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Előszó

A Miskolci Egyetem Deák Ferenc Állam- és Jogtudományi Doktori Iskolája gondozásában megjelenő *Studia Iurisprudentiae Doctorandorum Miskolciensium* 2023. évi második kötete a doktori képzésben részt vevők kutatási eredményeit bemutató tizenhét tanulmányt tartalmaz. Ezek rövid tartalmi ismertetése is szétfeszítené az előszó kereteit, így ajánló sorainkkal elsősorban a feldolgozott témák sokszínűségére szeretnénk felhívni az olvasók figyelmét.

Nagy örömmre szolgál, hogy a kiadvány jelen számában több, olyan szerző is publikált, akik külföldi egyetemek doktori iskoláinak hallgatói. Külföldi szerzőink olasz, osztrák és román intézmények képviselőiben vettek részt a Doktori Iskola által szervezett nemzetközi konferencián, majd előadásuk szerkesztett, kiegészített változatát tudományos publikáció formájában is megküldték. *Anna Zaverský* a Grazi Egyetem PhD hallgatójaként a fizetett éves szabadság jogintézményét vizsgálta az Európai Unió esetjogán keresztül. A Craiovai Egyetem doktorandusza, *Bobociă Mihai-Ciprian* a közigazgatásnak a digitalizáció korában szükségessé és lehetségessé váló korszerűsítésével felmerülő elméleti és gyakorlati kérdéseket elemezte. *Gabriele Toscano*, a Perugiai Egyetem doktorjelöltje pedig fogyasztóvédelmi témájú tanulmányt jelentetett meg, amelyben az olasz és az Európai Unió Bíróságának ítélezési gyakorlatát is bemutatta.

Hazai egyetemek, így különösen a Debreceni Egyetem és a Szegedi Tudományegyetem külföldi hallgatói is szép számmal küldték meg kéziratukat a folyóirat számára. *Boudour Mefteh* az ürfegyverekkel kapcsolatos tevékenység jogszabályi kereteit és a szabályozás problémáit vázolta fel írásában. *Mohammad Elayan Al Animat* a digitális gazdaság, elsősorban a pénzügyi műveletek védelmét szolgáló mechanizmusokat vizsgálta, bemutatva a hazánkban talán kevésbé ismert jordán jogszabályi kereteket. *Mourad Yousfi*-tól a befektetési jogvitákban alkalmazandó mediáció sajátosságairól olvashatunk, *Sarra Raboui* pedig a bevándorlás kezelésének problémáit, az Európai Unión belül e téren jelentkező megosztottságot mutatta be.

A hazai doktori iskolák szerzőként megjelenő magyar hallgatói között természetesen számos miskolci PhD hallgatót találhatunk, de a társkarok doktoranduszaitól is több tanulmányt olvashatunk. *Vigh Károly* az egyházak állami elismerését befolyásoló történelmi és politikai összefüggéseket, az elismerés kritériumait, jogszabályi hátterét mutatta be a romániai szabályok alapján. *Váruczki Nikolett* a betegjogok témájában végzett kutatásokat és arra kereste a választ, hogy minként tud érvényesülni a betegek önrendelkezési joga a sürgősségi ellátások esetén. *Székora Tamás* „Politikai hirdetések a közösségi médiában – újabb kihívások és megoldási javaslatok” című cikkében a demokratikus párbeszédben jelentős szereplővé váló közösségi platformok véleményformáló szerepét, az itt megjelenő politikai hirdetések közzétételének szabályozásával kapcsolatos kérdéseket vizsgálta. *Pábi Barbara* a hitelezői érdekek büntetőjogi védelmének hazai történetét mutatta be. *Balázs Zsolt* pedig a szabadságvesztés térnyerését, e büntetési nem anyagi jogi hátterét

elemezte a XX. század első felét átfogó tanulmányában. *Csebes András* az abortusz magyarországi szabályozásának kezdeteitől a rendszerváltozásig tartó történetét vázolta fel. *Menyhért Enikő* a fogvatartottak társadalmi reintegrációjának a jogszabályi kereteit és gyakorlatát vizsgálta, kiemelt figyelmet fordítva a reintegrációs őrizetre. *Lakatos Veronika* a pénzügyi fogyasztóvédelem kérdéseivel foglalkozik, míg *Csebe Balázs* tanulmányában az önkormányzati társulás formájában megvalósuló hulladékgazdálkodási közszolgáltatások szabályozási lehetőségeit mutatta be. *Csiké Aurél* az Alkotmánybíróság gyakorlatát vizsgálta a közszereplőkkel kapcsolatos véleménynyilvánítás korlátozhatóságával kapcsolatban.

Bízunk benne, hogy e kötetben is minden kedves olvasónk talál az érdeklődési körébe tartozó tanulmányt.

Prof. Dr. Róth Erika
a Deák Ferenc Állam- és Jogtudományi Doktori Iskola Vezetője

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SARRA RAHOUI*

The Politicization of Immigration within the EU's External Policies

Abstract: The politicization of the European Union's (EU) external policy and immigration policies has had significant consequences for the EU's ability to respond effectively to global challenges. Political divisions among member states have made it difficult to achieve consensus and to implement coordinated policies. While progress has been made, ongoing political differences and the rise of populist movements continue to present significant challenges for the EU's foreign policy and immigration policies. Achieving greater unity and coherence will be essential for the EU to effectively address these complex challenges.

Keywords: Politicis; Politicization; immigration; external policies.

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1. Introduction

Immigration has an important implications on the European Union's policy and its status as a significant global actor in foreign affairs. One part of the European Union's external policy is the relations with non-EU countries and the EU's global standing. The EU's immigration policy is guided by a number of policies and initiatives aimed at managing migration flows and promoting cooperation with non-EU countries. However, in recent years, immigration has become one of Europe's most pressing issues, with millions of people crossing borders in seeking greater possibilities, safety, and a chance to start a new life. Even though different member nations hold distinct perspectives on immigration and its consequences, the European Union (EU) has struggled to develop a coherent foreign policy to address this issue. Number of challenges to the EU's foreign policy. For starters, it calls into question national sovereignty and member states' ability to control their borders. Some member states, particularly those in Eastern Europe, have been critical of EU-level immigration policies, arguing that they should be able to set their own immigration policies. This has resulted in disputes between these member states and those in Western Europe, which have been more open to immigration.

Moreover, the rise of populist movements across Europe has made it more difficult to develop a common EU-wide approach to immigration, as different member states have different priorities and perspectives. Along with the issue of politicization, the European Union's foreign policy regarding immigration has long been target to politicization, both within and outside the organization. While

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Politicization is the process by which issues become the subject of political debate, competition, and manipulation instead of being addressed through objective and impartial decision-making processes, politicization in the context of the EU's external policy can take various forms, such as disagreements between member states over policy objectives, tensions between different EU institutions over their respective roles and responsibilities, or criticism of the EU's policies and actions from external actors. This can be explained by several security concerns as immigration can be seen as a security issue, particularly in the context of the global threat of terrorism. Some politicians and parties may seek to capitalize on public fears by advocating for stricter immigration controls or anti-immigrant policies. The ideological differences also is another purpose for the rise of the politicization phenomenon as immigrants are perceived as a source of ideological conflict, particularly between those who support multiculturalism and diversity and those who favor more traditional, homogenous societies. These differences can be reflected in political party platforms and policy proposals.

Eventually, this can lead the EU's external policy to have serious consequences for the EU's external actions' effectiveness, coherence, and legitimacy, as well as its relations with other global actors particularly those that are sources of migration. These relationships can be influenced by a range of factors, including economic interests, security concerns, and human rights issues.

This topic is especially pertinent today, considering the ongoing difficulties facing the EU's foreign policy, such as the increase of populist and nationalist movements in several member countries, the impact of geopolitical tensions on the EU's relations with key partners, and the growing pressure to address global issues such as climate change, migration, and human rights. Recognizing the reasons, interactions, and outcomes of the politicization of the EU's external policy is thus critical for policymakers, academics, and citizens alike as they seek to navigate this complex and changing landscape.

Scholars have written thoroughly about the politicization of the EU's foreign policy¹², outlining several key contributors to this phenomenon. The complex institutional architecture of the EU, which involves multiple actors and decision-making processes that can lead to delays, conflicts, and inconsistencies in policy implementation, is one of the main drivers of politicization. Some scholars argue that domestic politics is also driving the politicization of EU foreign policy³ as member states seek to advance their own interests and priorities, often at the

¹ SMITH, K-E.: The institutionalization of European foreign policy. *Oxford University Press*, 2008.

² SMITH, M- E.: Europe's foreign and security policy: The institutionalization of cooperation. *Cambridge University Press*, 2010.

³ SJURSEN, H.: The European Union and the Politics of Integration, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2007, 827-846.

expense of a common EU approach. This can result to disagreements between member states on issues such as sanctions, trade policies, and military interventions and in this case the topic of immigration making it difficult for the EU to speak with a unified voice on the global stage. Other scholars⁴ have emphasized the role of external actors in shaping the politicization of EU external policy, such as the United States, Russia, and China. These actors may attempt to influence EU policies and actions through lobbying, diplomacy, or other forms of pressure, which may exacerbate existing tensions within the EU and impede the development of a coherent and effective external policy.

This politicization has resulted in divisions and disputes within the EU, with some member states refusing to accept refugees or demanding stricter border controls. Furthermore, the EU's immigration policy has been shaped by broader geopolitical considerations such as the EU's relationship with neighboring countries and the impact of migration on European security and stability. The EU has been chastised for putting its own interests ahead of the rights and welfare of refugees and migrants, and for outsourcing its immigration policy to third-world countries with a poor record on human rights. This eventually led to the politicization of the EU's foreign policy on immigration and made it difficult for the union to develop a coherent and effective response to the issue. Balancing national interests and humanitarian concerns is a difficult task, and the EU will need to continue to work with its member states to reach an agreement on how to address the complex challenges of migration and asylum.

In this paper, I will examine the three dimensions of politicization: salience, polarization, and actors' engagement to illustrate the politicization process and its impact on the policy making process of the EU, taking the case of the EU aids as an example. This research is based on secondary literature and analytical analysis to explore the importance of EU funding in the MENA and the broader range of institutional actors that has begun to actively participate in these aid decisions.

2. The increasing politicization of immigration in the EU's external policy

Immigration has been a major source of contention in European politics and external policy in recent years. The volume and complexity of migration flows have increased, resulting in heated debates and political tensions among European Union (EU) member states. Simultaneously, migration has become an important factor in shaping the EU's external relations and foreign policy, both in terms of cooperation with neighboring countries and participation in global migration governance. This

⁴ VANHOONACKER, S - POMORSKA, K.: The European External Action Service and agenda-setting in European foreign policy. *Journal of European public policy*, 2013/20, 1316-1331.

study will look at the various aspects of immigration and their impact on European external policy.

2.1. The case of the EU aid policy

One of the primary issues of immigration for the EU is the management of external borders. The EU has established a Common European Asylum System (CEAS) to harmonize asylum policies across member states and maintain that refugees and other vulnerable groups are protected. However, the CEAS's practical implementation has been hampered by political disagreements and legal obstacles, resulting in uneven and frequently inadequate protection for asylum seekers. As a result, the EU has sought to fortify its external borders through collaboration with neighboring countries and third-party states, as well as the development of new technologies and infrastructures. As a result, the EU has worked to strengthen its external borders through collaboration with neighboring countries and third-party states, as well as the development of new technologies and infrastructure. These efforts have included establishing the European Border and Coast Guard Agency, negotiating readmission treaties with third-party countries, and deploying military missions in the Mediterranean.

At the same time, as part of its broader external policy agenda, the EU has sought to engage with external partners on migration issues. Cooperation has taken place with neighboring countries such as Turkey, Morocco, and Libya, as well as international organizations such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM). The EU has offered both technical and financial support to partner countries to assist with refugee and migration management, as well as promoting human rights and international law standards in migration governance. However, political instability, conflict, and humanitarian crises in many of the EU's partner countries have hampered these efforts, leading to criticism of the EU's migration policies as insufficient and inconsistent.

With a budget of more than €70 billion in 2020, the EU is one of the world's largest providers of development aid.⁵ The EU's aid policy is guided by its commitment to the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals, which aim to reduce poverty, boost the economy, and eliminate poverty and environmental degradation. These aid policies have taken on special strategic importance in the MENA region in particular. Turkey, Iraq, Afghanistan, the Occupied Palestinian Territories, and Morocco were the top five recipients of EU aid in 2018. Ethiopia, Somalia (which has now joined several EU initiatives in North Africa), and Syria

⁵ European commission, 2021.

were also among the top ten.⁶ In 2018, the MENA received 26% of Commission aid, up from 19% in 2013. Because of these huge amounts of aid, the MENA region is an important case study for the politicization of EU development policies. The combination of increased aid flows and high-priority security imperatives has increased the importance of this area of EU external action.

However, the EU's aid policy has become progressively vulnerable to political pressures and strategic interests from both within and outside the EU. As a result, there has been a shift toward a more "political" approach to assistance, affirming the advancement of democracy, human rights, and good governance, as well as the pursuit of EU external policy goals.

The growing emphasis on migration and security concerns has been a major driver of the politicization of EU aid policy.

The EU has requested to use aid as a tool to address the root causes of migration, such as poverty, conflict, and a lack of economic opportunities, as well as to enhance neighboring countries' resilience and stability, which has resulted in a prioritization of EU security interests over development objectives, as well as a lack of coherence and coordination between different EU policies and actors. The EU's migration agreements with countries such as Turkey and Libya have been chastised for a lack of transparency and accountability, as well as their potential negative impact on human rights and democracy. This can be traced back to authoritarian regimes and radical jihadist groups gaining ground and being linked to attacks in Europe; the EU adjusted its strategic policies to address these challenges. This is a key component of strategic funding.

The increasing competition and fragmentation of the global aid landscape has also contributed to the politicization of EU aid policy. The rise of new donors such as China, Russia, and the Gulf States, as well as the growing influence of private philanthropy and civil society organizations, has called into question Western donors' traditional dominance and the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) criteria. As a result, aid is increasingly being viewed as a commodity that can be traded for political influence and strategic interests, rather than as a means of promoting development and poverty reduction. The politicization of EU aid policy has serious consequences for the EU's external relations and global governance. On the one hand, it has strengthened the EU's role as a global actor and leader in development cooperation, particularly in the promotion of human rights and democracy. The EU's new "Global Europe" strategy emphasizes the importance of partnerships and multilateralism, as well as a more strategic and geopolitical approach to aid. However, it has also called into question the EU's legitimacy and effectiveness as a donor, especially in light of its own internal challenges and political divisions.

⁶ Concord: *Aidwatch 2019*.

Furthermore, the EU's aid policy has been influenced by broader geopolitical shifts, such as the rise of emerging powers such as China and Russia, as well as the United States' changing role in global affairs. These changes have shifted the balance of power in global governance, putting the EU's position as a leading donor and normative actor in development aid under scrutiny. The EU has attempted to address these issues through a variety of initiatives, including the European Consensus on Development, which aims to provide a shared vision and strategic framework for EU development cooperation. This highlights the importance of outlining the three main politicization dimensions, which include the general increase in salience, wider actor's engagement, and the third dimension of politicization, namely polarization over the EU's MENA aid policies, offering examples of managed polarization, and discussing the implications of these dynamics for a broader analysis of EU external and security policy.

2.2.Issue salience

The salience which is the degree to which a specific issue is perceived as important by political actors and the general public is played a significant role in the increasing politicization of European external policy. Migration has gained prominence in recent years, becoming a highly visible political issue that shapes the priorities and actions of European policymakers.

The impact of issue salience on the framing and communication of policy issues is an important aspect of issue salience. As issues become more visible, they tend to be framed in increasingly polarized and emotive terms, with a preference for simple and populist solutions over complex and nuanced approaches. This can lead to a "race to the bottom" in policymaking, as political actors compete to address the most pressing issues first, often at the expense of longer-term goals and values.

Furthermore, highly visible issues can overlook other important policy areas, fragmenting and deprioritizing European external policy.

The issue of migration has received particular attention in the context of European external policy. The so-called "refugee crisis" of 2015-2016 pushed migration to the top of Europe's political agenda, with member states and the EU struggling to respond to the influx of refugees and migrants from conflict zones. As migration became more visible, it was framed in increasingly salient, with a focus on border security, national sovereignty, and the role of Islam in European societies.

One of the remarkable trend that attracted the attention of the public to the immigration topic is the increased aid flows for Arab states' border controls and counterterrorism capacity. In one of its most high-profile external policy moves in recent years, the EU established an Emergency Trust Fund for Africa with an explicit mandate to stem migration from Africa and the Middle East. The EU urged third countries to sign "migration pacts," in which the EU offered additional aid in

exchange for recipient countries' cooperation in migration control and counterterrorism. The most striking trend is how critical increased aid flows have become for Arab states' border controls and counterterrorism capacity.⁷ The EU established an Emergency Trust Fund for Africa with an explicit mandate to stem migration from Africa and the Middle East in one of its most sensational external policy moves in recent years. The EU urged third countries to sign "migration pacts," in which the EU offered additional aid in exchange for recipient countries' cooperation in migration control and counterterrorism.

As this issue has gained prominence, more EU institutional actors have become involved in decision-making on EU aid policy in the MENA region, and with far greater engagement than before. The move toward a more strategic use of aid resources has led to a series of political and less technocratic debates within and across EU institutions, including the European External Action Service and various parts of the Commission such as DG DevCo and DG NEAR - the directorates responsible for general development assistance and financing instruments for the Neighborhood and the South, respectively.⁸

The spectrum of institutional engagement has broadened, especially with regard to EU policy toward Turkey. Until a few years ago, there was tacit agreement on pre-accession assistance to Turkey, and the funds flowed without much debate among the EU institutions-although Greece and Cyprus sometimes became frustrated and tried to use these funds for strategic negotiations. The politicization of these funds has intensified at the horizontal level between the various EU institutions, and the European Parliament has become much more systematically involved in this debate. In response to Turkey's authoritarian drift, the Parliament has increased its engagement to urge the Commission to take into account recent developments in Turkey when deciding on funding.⁹ Parliament has become increasingly involved through several resolutions on accession. This has forced various parts of the Commission and EEAS, as well as member states, to address the issue, as the question of whether Turkey should continue to receive financial assistance has become a priority and recurring topic on the EU agenda.

Another important aspect of the importance of issues is their impact on policy outcomes and effectiveness. When issues gain prominence, there is often pressure to achieve tangible policy results quickly, which can lead to suboptimal or ineffective policy decisions. In addition, high-profile issues can lead to policy decisions that are driven by short-term political considerations rather than longer-term strategic goals

⁷ TSOURAPAS, G.: The Syrian Refugee Crisis and Foreign Policy Decision-Making in Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey'. *Journal of Global Security Studies*, 2019/4, 464-481.

⁸ YOUNGS, R - ZIHNIÖGLU, Ö.: EU aid policy in the Middle East and North Africa: Politicization and its limits. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2021/59, 126-142.

⁹ European Parliament: European Parliament Resolution of 6 July 2017 on the 2016 Commission Report on Turkey, 2017.

or values. This can undermine the effectiveness and legitimacy of European external policy as well as its coherence and consistency over time.

In summary, issue sensitivity has played an important role in the increasing politicization of European external policy, particularly in the area of migration. As highly charged issues are framed in polarizing and emotive terms, policymaking can become more populist and short-termist, focusing on quick and tangible results rather than longer-term goals and values. This can lead to fragmentation and deprioritization of European external policy, as well as suboptimal and ineffective policy choices. To address these challenges, the EU needs to develop a more strategic and coherent approach to policymaking, balancing short-term policy considerations with longer-term goals and values.

2.3. Actor engagement

Actor engagement has played a significant role in the increasing politicization of European external policy. As actors at various levels become more engaged and involved in the policy-making process, there is a greater opportunity for contestation, negotiation, and politicization. This essay will examine the role of actor engagement in the politicization of European external policy, drawing on relevant literature and empirical evidence.

One key aspect of actor engagement is the increased involvement of civil society and interest groups in the policy-making process. As civil society organizations and interest groups become more engaged in external policy issues, they can bring new perspectives and voices to the table, challenge existing power dynamics, and increase public awareness and support for certain policy positions. However, this increased engagement can also lead to politicization, as civil society organizations and interest groups advocate for their own interests and values, often in opposition to those of other actors. In the context of European external policy, civil society organizations and interest groups have become increasingly engaged in areas such as human rights, environmental protection, and development aid. For example, civil society organizations such as Oxfam and Amnesty International have been vocal in their advocacy for more effective and ethical development aid policies, while environmental organizations such as Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth have been critical of the EU's approach to climate change and energy policy. This increased engagement has led to greater contestation and politicization of external policy issues, as different actors advocate for their own interests and values.

Another key aspect of actor engagement is the role of member states in the policy-making process. As member states become more engaged in external policy issues, they can bring different perspectives and priorities to the table, challenge existing power dynamics, and influence the policy-making process. However, this increased engagement can also lead to politicization, as member states prioritize

their own national interests and agendas, often in opposition to those of other member states or the EU institutions.

In the context of European external policy, member states have become increasingly engaged in areas such as migration and security. For example, some member states have advocated for more restrictive migration policies, while others have called for a more open and humanitarian approach. This increased engagement has led to greater contestation and politicization of external policy issues, as member states adopt divergent and sometimes conflicting approaches.

Thus, actor engagement has played a significant role in the increasing politicization of European external policy. As civil society organizations, interest groups, and member states become more engaged in the policy-making process, there is a greater opportunity for contestation, negotiation, and politicization. To address these challenges, the EU will need to develop a more strategic and inclusive approach to policy-making, and to balance the interests and values of different actors in the pursuit of its external policy objectives.

2.4. Polarization

Polarization has been a significant factor in the increasing politicization of European external policy. As political issues become more salient, they often become more polarized, with political actors adopting more extreme positions and engaging in more conflictual and confrontational behavior. This can make it difficult for the EU to develop and implement coherent and effective external policies, and can undermine its legitimacy and credibility as a global actor. In this essay, we will explore the role of polarization in the increasing politicization of European external policy, drawing on relevant literature and empirical evidence.

One key aspect of polarization is its impact on the decision-making process within the EU. As political actors become more polarized, they may become more reluctant to compromise and seek common ground, making it difficult to develop and implement coherent policies. Moreover, polarization can lead to the fragmentation and deprioritization of certain policy areas, as political actors focus on issues that are more salient and polarizing. This can make it difficult for the EU to maintain a unified stance on external issues, and can limit its ability to respond effectively to global challenges.

In the context of European external policy, polarization has been particularly evident in the area of foreign and security policy. The conflicts in Syria and Ukraine, as well as the rise of terrorism and migration, have led to increased polarization and fragmentation among EU member states. Some states have adopted more assertive and confrontational foreign policies, while others have favored more cooperative and multilateral approaches. This has made it difficult for the EU to develop and

implement a coherent and effective foreign and security policy, and has limited its ability to project a unified and credible image on the global stage.

Another key aspect of polarization is its impact on public opinion and legitimacy. As political issues become more polarized, they can lead to a "culture war" mentality, with political actors and citizens viewing the issues in black-and-white terms and adopting more extreme positions. This can lead to a breakdown in social cohesion and a loss of trust in political institutions, including the EU. Moreover, polarization can create a "democratic deficit" in which certain groups are marginalized or excluded from the political process, further eroding the legitimacy and credibility of EU external policy.

In conclusion, polarization has played a significant role in the increasing politicization of European external policy, particularly in the area of foreign and security policy. As political actors become more polarized, they may become more reluctant to compromise and seek common ground, making it difficult to develop and implement coherent policies. Moreover, polarization can lead to a fragmentation and deprioritization of certain policy areas, and can limit the EU's ability to project a unified and credible image on the global stage. To address these challenges, the EU will need to develop strategies for managing polarization and fostering greater cohesion and cooperation among member states.

Polarization, has also emerged, as distinctions between these various institutional actors over external funding decisions in the MENA region have emerged. As finances were redirected in more beneficial directions beginning in 2016, policymakers working on development, civil society, and good governance were concerned about funding going to security and migration-management programs. These tensions were especially visible during internal discussions about the new Trust Fund. During these talks, policymakers from DG DevCo and DG NEAR expressed concern about aid funds being used for migration and counter-terrorism initiatives. They have also expressed grave concern about development assistance being made contingent on third-country compliance with so-called readmission agreements.¹⁰

The most significant axis of polarization has been between officials primarily concerned with development programming on the one hand, and those with a broader external and security policy mandate on the other. These thematic cleavages are visible at the EU level, but they also exist within member states and cross national boundaries. This type of internal bureaucratic politics is not new in the EU.¹¹ The security-development nexus has faced internal challenges since its

¹⁰ YOUNGS, R - ZIHNIÖGLU, Ö.: *op. cit.*

¹¹ HARTLAPP, M. - METZ, J. - RAUH, C.: 'Linking Agenda Setting to Coordination Structures'. *Journal of European Integration*, 2013/23, 425–441.

inception.¹² However, recent events have given such internal bureaucratic politics a more strategic tone. Divergences exist on this axis, even with the EU's standard line that development, security, migration, and governance goals are all mutually reinforcing.

DevCo officials have expressed concern about the presentation of development finance as an easy way to stop migration.¹³ There is a cultural divide between development policy officials concerned with the long-term economic and social roots of stability and diplomats in the European External Action Service focused on immediate security imperatives; DG Home is even more narrowly focused on short-term migration reductions.

To summarize, there has been a conflict between the "security community" and the "development community." In institutional terms, this has manifested itself in DG DevCo and DG NEAR, in particular, carrying opposing views to EEAS diplomats, and all of these traditional external-policy actors expressing concern that DG Home has gained undue influence over aid programming as a result of its lead role in migration- and border-related projects in the MENA and Sahel regions. While all of this represents considerable politicization, some internal policy dynamics have helped relieve the harshness of internal disagreements - and helped the EU as a whole reach positions broadly acceptable to a diverse range of institutional actors. Polarization, the third dimension of politicization, has revealed the most conflicting directions of change. While internal differences of opinion have risen, they have remained manageable on some critical policy dimensions. Polarization has increased, but not significantly or to the extent that broadly shared EU policies cannot be decided and implemented. Three examples of dynamics used by EU institutions to manage politicization can be provided.

3. Conclusion

The European Union's (EU) foreign policy and immigration policies have been hotly debated and politicized topics for several years. The EU has struggled to find a cohesive approach to foreign policy, with differing national interests and political divisions creating obstacles to developing a shared vision. Similarly, the refugee crisis has highlighted divisions within the EU over how to manage immigration, with some member states pushing for more open policies and others advocating for tighter borders.

¹² FURNESS, M. - GANZLE, S.: "The Security–Development Nexus in European Union Foreign Relations after Lisbon: Policy Coherence at Last?" *Development and Policy Review*, 2017/35, 475–492.

¹³ ROMAN, E.: "Reversing the Perspective: How European Stakeholders React to Migration Policy Frames of Southern Mediterranean Countries". *Medreset Working Paper*, 2018.

The politicization of EU foreign policy has had significant implications for the ability of the EU to respond effectively to global challenges. While the EU has made progress in developing a common foreign policy framework, political divisions among member states have made it difficult to achieve consensus and to implement coordinated policies. This has been particularly evident in relation to the EU's relationship with Russia, with some member states advocating for closer ties and others pushing for a more confrontational approach.

Similarly, the politicization of immigration policies has had significant consequences for the EU's response to the refugee crisis. While some member states have welcomed refugees and advocated for a more humanitarian approach, others have taken a harder line, advocating for stricter border controls and more limited immigration. These differences have led to tensions and disagreements within the EU, and have made it difficult to develop a shared approach to managing the crisis.

Despite these challenges, there have been some signs of progress in recent years. The EU has taken steps to address the refugee crisis, including developing a common approach to managing asylum applications and resettling refugees. The EU has also developed a common defense policy, with member states agreeing to work together on defense issues and to increase defense spending. However, the deep-seated political differences among member states make it difficult to achieve lasting progress. The rise of populist and nationalist movements across Europe has further complicated the political landscape, and has made it more difficult to find common ground on foreign policy and immigration issues. Additionally, the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic has further strained the EU's unity and cooperation, highlighting the challenges of developing a coordinated response to global crises.

Looking ahead, it is clear that the EU will continue to face significant challenges in its foreign policy and immigration policies. It is essential that the EU continue to work towards greater unity and coherence in its policies, and to develop a shared vision for the future of the continent. This will require addressing the underlying political divisions among member states, promoting dialogue and cooperation, and building a culture of respect and tolerance for different viewpoints. Ultimately, the EU's ability to respond effectively to global challenges will depend on its ability to develop a cohesive and coordinated approach to foreign policy and immigration. While the challenges are significant, the potential benefits of a more united and effective EU are immense, both for the EU and for the wider world. The stakes are high, and the EU must rise to the challenge if it is to remain a significant player in global affairs.

Through development aid, conflict resolution, and human rights promotion, policymakers must tackle the fundamental causes of migration, such as poverty, conflict, and persecution. Enhance a more integrated EU identity: Policymakers should promote a more inclusive EU identity that emphasizes member states' shared

values and interests while also acknowledging immigrants' contributions to European societies.

On the other hand, enhancing interaction and openness in the decision-making process for immigration policies, such as interacting with civil society groups and other stakeholders is necessary to establish support for policies and gain insight of their implications. While bilateral and multilateral agreements and initiatives are required to strengthen cooperation with countries of origin and transit in order to control migration flows and address the root causes of migration. The role of EU institutions such as the European Commission and the European Parliament in helping to shape immigration policies is also essential in order to limit the influence of member states and political parties. Finally, policymakers should invest heavily in integration initiatives that promote immigrants' social and economic integration into European societies, such as language training, education, and job placement assistance. These suggestions may not be short-term fixes, but they can lay the groundwork for moderate immigration and control of its politicization at the national and supranational levels.

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