opposition towards this type of migration (fig. 10). At EU average, only around one third of respondents express a positive feeling towards immigration from outside the EU. In our countries under observation, we can see a varied response behavior. While in Bulgaria, Greece and Hungary, the vast majority of respondents has a negative perception of immigration from outside of the EU, Italian respondents show a slightly less negative reaction, and German and Finnish respondents meet the EU average with one third positive and about fifty per cent negative response, while Spain is peeking out with an exceptional positive response level of more than fifty per cent. The response behavior is rather stable throughout the years under observation.

The comparison of response concerning immigration from other EU states (fig. 9) and from outside of the EU (fig. 10) shows that EU citizens have a differentiated opinion on the risks and benefits of migration, which might be shaped by personal experiences as well as experiences of peers and media and public discourses on the issue.

Figure 10: Feeling towards immigration of people from outside the EU, 2015-2017, in %
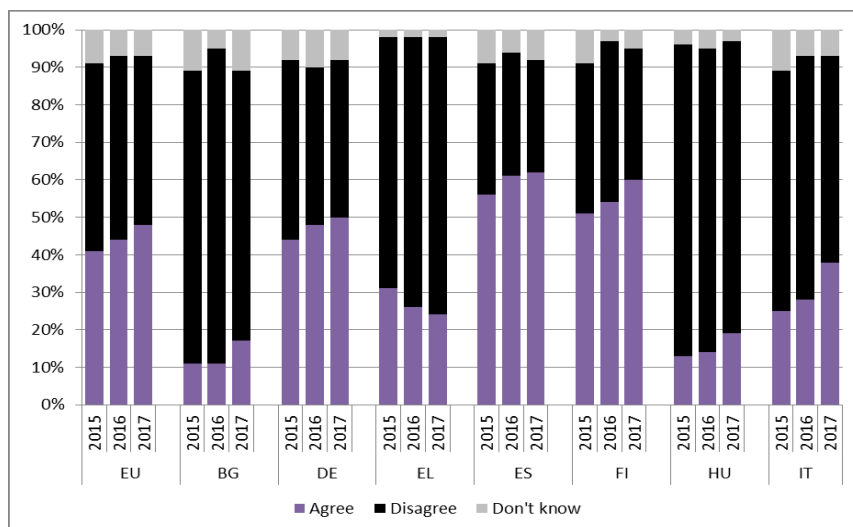

Data Source: EB 84, 86, 88

If we now turn to the assessment of immigrants' contribution to a country, we can see that the answering behavior largely corresponds with the perception of third country immigration.[6] This could give us a hint towards the respondents' concept of "immigration", which is directed towards third country immigrants, while the mobility of European citizens and their presence in one's country is rather not questioned. Also, regarding the answering behavior in figure 11, we can clearly see a high polarization of the issue, with one half responding positively, while the other half responds negatively or is not sure how to assess the contribution of immigrants to their countries.

---

[6] With the exception of Finland, where the perception of immigrants contribution is much higher than the positive evaluation of third country migrants.

Figure 11: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement? Immigrants contribute a lot to (OUR COUNTRY)?
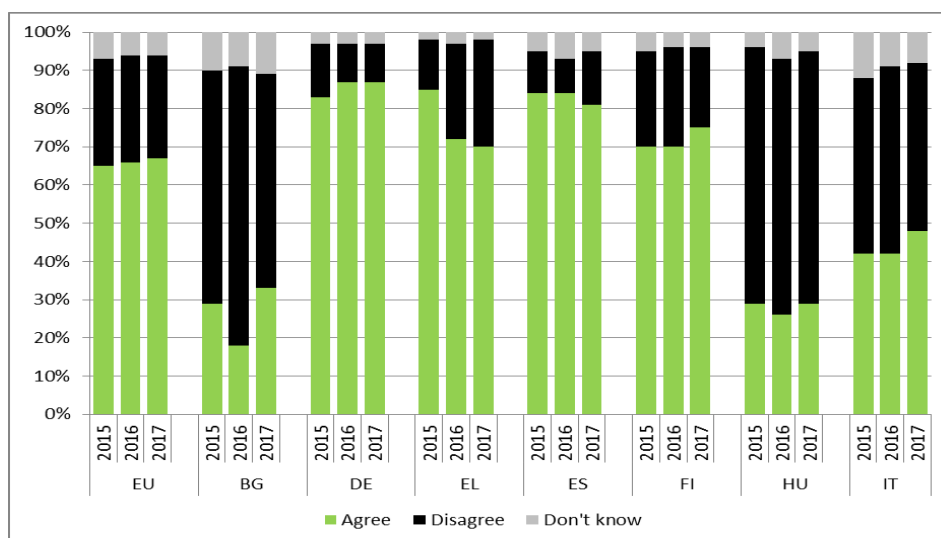

Data Source: EB 84, 86, 88

4.4 Perceptions on national and EU policy making with respect to irregular migration and refugee migration

We now turn to the assessment of migration policies and analyze respondents' perception if their country should help refuges (fig. 12), expectations concerning irregular migration to the EU (fig. 13), and the assessment of European policy development on migration (fig. 14).

Regarding the response behavior to the question "Our country should help refugees", we can see that a majority in Europe feels a national responsibility to help refugees. The response to this issue is rather stable, and even slightly increasing from 2015 to 2017. In our countries under observation, there is a high variance regarding this issue, with a largely above average perception on national responsibility in Germany and Spain, a slightly above average perception of responsibility in Greece and Finland, and a below average perception of national responsibility in Italy, Bulgaria and Hungary.

Figure 12: "Our country should help refugees", 2015-2017, in %

Data Source: EB 84, 86, 88

Even stronger than the opinion that refugees' should be helped is the perception that additional measures need to be taken to fight illegal migration to Europe. Almost 90 per cent of all respondents share this opinion, and among them, around two thirds see the responsibility at EU level or both – EU and national – levels, while around 20 per cent see this as a more national issue (fig. 13). Also in the countries under observation, it is not questioned that additional measures are necessary. While there is a considerable variation regarding the question if this should be a solely national task, the assessment that measures should be taken either on EU or on both EU and national level is shared by the majority of respondents.

Figure 13: In your opinion, should additional measures be taken to fight illegal immigration of people from outside the EU? 2015-2017, in %
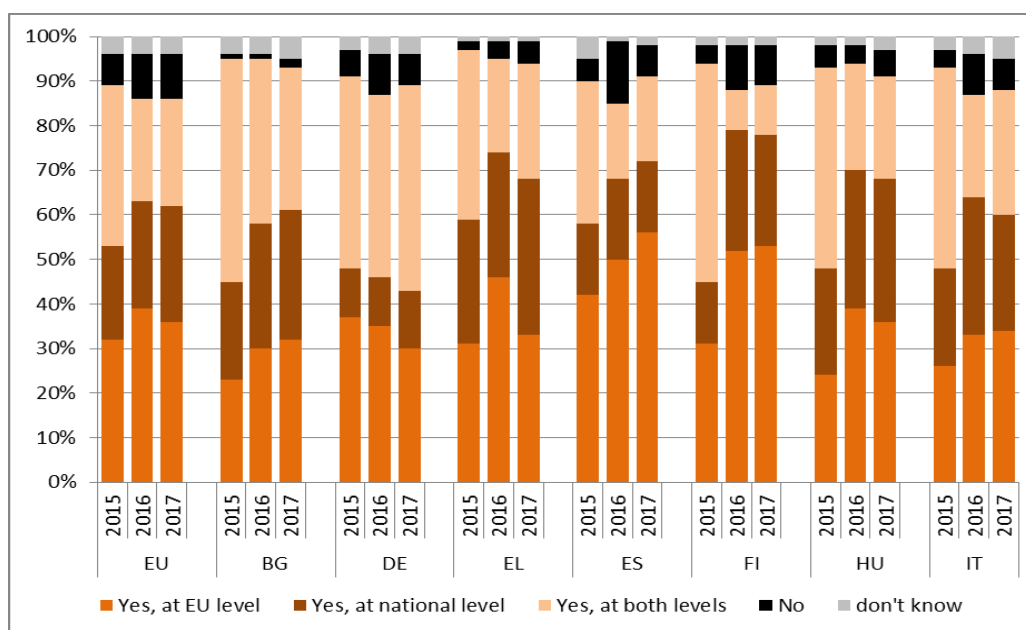
Data Source: EB 84, 86, 88

However, if it comes to a less concrete political strategy, that is, the question if a common European policy on migration would be appreciated, there is less positive response and a higher variation among the observed countries, with the highest share of positive responses in Spain (80-86%) and Germany (80-83%) and the lowest in Hungary (around 50%) and Finland (50-58%) (fig. 14). Obviously, the wording of this question leaves it open which direction a common European policy on migration might take, and this is a question of concern for some of the respondents. In this context, it is interesting to analyze what level of trust is assigned to policy making institutions on the different policy levels. We will turn to this question in the next section.

Figure 14: What is your opinion on each of the following statements: A common European policy on migration. 2015-2017, in %
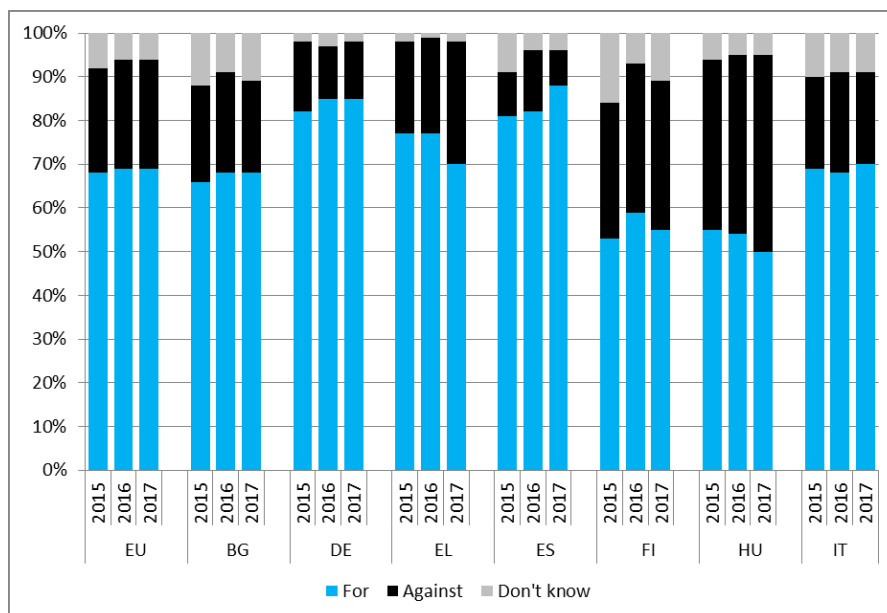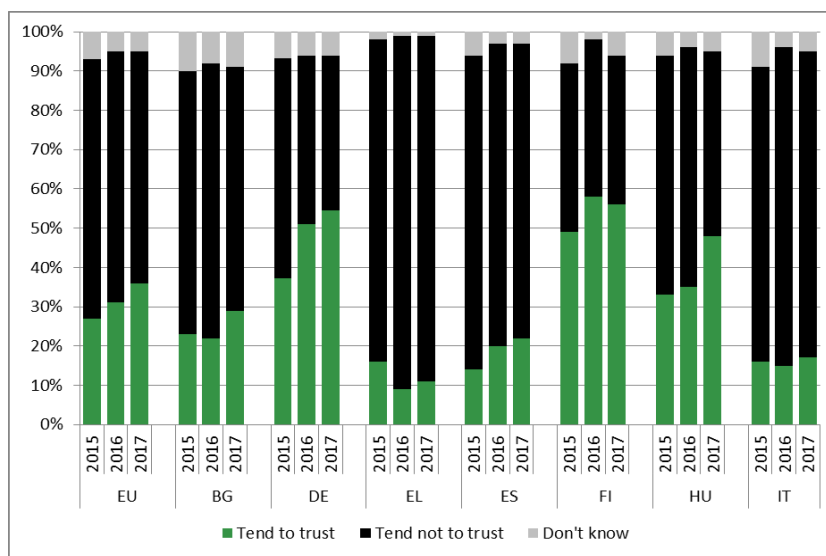

Data Source: EB 84, 86, 88

4.5 Levels of Trust

We analyze the level of trust in public administration and policy makers for the EU level, the national and the local level (fig. 15).

Looking at the total of European respondents, we can observe a very low trust level regarding national governments (27/31/36 between 2015 and 2017) and the EU (32/36/41), while trust in regional or local public authorities is slightly higher (42/47/51). Between 2015 and 2017, there is a moderate increase in trust levels on all three governance levels. Regarding our countries under observation, we can see significant differences in the levels of trust, while the tendencies regarding the three governance levels and over time are more or less alike. While the national governance level in Germany and Finland is trusted by more than 50 per cent of respondents, trust levels are extremely low in Greece (16/9/11), Spain (14/20/22) and Italy (16/15/17). In Greece and Italy, trust levels are even decreasing between 2015 and 2016, while trust levels in Hungary are rising from 35 to 48 per cent between 2016 and 2017. Trust levels for regional or local public authorities are significantly higher, while the distance between trust levels among the observed countries almost stays the same. Very high trust levels can be found in Germany (62/73/77) and Finland (62/69/72), but also in Hungary (44/50/63), while Greek (17/27/22), Spanish (21/33/37) and Italian (19/19/23) respondents neither trust their national nor their regional or local authorities. The pattern for the EU-level is slightly different, as Bulgarian respondents display the highest (44/49/57) and Greek respondents the lowest (18/20/23) level of trust among all respondents. In Spain (25/34/44) and Italy (31/30/34), trust in the supranational structures is much higher than in national governments.

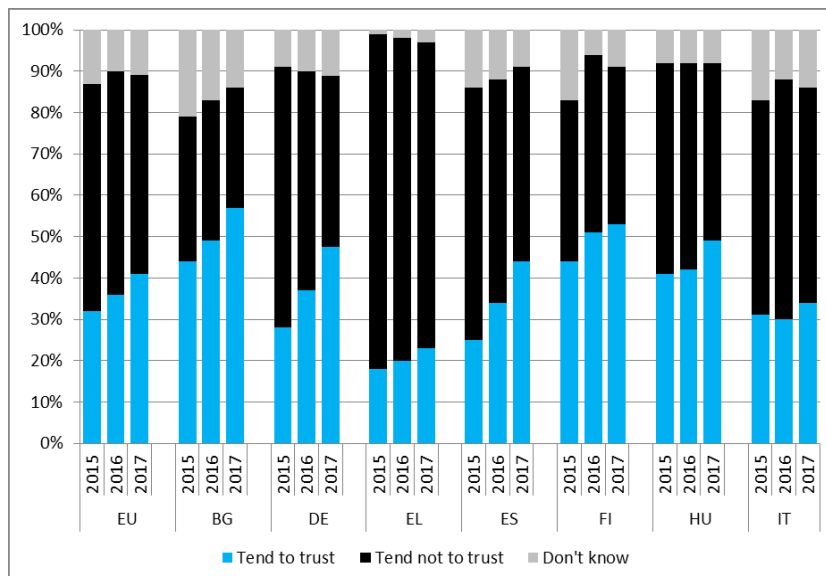Figure 15: Do you rather tend to trust or not to trust your …(…)? 2015-2017, in %

… (NATIONAL GOVERNMENT)

… regional or local public authorities.
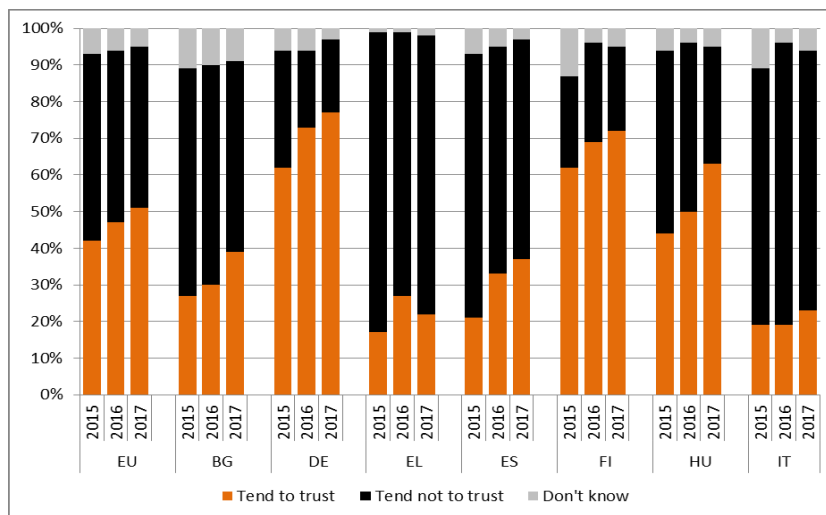
…the EU?

Data Source: EB 84, 86, 88

5. Discussion and Conclusion

We started this paper with a review of relevant research literature on politicization of migration and asylum. As a preliminary result, we stated that opinions on immigration, notably asylum migration, develop within a framing which integrates individual components (age, gender, education, wealth) but also societal components ("social health", signs of relative deprivation or social envy) and in relation to economic and political stability of a country and its level of diversity. Hostile attitudes, we concluded, find fertile ground in societies where few experiences with migrants were made, where economic and social security systems are unstable and where a low level of interpersonal and institutional trust is present. Furthermore, we have to consider that opinions develop on the basis of subjective perceptions and may be influenced by media debate and public discourse. Regarding the policy response, we adopted the result from Bansak et al. 2017, who pointed to the general sense of fairness of European citizens which is connected to the idea of proportional burden sharing. European citizens, as we concluded, rely on the stability of the EU as economic and political stakeholder and accept European solutions for their own country, if they were made on grounds of solidarity and trust.

If we now summarize the results from the Eurobarometer cross-country analysis, we first have to state that the data does not offer a clue to all of those issues mentioned above. Furthermore, we again have to address the unclear concept of "immigration" and "migrant" which underlies the questions of the Eurobarometer and the answering behavior of the respondents.

Even though the explanatory value of this work, based on literature review and Eurobarometer data, might be limited, we now try to finalize the proposed research by identifying country clusters on the basis of the examined Eurobarometer questions and offer some provisional conclusions and some more questions, which might enrich the research frame for the discourse analysis which will follow as next steps of analysis within the research of our project.

5.1 Country clusters

If we bring all variables which delivered varying answers into a typology by roughly differentiating the answering behavior (tab. 3), we arrive at a matrix that allows the construction of the following country clusters:

Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, and partially Hungary: Critical and Burdened

In Bulgaria, Greece, Italy and Hungary, respondents perceive domestic issues such as economic development, unemployment, rising prices etc. as most salient. Immigration from third countries or immigrants' contribution to the country is perceived negatively. There is (with the exception of Greece) a below average commitment for helping refugees. There is an average or below average (HU) approval of a common European migration policy. There is a low level of trust considering the countries' national governments or local authorities (with the exception of Hungary with trust levels at EU average), and there is a variance concerning trust in the EU, which is above average in Bulgaria and Hungary, average in Italy, and below average in Greece.

Considering the economic and migratory situation in the respective countries, we can interpret Bulgaria, Greece, Italy and Hungary as countries with considerable domestic problems and considerable affectedness by recent refugee migration, either as arrivals at the EU external borders, which created a high media attention and salience, and/or considering the absolute and relative numbers of asylum seekers in comparison to other countries (see Annex 1).

Table 3: Response tendencies on major questions on migration, solidarity and trust

	BG	DE	EL	ES	FI	HU	IT
Salience of domestic issues	+	-	+	+	+	+	0
Perception of third country immigration	–	0	–	+	0	–	–
Perception of immigrants' contribution	–	0	–	+	+	–	–
Commitment to help refugees	–	+	+/0	+	0	–	–
Development of common European policy on migration	0	+	0	+	–	–	0
Trust in national government	–	+	–	–	+	0/+	–
Trust in local / regional authorities	–	+	–	–	+	0	–
Trust in EU	+	0	–	0	+	0/+	–

+ = approval above EU average; 0 = approval at EU average; – = approval below EU average

Source: Eurobarometer; own compilation

Germany and Finland: stable but indifferent

Germany and Finland make one cluster, even if there is one important difference: while the salience of domestic issues is above average in Finland, it is below average in Germany.[7] Furthermore, German and Finnish respondents show an average or above average positive perception of third country immigration and immigrants' contribution, and a high to average commitment for helping refugees. The opinion on a common European migration policy varies, with an above average approval in Germany and a below average approval in Finland. Respondents of both countries display an average to above average level of trust in their national governments, local authorities and the EU.

Thus, both countries can be perceived as economically and politically stable countries with functioning institutions. The salience of refugee migration seems to be moderate and does not deliver highly polarized attitudes in comparison to other countries of our sample. However, considering the economic stability (Germany) and the rather moderate affectedness by refugee arrivals (Finland), the answering behavior for the humanitarian and diversity oriented questions of the EB is less positive than expected.

Spain: open and solidarity-oriented

The last cluster is formed by only one country: Spain. Even though the salience of domestic issues is above average and trust in national government and local authorities is low, Spain stands out from the list of countries under observation with an above average positive response to third country immigration, immigrants' contribution, the commitment to help refugees and the above average

---

[7] Notably, in some years the question about most important issues facing one's country delivered "none" as one of the most frequent answers in Germany, showing the overall contention of inhabitants with the actual situation in their country.

response to develop a common European migration policy. If we compare this response behavior to the actual economic and migratory development, we can state that Spain is recovering from its financial crisis, where it experienced high unemployment, economic hardship and forced emigration of its youth. The positive perception of third country migrants could reflect prior migrations and consecutive regularization processes, but also the fact that Spain was barely affected by the recent refugee migrations so far[8] and followed the European migration discourses from the position of an observer from outside. Also, populist parties and positions are much less pronounced than in most other EU countries. Given the recent increase of arrivals over the street of Gibraltar and the willingness to accept migrants which were rescued in the Mediterranean by private rescue organizations, we can assume that the topic of refugee migration will soon reach a higher salience and maybe also a shift of majority opinions.

5.2 Conclusion and further research questions

The EB data displayed public opinions throughout Europe which are varying due to framing factors (see elaboration above), but which are also united with respect to some general tendencies, which might be overlooked by policy makers on all governance levels:

The respondents can well differentiate between issues that might be salient on a supranational level and that might also affect their everyday life, and issues that crucially need to be addressed on national level and which definitely affect their everyday life (such as corruption, unemployment etc.). The increasing salience of migration in the media and public/policy discourse, which switched to a negative polemic in many countries, does affect the public opinion, but it does not distract the public attention from those domestic issues they want their national government to take care of. Public and political discourses which concentrate on the migration issue for the sake of catching votes do not respond to the needs of the citizens and will further weaken the confidence of the European public in their political leaders.

The response behavior concerning the reaction to refugees, irregular migration and migration politics shows that European citizens share a humanitarian approach and a sense of responsibility for people seeking safety. However, they want to be assured that the reception of refugees is organized on the basis of shared responsibility, and that it is framed by a clear and functioning approach towards irregular migration and general migration politics, preferably on the supranational level.

Considering the argument developed above, it is important to note the overall low levels of trust in governance structures, be it on national, local or EU level. As the public support for policy measures will be crucial for the future CEAS and migration policy, politicians, public institutions and the media should be aware of the destabilizing effect of current politicization of migration, not only for the reception of migrants, but for the European project as a whole. Thus, a more transparent and coordinated communication strategy will be a crucial part of the reform of the CEAS.

---

[8] Between 2013 and 2017, 71,755 asylum applications were lodged in Spain, which represents a share of 1.5 promille of its total population (see Annex 1).

Literature:

Bansak, K., Hainmüller, J., Hangarter, D. (2017): Europeans support a proportional allocation of asylum seekers. Nature Human Behaviour 1. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1038/s41562-017-0133

Consterdine, E. (2018): State-of-the-Art-report on public attitudes, political discourses and media coverage on the arrival of refugees. Ceaseval Working Paper WP1. Available at http://ceaseval.eu/publications/FINAL%20-State-of-the-art%20report%20on%20public%20attitudes,%20political%20discourses%20and%20media%20coverage%20on%20the%20arrival%20of%20refugees.pdf.

De Wilde, P. (2011): No polity for old politics? A framework for analyzing the politicization of European integration. Journal of European Integration, 33(5), 559-575.

De Wilde, P., Leupold, A., Schmidtke, H. (2016): Introduction; the differentiated politicisation of European governance. West European Politics, Vol. 39, Issue 1, 3-22.

De Wilde, P., Zürn, M. (2012): Can the Politicization of European Integration Be Reversed? Journal of Common Market Studies, 50, S1, 137–153.

Dennison, J., Geddes, A. (2018): Brexit and the perils of 'Europeanised' migration. Journal of European Public Policy, 25:8, 1137-1153, DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2018.1467953

European Union (EU) (2015): Public opinion in the European Union. Standard Eurobarometer 82. Autumn 2014. Report. Brussels.

European Union (EU) (2016): Public opinion in the European Union. Standard Eurobarometer 84. Autumn 2015. Report. Brussels.

European Union (EU) (2017a): Public opinion in the European Union. Standard Eurobarometer 86. Autumn 2016. Report. Brussels.

European Union (EU) (2017b): Public opinion in the European Union. Standard Eurobarometer 88. Autumn 2017. Report. Brussels.

Freeman, G. P., Hansen, R., Leal, D.L. (2013): Immigration and public opinion in liberal democracies. London: Routledge.

Glorius, B. (2015): Fachkräfte und Armutsflüchtlinge. Die neue EU-Mobilität nach Deutschland und ihre diskursive Verortung. Geographische Rundschau 4, 34-39.

Green-Pedersen, Ch. (2012): A Giant Fast Asleep? Party Incentives and Politicisation of European Integration. Political Studies, 60, 1, 115–130.

Heitmeyer, W. (2010): Krisen – Gesellschaftliche Auswirkungen, individuelle Verarbeitung und Folgen für die Gruppenbezogene Menschenfeindlichkeit. In: Heitmeyer, W. (ed.), Deutsche Zustände, Folge 8. Frankfurt/Main, Suhrkamp Verlag, 13–48.

Hutter, S. Grande, E. (2014): Politicizing Europe in the National Electoral Arena: A Comparative Analysis of Five West European Countries, 1970–2010. Journal of Common Market Studies, 52, 5, 1002–1018.

Küpper, B., Zick, A. (2010): Macht Armut menschenfeindlich? Zusammenhänge in acht europäischen Ländern. In Deutsche Zustände, Folge 9. In: Heitmeyer, W. (ed.), Deutsche Zustände, Folge 8. Frankfurt/Main, Suhrkamp Verlag, 84–105.

Messing, V., Ságvári, B. (2018): Looking behind the culture of fear. Cross-national analysis of attitude towards migrants. Budapest: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. (http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/budapest/14181-20180815.pdf) (accessed 20 August 2018).

Pettigrew, T.F. (2001): Summing up: Relative deprivation as a key social psychological concept. In Walker, I., Smith, H.J. (eds.), Relative Deprivation. Specification, Development, and Integration. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 351–374.

Simonovits, B., Bernát, A. (2016): The Social Aspects of the 2015 Migration Crisis in Hungary. Tarki Social Research Institute, March 2016.

Statham, P., Trenz, H.-J. (2013): The Politicization of Europe: Contesting the Constitution in the Mass Media. Abingdon: Routledge.

Tilly, C., Tarrow, S. (2007): Contentious Politics. London: Paradigm Publishers.

UNHCR Malta (2018): Malta Asylum Trends. Available at: http://www.unhcr.org.mt/charts/category/12 (last retrieved 01 June 2018).

UNHCR (2018): UNHCR Operational Data Portal. Available at: http://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/mediterranean (last retrieved 01 June 2018).

Van der Brug, W., D'Amato, G., Ruedin, D., Berkhout, J. (2015): A framework for studying the politicization of immigration. In: Van der Brug, W. D'Amato, G., Ruedin, D., Berkhout, J. (eds), The Politicisation of Migration. London: Routledge, pp. 1-17.

Zürn, M., Binder, M., Ecker-Erhardt, M. (2012): International Authority and Its Politicization. International Theory, 4, 1, 69–106.

Annex 1: Asylum Applications (First time and follow-up) per country, 2013-2017

Country	Population Total	2013 Total	2013 per 1.000 inh.	2014 Total	2014 per 1.000 inh.	2015 Total	2015 per 1.000 inh.	2016 Total	2016 per 1.000 inh.	2017 Total	2017 per 1.000 inh.	2013-2017 Total	2013-2017 per 1.000 inh.
EU	51.180.000	431.090	8,42	626.960	12,25	1.322.285	25,84	1.260.910	24,64	705.750	13,79	4.346.995	84,94
BG	7.084.571	7.145	1,01	11.080	1,56	20.365	2,87	19.420	2,74	3.695	0,52	61.705	8,71
DE	82.114.224	126.705	1,54	202.645	2,47	476.510	5,80	745.155	9,07	222.560	2,71	1.773.575	21,60
EL	11.159.773	8.225	0,74	9.430	0,84	13.205	1,18	51.110	4,58	58.650	5,26	140.620	12,60
ES	46.354.321	4.485	0,10	5.615	0,12	14.780	0,32	15.755	0,34	31.120	0,67	71.755	1,55
FI	5.523.231	3.210	0,58	3.620	0,66	32.345	5,86	5.605	1,01	4.990	0,90	49.770	9,01
HU	9.721.559	18.895	1,94	42.775	4,40	177.135	18,22	29.430	3,03	3.390	0,35	271.625	27,94
IT	59.359.900	26.620	0,45	64.625	1,09	83.540	1,41	122.960	2,07	128.850	2,17	426.595	7,19

Source: Eurostat