

**T.C.
MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ ENSTİTÜSÜ**

AB SİYASETİ VE ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI

**SECURITIZATION OF THE EUROPEAN UNION'S
MIGRATION AND ASYLUM POLICIES**

Yüksek Lisans Tezi

ŞENAY GÜMÜŞ

İstanbul-2009

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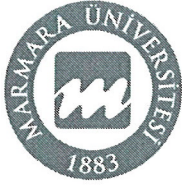
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Danışman: Doç. Dr. Bianca Kaiser

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ÖZ

Bu yüksek lisans çalışmasının amacı, Avrupa Birliği'nin göç ve iltica politikalarının güvenlikleştirilmesini ve bunun Avrupa Entegrasyonu üzerindeki etkilerini incelemektir. Çalışmanın temel gayreti, Avrupa Birliği'nin göç ve iltica politikalarının nasıl ve ne ölçüde güvenlikleştirildiğini ve bunun Avrupa Entegrasyonu'na olası etkilerinin neler olabileceğini anlamaktır. Bu bağlamda, çalışmanın argümanı Avrupa Birliği'nin göç ve iltica politikalarının Avrupa Ülkelerine gelen göç ve iltica başvurularından doğan problemleri çözmek amacı ile güvenlikleştirildiği ve güvenlikleştirilme sürecinin Avrupa Entegrasyonu'nun derinleşmesi ve genişlemesi açısından olumsuz etkilere sahip olduğudur. İncelemede Kopenhag Ekolü'nün üzerinde özellikle durulmuş ve güvenlik "söz-eylem" kapsamında değerlendirilmiştir.

Çalışma toplam dört bölümden oluşmaktadır. Öncelikle, çalışmanın teorik temeli, bir literatür taraması yapılarak açıklanmaya çalışılmıştır. Güvenlik ve güvenlikleştirme kavramları Kopenhag Ekolü'ne özel bir yer ayırmak sureti ile incelenmiştir. Fakat, konu ile ilgili diğer ekollere de, değişik güvenlik ve tehdit algılamalarını anlamak amacı ile yer verilmiştir. Çalışmanın ikinci bölümü Avrupa'da göç konusunun geçmişini sunmayı amaçlamaktadır. Çalışmanın üçüncü bölümünde ise göç ve iltica politikalarının güvenlikleştirilmesinin izleri araştırılmış ve güvenlikleştirme teorisi çerçevesinde değerlendirilmiştir. Çalışmanın son bölümünde, göç ve iltica politikalarının güvenlikleştirilmesinin Avrupa Entegrasyonu'nun derinleşmesi ve genişlemesine etkileri analiz edilmeye çalışılmıştır. Yukarıda belirtilen analizlerin sonucunda, Avrupa Birliği'nin Göç ve İltica politikalarının fazlasıyla güvenlikleştirildiği ve bu güvenlikleştirme sürecinin Avrupa Entegrasyonu'na önemli ölçüde olumsuz etkileri olduğu sonucuna varılmıştır. Bunun yanı sıra, Avrupa'da, güvenlikleştirme sürecinin oluşturduğu korkunun kontrolünün kaybedilmesi riski oldukça yüksektir.

ABSTRACT

This study aims to analyze the securitization policy of migration and asylum policies of the European Union and the effects of this to the European Integration process. The main effort of this study is to understand how and to what extent the migration and asylum policies are securitized in the European Union and what are the possible effects of this to the European Integration process. In this context, it is argued that the migration and asylum policies of the European Union have been securitized in order to solve the problems resulting by the increasing migration and asylum applications in the European Countries and the process of securitization will have harmful effects on further widening and deepening of the European Integration. The analysis is made by placing a special emphasis to the Copenhagen School approach and security is perceived as a speech act in this context.

This study consists of four chapters. First, it attempts to explain the theoretical foundation of the study by presenting a literature survey. The concept of security and securitization is analyzed by placing special emphasis to the Copenhagen School approach. However, other schools of thoughts are also covered in order to understand the different security and threat perceptions. The aim of the second chapter is to present the background of the issue of migration in Europe. The third chapter aims to trace the signs of securitization of migration and asylum policies and analyzes it in the context of securitization theory. Finally, the last chapter aims to analyze the effects of securitization of migration and asylum in the further deepening and widening of the European Integration. After making the above mentioned analysis, it is found out that migration and asylum policies in the European Union is highly securitized, and the securitization process has really important negative effects on European integration. Additionally, there is a high risk in Europe of losing the control of the fear which was created by the securitization process itself.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CEAS	Common European Asylum System
CEES	Central and Eastern European Countries
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CIREA	Centre for Information, Reflection and Exchange on Asylum
CIREFI	Centre for Information, Reflection and Exchange on Frontiers and Immigration
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
EU	European Union
ILO	International Labor Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IR	International Relations
MP	Member of Parliament
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
SEA	Single European Act
SIS	Schengen Information System
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNSD	United Nations Statistics Division
US	United States

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INTRODUCTION

After the Second World War, Western European Countries, with a considerable contribution of the Marshall Plan, became one of the most productive economic centers of the world. Because of this, those countries turned to be magnets for people who are seeking employment, refuge or better economic and living conditions. In 1950s and 1960s many immigrants from the least developed parts of the world were drawn to recovered and developed countries of Europe after the war. This situation has slightly changed in the mid 1970's while many European Countries decided to reduce labor migration through restricted policies when industrial growth slowed down and integration problems for migrants started to appear. However, the main concern in Europe was to favor domestic workforce in order to cope with the new phenomenon of unemployment.

Meanwhile, the security conjuncture in Europe was evolving. Especially at the end of the Cold War, understanding of security in Europe has fundamentally changed. Features of international politics that limited and directed security policies have disappeared. The classical threat perceptions have changed and new perceptions have been developed. In other words, security was redefined and the new meanings of the word "security" have been discovered. With this change in the conception of security, the nature of the threats has also changed. The issues that have never been considered as security issues previously were placed at the core of the new security understanding.

Under these circumstances, the paths of migration and security have been crossed. The place of migrants and asylum seekers in the new security environment has become a challenging issue. This specific period of time also refers to an important turning point in European integration process, which is the Maastricht Treaty. With this treaty, European integration reached its deepest phase up until then, and established the European citizenship which is a very important step to raise the sense of "we" among the people of Europe.

European Union, mostly because of its "*sui generis*" nature, adopted a different approach to the new security conception in the world. Focusing on human rights and

supremacy of international law were instantly recommended by the European side. However, in Europe, the security understanding has altered within the changing environment. European integration aimed at creating an area of freedom, security and justice, which will be immune from wars, human right violations, poverty and inequality. One can say that the idea of European integration became the new “American Dream”. Many people, as a consequence, were attracted by the idea of living in peace and prosperity. However, most of the migrants and asylum seekers who arrived in Europe, could not find what they were seeking for. There was an imaginary fortress around Europe, and inside the fortress, xenophobia which is a new kind of racism were waiting for them.

One of the main reasons of this situation is the popular tendency to present migration as a security issue. Migration and asylum started to be mentioned together with security issues like terrorism, organized crimes or drug trafficking. The tendency of securitization of migration is nearly doubled after the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington on 11 September 2001. After a certain point, migration and asylum turned out to be the scapegoats for many things going wrong in Europe like rising criminality, social unrest, unemployment and narrowing sources to feed the welfare system as well as terrorist actions.

In this context, this study focuses on both security and migration in Europe. The main argument of this study is that migration and asylum policies of the European Union have been securitized in order to solve the problems resulted by the increasing migration and asylum applications in European Countries. It is necessary to emphasize that this study does not argue that the migration and asylum policies should be securitized. Instead, it is argued that the process of securitization will have harmful effects on further widening and deepening of the European integration in the long run.

The aim of this study is to analyze securitization of migration and asylum policies and the effects of this to the European Integration process. Therefore, the study’s main effort is to understand how and to what extent the migration and asylum policies are

securitized in the European Union. Then, the possible effects of securitization of migration and asylum policies will be discussed. In the context of securitization, special emphasis will be given to the Copenhagen School's approach to security. The research questions of this study are;

- How did migration and asylum become security issues?
- How and to what extent the migration and asylum policies were securitized in the European Union?
- Is there any effect of securitization of migration and asylum policies to the future of European integration process?

The Copenhagen School defines security as a *speech act*¹. In this study, security is taken as a speech act as well. To be able to trace securitization, Europeanization process of the migration and asylum policies is examined in the context of security framing. On the other hand, due to the fact that securitization does not only take place at the Community level, securitization at the state level is also examined. Additionally, an examination of speech acts of main politicians (like MPs, head of governments and heads of the opposition parties) is made to be able to analyze the securitization process in detail.

The main research material of this study is the official texts (*acquis communautaire*) of the European Union and the speeches of the leading policy actors. This study will largely make use of primary sources which are the founding Treaties, major amending treaties and protocols as well as European Council and Commission documents. Speeches of the main politicians are also used in examination since, their role in reflecting and shaping the public opinion is important. However, due to the linguistic limitations,

¹ Speech act is a term commonly used in linguistics and philosophy. It generally means the use of the language to perform some act. On the other hand, in Copenhagen School's terminology, speech act means labeling an issue as a security issue by speaking or writing it as such. In this context; security is not a reality prior to language, security problem results from successfully presenting it as such. If speech act is successfully performed, it creates the security problem. For more info see: WÆVER, Ole; 'Securitization and Desecuritization' in LIPSCHUTZ, Ronnie D. (ed.), 'On Security', New York, Columbia University Press, 1995

speeches of the policy actors from the United Kingdom will be given prominence. On the other hand, speeches of policy actors from France are used due to their significance. Additionally, this study will mainly benefit from secondary sources namely from the literature on security and migration in Europe during the examination of the background and the major effects of securitization on European integration.

The limitations of this study are shaped by what it is not. It is important to note that this study does not aim to make a discourse analysis. As long as security is taken as a *speech act*, only some speech acts will be examined to see to what extent the migration and asylum policies are securitized. In other words, details of security discourse will not be analyzed; instead how migration and asylum are represented as security issues will be examined. It is important to underline that there are other policy actors who play important roles in securitization process like media and civil society. As long as, this is a master's thesis, they will not be covered here in order to limit the scope of the study. Another limitation of this study emanates from the nature of the theoretical foundation. This study considers security as a socially constructed process via speech acts. Other approaches to security may explain the growing security concentration over migration and asylum issues from different perspectives. In this sense, this study will only analyze the issue from a securitization perspective.

This study is composed of four chapters. The first chapter aims to set the theoretical foundation of the study by presenting a literature review. The concept of security, security framing as well as securitization will be analyzed by putting a special emphasis on the Copenhagen School's approach. However other schools of thoughts will also be covered to be able to understand the different security and threat perceptions. By doing that, different security definitions and historical evolution of security studies will be touched upon. At the end of the chapter, securitization of migration will be examined under the light of the analysis mentioned above.

The second chapter deals with the migration and asylum in order to present the background of the issue. It is considered as vital to understand why the migration and asylum policies are first politicized and later securitized in the European Union. This chapter will analyze the scope of the matters of migration and asylum in Europe from a historical perspective. To be able to present the problem and analysis the definition and general categorization of migration will be focused in order to clarify the concept.

The third chapter aims to trace the signs of securitization of migration and asylum policies and analyze it in the context of securitization theory. In order to realize this aim, most significant stages of the Europeanization of migration and asylum policies will be analyzed to highlight the growing tendency to restrict migration and asylum by representing them as a threat. I will try to find an answer to the question of whether the issues of migration and asylum are securitized in the European Union by examining the official documents of the European Union and speeches of the important policy actors.

The last chapter aims to analyze the effects of securitization of migration in further deepening and widening of the European Integration. The effects on further deepening will be first outlined by putting a special emphasis on the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion. Then the effects on further widening will be analyzed by placing a special emphasis on the recent and future European enlargements.

I. THEORETICAL FOUNDATION

Although, it is an issue of debate in international relations studies, security can be considered as a concept which has been newly defined and has emerged to be one of the most important issues in the international arena nowadays. Security of individuals, regions, nations, territories have become to be the matter of discussion, although the concept of national security is at the center of security studies. This is because, security is commonly defined to be free of threats² and, for the nation states the major threats were the other nation states and the possibility of military interactions.

The traditional security understanding is underlining the importance of existential threats posed by other nations and military responses to those threats. In this context security is about survival³ and the main tool to survive in this chaotic environment is to use military means. However, after the cold war, new definitions of security emerged in security studies and the discussion moved beyond interstate relations through other fields like demographic issues and migration.

Therefore, to understand the concepts of security framing as well as the securitization, it is vital to analyze migration within the security framework. In this chapter, security will be analyzed by placing a special emphasis to the “Copenhagen School⁴” approach on securitization. The first focus will be on the historical understanding and definition of security and then, discussion on the concept of securitization will take place at the end of this chapter. Securitization of migration will be examined under the light of the above mentioned school of thought.

² BUZAN, Barry; *‘People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post Cold War Period’*, Brighton, Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991, p. 16

³ BUZAN, Barry, Ole Wæver and Jaap de Wilde; *‘Security: A New Framework for Analysis’*, Boulder and London, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 1998, p. 21

⁴ This term commonly refers to a group of scholars who works on security and affiliated with the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute (COPRI) which is recently declared off. The most famous scholars of this group are Barry Buzan and Ole Waever.

1.1 The Concept of Security in International Relations

Though there is a considerable amount of literature about security related issues like peace and power, the concept of security remains as an immature field of study in international relations. However, despite the fact that it was not clearly spelled out in early works made by focusing on realist understanding of international relations, security was a very important element of those early works, security appeared to be the main target of those works most of the time. While, realist approach defines international relations as a struggle for power, the main reason of the desire of being powerful arose from the need of feeling secure for nation states. As Buzan states it, power and security are not interchangeable but merely they appeared to be so at a certain point.⁵

1.1.1. Definition of Security

After the First World War, the idea of collective security emerged in the international community, security has started to be constructed and conceptualized by the academics and researchers. The realist and idealist approaches have developed their own definitions. When one challenges the critical question of “what is security?” it can be seen that there is still not a single certain definition and it remains as a contested concept.⁶ The reason of this uncertainty results from the variety of aspects in security. Because, the meaning of security depends on the referent object that needs to be secured and the nature of the threat that was defined as existential for the referent object. By the nature, security understanding of Nation States, individuals and humanity as a whole can not be the same. In addition, a strong and weak person may not feel secure in the same environment. It means that the concept of security can change according to subject, time and space.

However, when we want to analyze an issue in the light of security, the context, aspects and the scope of the security appear to be the key issues. Without having an idea of the meaning of the word “security”, one cannot be able to build a concrete conception on

⁵ BUZAN, *op. cit.* (note 2), p. 8

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 7

issue of labeling migration as a security problem. In this sense, many authors tried to create a definition which is commonly accepted. As a result, the literature on security is full of definitions. Because of the need of defining the concept first, as Baldwin puts it; redefining security has recently become something of a cottage industry⁷. In this sense, authors define security from the perspective of their main research subject and use that definition to pave the path to the core issue. On the other hand, some define security to point out the importance of an issue.

As a result of these “various” approaches, there is no limit to the “definitions of security”⁸. In this section, however, I do not go into detail of all the definitions of security, but an analysis will be made to show, how wide it is in scope on the basis of some well rounded definitions.

Although the definitions vary greatly when it comes to the intensity, timing, international or domestic conjuncture and objectivity of threat, there is a consensus that “security is to be free of threats”. As Bellany stated that “security is freedom from war”⁹ so that it can be seen as the ability to survive and having the capacity to do so in the future.

On the other hand, Arnold Wolfers defines security as:

“Security is a value, then, of which a nation can have more or less and which it can aspire to have greater or lesser measure. It has much in common, in this respect, with power or wealth (...) but (...) security, in an objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquire values, in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked.”¹⁰

Although, Wolfers focused on national security on his definition, one might point out that, the most important issue which threatened is the values in this context. So that, it is not all about physical survival but also values, beliefs and lifestyles can be threatened.

⁷ BALDWIN David, ‘The Concept of Security’ *Review of International Studies*, 23:1, 1997, p. 5

⁸ HUYSMANS, Jef, ‘Security! What do You Mean?: From Concept to Thick Signifier’, *European Journal of International Relations*, 4:2, 1998, p. 230

⁹ BELLANY Ian, ‘Towards a Theory of International Security’, *Political Studies*, 29:1, 1981, p. 102

¹⁰ WOLFERS Arnold, ‘National Security as an Ambiguous Symbol’, *Political Science Quarterly*, 67:4, 1951, pp. 484-485

Buzan, in his book named ‘People States and Fear’, combines some security definitions from different authors and reaches to a final definition as “security is about the ability of states and societies to maintain their independent identity and their functional integrity¹¹”. In this sense, some other components of states can be put in the basket of referent objects like identity and integrity.

On the other hand, Waever approaches security from a different perspective:

“We can regard security as a speech act. In this usage, security is not of interest as a sign that refers to something more real, the utterance itself is the act. By saying it, something is done (as in betting, giving a promise, naming a ship). A state representative (...) thereby claims a special right to use whatever means are necessary to block it”¹².

In this context, security is not the final aim of an act, but it is the act itself to reach to another target. By naming something as a threat, one gains the authority and the right to use the extraordinary means to cope with it. Security issue has the highest priority, as a consequence of this fact; disliked things can be framed as a security issue to highlight the importance of eliminating them.

To sum up, security can be assessed in a very wide range from being an inner condition of being at peace with oneself¹³ to being a litmus paper to categorize things as safe-dangerous or friend-foe. Of course, when we use the word “security” in daily language, we, more or less, have an idea of what it means (being safe, not threatened), however, it has different implications when it is used in security studies. This variety results from the features of the security concept as being a dynamic and developing one. In this sense, to perceive the different aspects of the concept, I will briefly touch upon the historical evaluation of security studies.

¹¹ BUZAN, *op cit.* (note 2), p. 18

¹² WÆVER, *op cit.* (note 1) p. 55

¹³ HUYSMANS, *op cit.* (note 8) , p. 230

1.1.2. Historical Evaluation of Security Studies

Many scholars, who work in the IR field, had seen a gap in security studies and in order to create a concrete concept, numerous works were made which were defining security from different perspectives. The issue started to be handled under the light of political philosophy and famous philosophers i.e. Hobbes, Marx and Nietzsche are considered to be pioneers in developing detailed philosophical outline of security concept.

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After the First World War, scholars realized the importance of security studies clearly, as Walt states it, war is “too important to be left to generals”¹⁵ therefore the scholars began to get involved in the debates on national security construction. However, these early works on security were weak in political content and tend to ignore non-military sources of tensions between states. they rather focused on military balances between states.¹⁶ Following the Second World War and with the beginning of the Cold War, there had been a considerable shift in security agenda. Wolfers’ article with the title of “National Security as an Ambiguous Symbol” which was published in 1951 was a very important example of this shift in security studies. This article was also a unique example of its time in conceptualizing security and underlining the distinction between “national interest” and “national security”¹⁷.

During the Cold War, security was perceived with a realist approach and considered in the content of power politics with military means. It was a natural consequence of the conditions of the time. There was a perceived threat posed for both sides of the cold war and this threat was a military one (I do not disregard the ideological threat posed to each other, however the main fear was not a change in the regime but the possibility of a destructive military interaction). Because of this threat perception, there was

¹⁴ DERIAN James Der, ‘*The Value of Security: Hobbes, Marx, Nietzsche, and Baudrillard*’ in: LIPSCHUTZ *op cit.* (note 1)

¹⁵ WALT, Stephen M.; ‘The Renaissance of Security Studies’, *International Studies Quarterly* 35:2, 1991, p. 214

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 215

¹⁷ For more info see: WOLFERS, *op cit.* (note 10)

an exponential increase in armament. On the other hand, neo-realism started to affect the security studies. Most notably, Kenneth Waltz placed security at the center of state behavior and stated that: ‘in anarchy, security is the highest end (...) the goal the system encourages them [states] is security’¹⁸.

The end of the Cold War caused a fundamental change in the security understanding. Structural features of international politics that constrained and directed security policies and practices between 1947 and 1991, have for the most part vanished¹⁹. The old threat perceptions were no longer valid and new kinds of threats such as environmental issues, demographic changes and uncontrolled spread of weapons of mass destruction emerged to be the most important threats to national security. As Mathews states it; “the concept of security needed to be rethought”²⁰. As far as the security conception has changed, the old tools to build or maintain security will be useless in this new context. Thus, the old military based tools needed to be transformed as well.

Some authors find the reason of this change in the identity crisis of the strategic studies at that time²¹. Many security institutions like NATO and CSCE felt the need to redefine themselves and find a new place in the new security environment. They were established for defeating threats of the Cold War. Whenever the threats disappeared, there were no reasons for them to exist. As a result, they looked for new threats to cope with to legitimize their continuing existence. However, some believed that the new conjuncture brought about its own security agenda and even some of them claimed that the emergence of the new security concept is partially brought the Cold War to an end²².

¹⁸ WALTZ Kenneth N., ‘*Theory of International Politics*’ Addison-Wesley, 1979, cited in: BUZAN, *op cit.* (note 1) p. 12

¹⁹ LIPSCHUTZ, *op cit.* (note 1) , p .3

²⁰ MATHEWS Jessica Tuchman ‘Redifining Security’, *Foreign Affairs*, 68:2, cited in: LIPSCHUTZ *ibid*, p. 5

²¹ For more info see: HUYSMANS, Jef, *The Politics of Insecurity: Fear, Migration and Asylum in the EU*, London, Routledge, 2006, p. 17 and LIPSCHUTZ *ibid*, pp. 4-5

²² WYN JONES, Richard, *Security, Strategy, and Critical Theory*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1999, p. 95

With the development of security studies after the Cold War, some theories, commonly called schools of thoughts, started to be mentioned and debated rigorously. Wæver claims that this debate is shaped to be a European one on security²³ and despite the fact that there are newly emerging ideas on the other side of the Atlantic and on the other parts of the world; he has an incontestable point there. This decomposition in security studies is one of the things that the end of the Cold War brought with it. Whilst the center of security understanding has been standing to be the national security in the part of the U.S., European security understanding has got broader including human security in the center.

To be able to conceive the developments after the Cold War, different approaches to the security understanding, namely, traditionalist security studies, critical security studies (Aberystwyth School), Paris School and especially Copenhagen School will be covered in this study. This categorization was first made by Ole Wæver²⁴ and later followed by the others²⁵. Although, Aberystwyth, Copenhagen and Paris Schools, are all constructivist and can be counted as critical theories in general, there are significant differences in their view points which make them worth to be mentioned separately. While mentioning this categorization, the existence of the other approaches to security like post-modernist and feminist is acknowledged but, they will not be covered, not because they are less important, but because of the need to limit the scope of this study.

1.1.3. Traditional Security Studies

Traditional security studies as a term refers to the very early works on security as well as the works during the Cold War Era. Naturally, those studies on security were under

²³ WÆVER, Ole, "Aberystwyth, Paris, Copenhagen New Schools in Security Theory and the Origins between Core and Periphery," *paper presented at the ISA Conference Montreal, 2004*, p. 2

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ C.A.S.E. Collective, 'Critical approaches to security in Europe: a networked manifesto', *Security Dialogue*, 37:4, 2006, p. 443-487

the influence of Realist theory. As it was mentioned above, traditionally, security studies put the Nation States at its core and dealt with the concept of “national security”. This was because states were seen as the main actors in the IR field by realists so that the security studies were shaped accordingly.

Security studies have traditionally devoted less attention to the goal of security than to the means by which it is pursued²⁶. Rather, security understanding was tented to be seen in the context of one set of means which is the military statecraft. The methods of using and controlling military force and keeping up the balance with rivalry forces are the basic topics of discussion.

As far as traditional security studies were following a path similar to the realist approach, it is plausible to argue that, security studies were statist²⁷ as well. According to this point of view, no matter what the threat or danger is, states are the ones who have the capability and capacity to deal with it. In this sense, domestic issues can occur as a threat to the national security but, they cannot be dealt with domestically as far as it concerns the “nation” as a whole. In this case, if a state steps on the stage, it will behave in certain state-like ways, regardless the size or content of the threat. This positions the state as the most important actor of security studies.

As the Cold War was near to an end, realist approach started to loose its strength in the IR field. Some scholars started to argue that, this state-centric and military oriented approach is not adequate to grasp the whole picture. The concept needs to be broadened. Richard Ullman’s article written in 1983 is worth to mention in this context as being one of the first critical views of its kind. In this article Ullman says;

It causes states to concentrate on military threats and to ignore other and perhaps even more harmful dangers. Thus it reduces their total security. And second, it contributes to a

²⁶ BALDWIN David A., Security Studies and the End of the Cold War, *World Politics*, 48:1, 1995, p.129

²⁷ Statism is a view of the world that regards states as the only truly significant actors in world politics. This definition is taken from WYN JONES, *op cit.* (note 22) p.95

pervasive militarization of international relations that in the long run can only increase global insecurity²⁸.

Likewise, Barry Buzan's book called "People, States and Fear" published in the same year with Ullman's article, includes very important criticisms on traditional security studies and has caused lingering discussions.

Even after the Cold War, there were defenders of traditional security understanding, claiming that the widening of the security issues to include other fields, damage the study intellectually and it is deemed dangerous²⁹. As Stephen Walt puts it, "security studies explore the conditions that make the use of force more likely"³⁰ and to add other fields on that scale will be dangerous both intellectually and practically. Labeling issues like epidemic diseases and migration as threats to security will lead to an image of boogiemán in the public opinion and call for state-like use of force as a solution.

1.1.4. Critical Security Studies

Critical Security Studies emerged as a response to the state-centric and citizenship based approaches. Authors of this approach claim that traditional security studies are lack of plausible suggestions for solutions to many political and domestic problems. The answers are deemed incomplete and seem stacked with a limited view point. The theoretical basis is also found weak by critical authors. As Wyn Jones puts it, "the statism of traditional security studies is empirically unhelpful and stands as an ideological justification for the *status quo* which the vast majority of the world's population is rendered chronically insecure"³¹. In this sense, a redefinition of security was found to be necessary.

In most critical security studies, the threats are social constructions that they can be replaced with others. The aim of critical scholars was to show how these constructed

²⁸ ULLMAN, Richard 'Redefining Security' *International Security*, 8:1, 1983, p.129

²⁹ HYDE-PRICE, Adrian, ' "Beware the Jabberwocky!" : Security Studies in the Twenty-First Century' , in *Europe's New Security Challenges*, edited by Heinz Gärtner, Adrian Hyde-Price and Erich Reiter, London, Lynne Rienner, 2001, p. 35

³⁰ WALT, *op cit.* (note 15), p. 212

³¹ WYN JONES, *op cit.* (note 22) p.102

security perceptions could have been different, within the concrete historical circumstances in which choices were made³². In contrast to the traditional approach, the contemporary schools of thoughts claim that security issues are not hard core givens, but we build them up. Additionally, they avoid defining security from the perspectives of the states since it is better for them to focus on individual security instead of national security. From this perspective, states can also be seen as threats to the security of individuals.

This approach is also known as the Aberystwyth School because the two main authors of this approach, Ken Booth and Richard Wyn Jones, are affiliated with the University of Wales, Aberystwyth³³. On the other hand, it is worth to mention that Keith Krause and Mike Williams edited a book called “Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases” which is an outstanding work in respect of the definition of its kind in general.

1.1.5. Paris School

Paris School has been the main site of a distinct theoretical development, mostly inspired by Bourdieu and other sociologists, with a dose of Foucault³⁴. While the Aberystwyth and Copenhagen Schools were focusing on the IR theories and issues, the Paris School includes a variety of disciplines like sociology, criminality and law. Paris School approach is also less oriented to the official policies and discourses and focuses on practices. In this framework, one can say that, while other approaches to security keep looking at the security actors and investigate how an issue becomes to be a security issue through discourses, the Paris School approach tries to go into depths of the issue and investigates the effect of this process in a rather micro level. The audience is another center of attention. The audience must identify something as enemy to get that issue into the security realm so that the audience is one of the most important stake holders of this process for them.

³² ERIKSSON, Johan; ‘Observers or Advocates?: On the Political Role of Security Analysts’, *Cooperation and Conflict*, 34:311, 1999, p. 318

³³ WÆVER, *op cit.* (note 23) p. 7

³⁴ *Ibid*, p.10

As long as the Paris School deals with social problems, it can be said that it mostly analyzes internal security. In this approach, security professionals and agencies like police, military and customs are particularly deemed important. On the contrary to the past definitions, above security agencies became the main actors of the issue. This rising importance turns up to a power struggle between those agencies and it affects the process of securitization. Because, securitization starts at individual level and is nourished by the fear of individuals and the group. Therefore, they focus on the visible threat images connected to immigration, criminality and terror. For the Paris School, security is not the opposite of insecurity. Security is defined as conditions what is not considered to be insecurity³⁵. Bringing this insecurity into politics is about governmentality and can be described as a technique of government.

Jef Huysmans and Didier Bigo appear to be the leading authors of this school. With the exception of Huysmans, most were working in Paris with Didier Bigo at the journal of *Cultures et Conflits*³⁶ and this is the reason why they are referred as the Paris School.

1.1.6. Copenhagen School

Like the critical theory on security and the Paris School, the Copenhagen School is also constructivist and puts individual security at the center. However, there are some differences on the basis of these three approaches. First of all, the characteristic feature of the Copenhagen School is its skepticism towards ‘security’³⁷. The Copenhagen School discusses security as a failure to handle an issue in normal politics. They regard de-securitization as the final aim of this process. Secondly, for Copenhagen School, in contrast to critical security studies, even though security is a socially constructed process, one cannot expect it to change easily; certain things stay the same throughout the period

³⁵ C.A.S.E. Collective, *op cit.* (note 25), p. 457

³⁶ *Ibid*, p.449

³⁷ WÆVER, *op cit.* (note 23), p. 10

relevant for an analysis. Because some socially developed issues like identity become socially sedimented in the course of time³⁸.

Similar to critical security studies, the Copenhagen School does not see states as the only referent objects to threats in international relations and claims that human security is needed at the level of the individual, sub-state groups or at the level of humanity as a whole³⁹. In this sense security has sat on a much broader agenda to include non-military threats like environment, minority issues and migration. At this point, Copenhagen School tries to answer the question of “security for whom?”. In this approach, the answer of this question refers to the referent object, which is something threatened and needs to be secured. In this case, the referent object becomes the reason of the security action.

Copenhagen School in security studies is built around three main ideas: 1) security sectors, 2) regional security complexes 3) securitization⁴⁰. Securitization is the main theoretical framework of this approach and became a commonly accepted concept in security studies today. Hence, more attention will be given to securitization in this study than the other two. However it must be kept in mind that the other two concepts are also important in defining the whole picture.

1.1.6.1. Security Sectors

Copenhagen School brings a multi-sectoral approach to security. In security analysis they group security under five sectors which are namely, military, environmental, economic, political and finally societal sectors. This categorization is based on the referent objects of security. The set-up with five sectors is an analytical net to work through existing security discourses to register what is going on⁴¹. It is a way to look at the processes of security in different sectors and see if securitization takes place in those sectors. Despite

³⁸ BUZAN, Barry, Wæver, Ole; ‘Slippery? Contradictory? Sociologically Untenable? The Copenhagen School Replies’, *Review of International Studies*, 23:2, 1997, p.243

³⁹ MÜNSTER Van Rens, ‘Logic of Security: The Copenhagen School, Risk Management and the War on Terror’, Political Science Publications, University of South Denmark, 10/2005, p. 3

⁴⁰ WÆVER, *op cit.* (note 23), p. 8

⁴¹ WÆVER Ole, ‘Securitizing Sectors?: Reply to Eriksson’, *Cooperation and Conflict*, 34:334, 1999, p. 335

some criticisms on multisectoral approach of the Copenhagen School⁴², it would not be wrong to say that, this approach also leads to a cross-sectoral approach and looks at the issues on comparative basis vis-à-vis other issues goes under different sectors. Although they were grouped under different categories, all the sectors are interconnected to each other. For instance; a threat in the economical sector directly affects the political sector.

In this study, more emphasis is given on the societal sector since it is closely related to the migration issues.

1.1.6.1.1. Military Sector

When we consider the contemporary international relations setting, we may assume that this sector is the most institutionalized one among the others while it falls under the focus of classical security approaches. In military sector, the referent object is usually the state, although it may also be other kinds of political entities⁴³. It is even possible to think the armed forces are the referent objects for security; because their survival can be threatened in various ways like falling into a dead-end conflict with other armed forces or a large scale disarmament plan that can eliminate much of the power of the armed forces in a country.

The threat can point to every component of a state from its territorial integrity to civil order. However, the response to these kinds of threats pointed to the components of sovereign states happens to be militarily. It is also commonly accepted as legitimate in international society to use military means if territorial integrity and sovereignty of a state is in question. In this sense, this sector is particularly important because it contains use of

⁴² As examples of those criticisms you can see: ERIKSSON Johan, 'What Makes a Security Problem? Securitization and Agenda Setting' Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Swedish Political Science Association, October 11-13, 1998 and Mc SWEENEY Bill, 'Durkheim and the Copenhagen school: a response to Buzan and Wæver' *Review of International Studies*, 24, 1998, pp. 137-140

⁴³ BUZAN, Wæver and de Wilde, *op cit.* (note 3), p. 22

force. Thus, security studies have given a disproportionate emphasis to this sector over years even though the threats in the other sectors appeared to be more immediate⁴⁴.

On the other hand, after the Cold War, we did not face really heavy military conflicts between states except some instances like, Iraq, Former Yugoslavia and Somalia⁴⁵. Therefore, territorial integrity or sovereignty of a state seems to be less threatened by outside forces. However, this does not necessarily mean that security actors of the field started to feel more secure. In the new world order, values of the states can still be threatened by internal forces like separatist ethnic or religious movements. Under these circumstances, military forces stands still to respond, though lately, ways to internal uneasiness have also changed. Unbalanced use of force for internal threats is not well received by the international society. International cooperation became to be the legitimate way to deal with internal security problems.

However, all the military issues can not be seen in the context of security concerns. Today, countries willingly position their troops outside their country in conflict areas for the sake of peacekeeping and contribute to peacemaking processes of international organizations like UN and NATO. Under those circumstances the survival of states are not threatened. Thus, military issues are not always about the existing threats, military forces can also be a tool in international relations.

1.1.6.1.2. Environmental Sector

In the environmental sector the main referent object is the environment in general however, there are plenty of components of environment that can be threatened separately like endangered species, different kinds of pollution, diversity of habitats and climate change. The base concern of all those threat perceptions are about the relationship between human species and the environment and aims to develop a sustainable relationship between the two, to guarantee the preservation of today's level of civilizations.

⁴⁴ BUZAN, *op cit.* (note 2), p. 118

⁴⁵ LIPSCHUTZ, *op cit.* (note 1), p. 4

Environment as a security concern is a new phenomenon for security studies. With a traditional security mindset, states can be pulled into this issue as an actor and expect states to be the protector of humanity. However, this conception of the issue can overlook the main point. As Beck states it, “this threat to all life does not come from outside... It emerges within, enduringly as the reverse side of progress peace and normality”⁴⁶. In this case, we cannot perceive environmental security as we versus them; it can even be considered as we versus us. Thus, environmental threats cannot be corresponded with the conventional ways. Environmental threats require a new approach.

In the Copenhagen School’s approach, the environmental sector is particularly important as being the most obvious example of the changing phase of security understanding in the new world order. However they also stated that this sector is the less securitized one while extraordinary measures were used in lesser extent to cope with the threats. As they put it “the environmental sector displays more closely than any other sector the propensity for dramatic securitizing moves but with comparatively little successful securitization effects (i.e. those that lead to extraordinary measures)”⁴⁷

1.1.6.1.3. Economic Sector

In economic sector, threats and referent objects are not very easy to define or to distinguish. Threat of bankruptcy of the state, firms and individuals can be counted under this sector. However, only few of those components call for securitization while, bankruptcy of firms and individuals do not usually have devastating effects on the state in general. Another difficult aspect to handle this issue is that, market economies contain risks, competition and uncertainties by nature. In this sense we are talking about economic

⁴⁶ BECK Ulrich, *Ecological Politics in an Age of Risk*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1995, p. 163 cited in: HETHERINGTON, Kevin *Expressions of Identity: Space, Performance and Politics*, Thousand Oaks CA: Sage, 1998, p.8

⁴⁷ BUZAN, Wæver and de Wilde, *op cit.* (note 3), p. 74

security in a highly insecure environment and it is hard to say in which point economic problems become national security problems and a political question⁴⁸.

There is a certain link between economic capacity and military capability of states. If a state is not capable of supporting its armed forces, it becomes vulnerable to threats. On the other hand, states must have a stable industry and sufficient economic power to feed its population. When the survival of the population and the stability are concerned, economic problems can shift to the political level. This feature of economic sector is important in the context of this study. Because, rising numbers of migrants who want to make their way to Europe is not only a social problem, but also an economic problem. The financial burden of migrants and asylum seekers started to be an issue to deal within European economies. The rising unemployment and economic stagnation for the last decade, made people tend to blame migrants to be free loaders and stealers of jobs which should be available for native inhabitants.

1.1.6.1.4. Political Sector

In this sector, similar to the military sector, the main security objects are the states and the main threats are posed to sovereignty of a state. However, in contrast to the military sector, non-military threats are the concerns of this sector. What is at stake is the legitimacy of a governmental authority, and the relevant threats can be ideological and sub-state, leading to security situations in which state authorities are threatened by elements of their own societies or by some non-military external elements⁴⁹. In this sense, as Buzan *et al.* state it, “political sector is about authority, governing status and recognition”⁵⁰.

States’ ideology that gives governments their legitimacy can also be threatened by questioning the recognition and authority of the current ideology. Political institutions which are the main components of the leading ideology can also be threatened. However

⁴⁸ BUZAN, *op cit.* (note 2), p. 124

⁴⁹ WILLIAMS Michael C., ‘Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics’, *International Studies Quarterly* 47, 2003, p. 513

⁵⁰ BUZAN, Wæver and de Wilde, *op cit.* (note 3), p. 7

we need to separate this sector from politics in general, although security itself is a political matter. Everyday politics is not the focus of this sector but the political legitimacy is important.

1.1.6.1.5. Societal Sector

As Wæver claims, “national security has been the established key concept for the entire area of security affairs, but, paradoxically, there has been little reflection on *the nation* as a security unit”⁵¹. In the societal sector the referent object is the large scale identities like nations and religions. However, it does not mean that, this sector is about the security of the nations or religions but it is actually about “self-sustaining identity groups”⁵². Because, when we take nations and religions at the focus of a discussion, it turns back to the state-centric security discourse. In this sense, those conceptions must not be confused. Society and nation are not necessarily linked to state, those should be thought as different concepts and society should be thought as an entity that normally contain internal conflicts as well as a willingness to defend itself against outside threats⁵³.

In this sector, it is quite hard to distinguish existential threats to societal security from the lesser threats. This is because, identity is not a given but an evolving notion. It changes over time depending on internal and external dynamics. As Buzan *et al.* put it, “internal and external changes may be seen as invasive or heretical and their sources pointed to as existential threats, or they may be accepted as part of the evaluation of identity”⁵⁴. What turns the change to a threat is the general feeling in the society that the change will violate the main components of the concerned identity. A society is a group of people who share a feeling of constituting an entity and have a common sense of “we” rather than “I”. In this case, a threat creates a feeling that the group members will no longer

⁵¹ WÆVER Ole, ‘The Changing Agenda of Societal Security’ in: BRAUCH Hans Günter, *et al.* (eds.), *Globalisation and Environmental Challenges: Reconceptualising Security in the 21st Century*, Berlin – Heidelberg, Springer Verlag, 2008, P. 518

⁵² BUZAN, Wæver and de Wilde, *op cit.* (note 3), p. 119

⁵³ WÆVER, Ole, Barry Buzan, Morten Kelstrup and Pierre Lemaitre, *Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe*, London, Pinter, 1993, p. 22

⁵⁴ BUZAN, Wæver and de Wilde, *op cit.* (note 3), p. 23

perceive themselves as “us” and they have to change their way of living and/or their beliefs. As Waever *et al.* put it;

“Societal security concerns the ability of a society to persist in its essential character under changing conditions and possible and actual threats More specifically it is about the sustainability, within acceptable conditions, for evolution of traditional patterns of language, culture, association, and religious and national identity and custom”⁵⁵.

There is a very important difference of societal security from the other security sectors. In all the other four sectors, the focus is on the state security. However, even though societal security has some effects on state security, the referent object of this sector is different and more challenging. This is neither the security of the individuals, who constitute the society, nor the sum of the security of its parts⁵⁶.

Societal security is important in the sense of migration because, this sector is about the “we” feelings of people which are threatened when newcomers come on the scene and recently, these newcomers happened to be the migrants. When societies face an influx of migration, the questions like “will the newcomers be harmonized with our society?” or “are they going to form the different ghettos in our society?” start to challenge the thoughts. Even if the migrants come inside the society and may take their part without violating the already existing system, they may still be perceived as “them” among “we”. In this sense, society can still feel vulnerable. It mostly depends upon the characteristics of the collective identity. Sometimes it can over value ethnic purity or behavioral customs. In those cases, migration occurs as a bigger problem than it is in the cases of open-minded identity groups.

1.1.6.2. Regional Security Complexes

The concept of ‘security complexes’ points to the importance of the regional level in security analysis and suggests an analytical scheme for structuring analysis of how security concerns tie together in a regional formation⁵⁷. It was first mentioned by Barry Buzan in his book called “*People, states and fear*” and later became one of the main ideas

⁵⁵ WÆVER, Buzan, Kelstrup and Lemaitre, *op cit.* (note 53), p. 23

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* p. 34

⁵⁷ WÆVER, *op cit.* (note 23), p. 9

of the Copenhagen School. The idea behind this concept is that after the Cold War, international system will start to be more de-centralized and regional security will gain prominence.

A security complex refers to a group of states that are interlinked and highly interdependent to each other in security issues. It is a group of states whose primary security concerns link together closely that their national securities cannot be considered separately⁵⁸. Regional security complexes can affect and be affected by global security dynamics but, in nature, they lead a distinct security agenda. Even the neighboring regions do not suffer from the same security problems. The Copenhagen School argued that security complexes will get more into the regional level after the Cold War and it is possible to say that security complexes are happened to be sub-continental or even smaller in size like, the Middle East, Europe and South America.

However, the regional security complexes do not necessarily mean that the great powers will be less important within the regional security agendas. Buzan defines the great powers as the layers of the security complexes and sees them as a part of the global security system⁵⁹. The security problems of the regional complexes can shrink to the regional level or develop to global level. When conflict and insecurity among the members are prevalent, the system shapes nearly everyone's security position and policies⁶⁰.

1.1.6.3. Securitization

In contrast to classical security theories, securitization is a process oriented conception of security. For the Copenhagen School:

“Security” is the move that takes politics beyond the established rules of the game and frames the issue either as a special kind of politics or as above politics. Securitization can thus be seen as a more extreme version of politization. In theory, any

⁵⁸ BUZAN, *op. cit.* (note 2), p. 124

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p. 125

⁶⁰ MORGAN, Patrick M. ‘Regional Security Complexes and Regional Orders’, in LAKE David A. and MORGAN Patrick (eds) *Regional Orders: Building Security in a New World*, University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, p. 27

public issue can be located on the spectrum ranging from non-politicized through politicized to securitized⁶¹.

According to this explanation as stated above, there is a wide spectrum of issues ranging from non-politicized to politicized and securitized. Non-politicized issues are not the issues of public concern so that states do not deal with those issues in security senses. They are mostly administrative and routine issues that are dealt by governments and are not the priority on the agenda. On the politicized part, there is a certain public awareness of the issue and governments may need to decide to allocate resources and act in a certain way to satisfy the public opinion. On the securitized part however, the issue is presented as an existential threat and asks for extraordinary responses to deal with it. These issues gain the highest priority when they reach the securitized part of the spectrum and call for emergency measures outside the normal political processes. The justification of the action is not needed in this sense, because when an existential threat occurs, the action becomes self evident⁶².

Securitization concept was first mentioned by Ole Wæver and took an important place in the contemporary security studies. He defines the process of securitization as a *speech act*, which is naming a certain development or an issue as a security problem⁶³. According to this point of view; threats are not usually objective, after it costs certain damage, we can then be sure that the issue was a threat before. In this case, somebody may name an issue as a threat before it damages and takes the issue out of the political realm and pulls it into the security realm. However, it does not mean that it is enough when a security actor labels an issue as a threat. There should be a certain audience that accepts the issue as a threat. It is the acceptance of the audience that makes an issue a security one. This recognition gives the security actor some kind of an authority over the respective issue to use the extraordinary means which may involve the breaking of the normal political rules of the game (like levying extra taxes or using military means).

⁶¹ BUZAN, Wæver and de Wilde, *op cit.* (note 3), p. 23

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 24

⁶³ WÆVER, *op cit.* (note 1), p. 54

This process allows the security actor to put an issue in a primary position and use the extraordinary means which would not be used under different circumstances. This is because, security actor can claim that if extraordinary means are not used; it may be too late in order to tackle the threat in the future, there may be a possible point of no return. This argument may happen to be wrong; however the subjectivity of the threat perception creates an atmosphere of risk management. When the survival of certain things or values is in concern, risk appears to be too great to take. In sum, a rhetorical action can achieve such an effect to make an audience to tolerate violations of rules that would have to be obeyed otherwise⁶⁴.

The Copenhagen School sees security as a socially constructed concept and defines securitization as a social construction process. Securitization means bringing an issue into the security zone, but it is not just pointing an obvious security situation that already exists. Threats come into existence by being successfully presented as a security issue. Thus security is a self-referential process and it is about discourse. However, the most important part of this process is the acceptance because it is a vital component what makes the social construction process possible. A security actor can name an issue as a security one, but if there is not an acceptance by the audience, this act only becomes a securitizing move, but the issue is not necessarily securitized⁶⁵.

According to Copenhagen School, “a successful securitization, has three components: existential threats, emergency action, and effects on interunit relations by breaking free of rules”⁶⁶. In a case of securitization, the securitizing unit bases its case on to its own resources, not on the social resources of rules. Existential threat is the motivation of the act. However the size or significance of the process is not fixed, it can change over time and place. Emergency measure can also be a move that is not even significant as much as the issue itself. Significance of the securitization process depends upon the thing which is threatened and the nature of the threat.

⁶⁴ BUZAN, Wæver and de Wilde, *op cit.* (note 3), p. 25

⁶⁵ WILLIAMS, *op cit.* (note 49), pp. 513-514

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 26

There are some important elements in the securitization process. One of them is the *referent object* which refers to the thing that is seen to be existentially threatened and that has a legitimate claim for survival. Traditionally the referent object is the state in security studies. However, at the present day, anything can occur to be the referent object of securitization. Securitizing action is mostly made on behalf of the referent object with an aim to ensure its survival. Another important element is the securitizing actor who securitizes issues by declaring something existentially threatened. Finally, there are *functional actors* who affect the dynamics of a sector. They significantly influence the decisions in the field of security⁶⁷.

As it was already mentioned above, Copenhagen School analyzes securitization within security sectors. In this context, securitization can either be ad hoc or institutionalized. If the threat is constant in nature, the response appears to be institutionalized. This situation is more obvious in military sector where the threats are more visible and long standing so that armed forces are the institutionalized tools to deal with those threats.⁶⁸ In institutionalized securitization cases, the audience does not have to be convinced that the authorities need to use emergency measures in every action that they take on the issue. When an issue is moved to the security field, it is neither expected to have a public debate nor the details are presented publicly. This is where the secret services are legitimized. Those are the fields that the governing authority has the absolute right to use whatever means are necessary. However in other security sectors, like environmental or societal, the response mostly happens to be an ad hoc one so that the authority should legitimize the action by convincing the audience about the existence of the threat every time it appears.

Copenhagen School persistently underlines the importance of the subjective nature of security and the concept of securitization. In fact, individuals do not point an issue as a security one, it becomes independent of the individuals; it is socially constructed and

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 36

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 28

intersubjective. As Huysmans states it “the senses of threat, vulnerability, and (in)security are socially constructed rather than objectively present or absent.”⁶⁹ Actors refer the issues as such, point the things as threats and make the others follow. According to Buzan *et al.* “this quality is not held in subjective and isolated minds, it is a social quality a part of a discursive, socially constructed, intersubjective realm.”⁷⁰

On top of all this, Copenhagen School does not try to impose the sense that more security is better. On the contrary; security must be seen as negative, as a failure to deal with issues as normal politics⁷¹. Thence, de-securitization is the main aim of this process. De-securitization is to take an issue out of the security realm and start to deal with it in normal politics. In the case of de-securitization, we can see a normalization of the actions and responses, because the case of emergency breaks the rules and changes normal behaviors. As Waever states it; “the act of securitization may lead to over-securitization so that securitizing the issues is not a good thing”⁷².

Although, securitization is one step ahead of politization, it is opposed to politization in nature while politization stands for opening up an issue as a topic of political discussion and placing responsibility to the actors. On the other hand, securitization is actually a political choice. And when securitization is seen as a political choice, there is less chance that security gets idealized as the forward looking condition, and there is more chance that the path to de-securitization will stand out clearly⁷³.

1.2. Securitization of Migration

Migration and demographic changes have long been a problem in international relations. Migration is a phenomenon that is dealt by the authorities and a study area for the scientists. It always reflects the compositions of the states and the societies by resulting

⁶⁹ HUYSMANS, Jef; ‘Revisiting Copenhagen: Or, On the Creative Development of a Security Studies Agenda in Europe’, *European Journal of International Relations*, 4:4, 1998, p. 57

⁷⁰ BUZAN, Wæver and de Wilde, *op cit.* (note 3), p. 31

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 29

⁷² WÆVER, *op cit.* (note 1), p. 64

⁷³ BUZAN, Wæver, *op cit.* (note 38), p. 246

significant international events and by sometimes being the result of such events. It has always been on the security agendas of the nation states. However, securitization of migration is a recent concept. Especially after the Cold War, we can see the securitizing movement of migration in international arena. It is started to be shown as an existential threat to the survival of many things like identity, integrity and welfare of the societies and even to the sustainability of the international system as a whole. For this reason, migration is taken out of the realm of normal politics and the use of extraordinary measures to deal with it has been legitimized.

As it is already mentioned earlier, migration is as old as the human history. Voluntary or involuntary migration in modern times appears as a result of the developments within the regions or districts or sometimes within the global context. However, not only wars or conflicts but also economic and industrial developments cause the movements of human beings. After the Cold War, nearly all of the reasons of migration can be observed, so that it is not something surprising to see considerable amounts of migration flows all over the world. International population movements can also be seen as a result of globalizing world. The most striking features of globalization are growth of cross-border flows of various kinds. It is unavoidable that this fact creates problems of living together in one society for culturally and socially diverse ethnic groups⁷⁴. Besides, there are possible economic and political problems to occur as a result. Recently, on the other hand, migration is also started to be seen as a security problem. After the terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001, migrants are referred as potential threats to people in the receiving countries.

Copenhagen School associates migration with the context of societal sector and sees it as one of the possible dangers posed to the identity of societies. Similar to Copenhagen School, Dieder Bigo, describes the immigrants as the opposing elements to the national identities and goes further by saying that the identities are the justifying elements of the nation states so that, migrants can be seen as an existential threats to the states. As he

⁷⁴ CASTLES Stephan and Miller Mark J. (eds.), *“The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World”*, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 2003, p. 3

puts it; “migration is always understood, through the categories of nation and the state, to the homogeneity of the people. The activation of the term *migrant* in *im-migrant* is by definition seen as something destructive⁷⁵.

Within the changing concept of security in the new world order, the case of societal security and the issue of migration are particularly important. Since it is no more likely to have major military threats posed by other nation states, societal security gains prominence. Moreover, in the societal sector, migration appears to be the most important threat. Additionally, migration is also an economic problem if we consider the problems that the western societies are going through on keeping up the welfare state. Last but not least, migrant groups create political crisis in the host states as well. As a result of all these, state authorities seek for a way to be able to deal with the issue above politics in order to use emergency measures. Securitization of migration lies at this base line.

Additionally, the area of migration is open to be securitized by the authorities. In issues of migration, officials are really important figures and speech act to mobilize people on this issue is something easy to do. It is because of the fact that, migration is obvious to be observed by individuals, since the migrants are simply the foreigners in the society. Furthermore, it is all about statistical facts (like, the number of foreigners entered in the country in a limited period of time etc.) and in a way, it is open to exaggeration. In this sense the authorities have the power to securitize the issue on the basis of their position which is the basic reason for the audience to accept it.

1.3. Concluding Remarks

Migration is an issue of discussion within the international relations arena, and it is easy to find works that touch upon the relation between the migration and security. However, it is not quite clearly decided that where migration stands within the changing environment of security in the world. Thus, securitization of migration is a recent topic in

⁷⁵ BIGO Dieder, ‘Security and Immigration: Toward a Critique of the Governmentality of Unease’ *Alternatives 27*, Special Issue, 2002, p. 67

this area. It has recently been displayed as a security issue in the world politics for various reasons. It is one of the issues which have been moved into the security area more than any other non-military or political issues. However, questions like “who are the security actors, who perform the speech act that make the securitization possible?” and “is the threat that they talk about really there or is it genuinely existential for the referent object?” remains unanswered explicitly.

In this study, the European Union is the survey area of the referred issue. For this reason, in the following chapters, securitization of migration in the European Union will be tried to be analyzed in detail.

II. MIGRATION AND ASYLUM IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

Migration is one of the main components that helped to creation of European culture and heritage. It has a history that goes way back to the migration period (in other words; barbarian invasions). However, migration has never been something easy for the people who are on the move or indigenous people in destination. Migratory movement always brings its problems with it. It is hard to start over a life for people on the move in a new place, with new people around, in most cases, speaking different languages or dialects. It is hard to incorporate and accommodate the newcomers for the host society as well.

Migration issue became even a bigger problem when the Westphalian state system (1648) was established. The agreement created the idea of nation states with full sovereignty within its borders. This new phenomenon started to stand as a barrier in front of the people on the move. Protection of external borders limited the movement of people over Europe. Later, the concept of citizenship came into being with the formation of modern states and it brought the concept of “other” into existence. When citizenship was elevated, non-citizens or the so called “others” became the unwanted ones. In this sense they are alienated and discriminated. However, this fact did not stop the movement of people throughout the history of Europe.

After the Second World War and emergence of the European integration, the perception of citizenship and the concept of the “other” have started to change. On the other hand, migration and asylum remained as a fact which was involving more and more people every day. The new political and economic environment in Europe was evolving together with migration. Inevitably, the changing security environment is also affected by migratory movements. In this sense, migration and asylum are important components in European security puzzle today.

Because of above mentioned reasons, migration and asylum in Europe will be discussed here to be able to analyze them in the context of security and securitization. To be able to present the problem and analysis, first, the focus will be on the definition and

general categorization of migration in order to clarify the concept. After, the historical background of migration in Europe will briefly be discussed.

2.1. Basic Definitions and Categorizations of Migration and Asylum

Migration and asylum, like total birth or death rate, are very important indicators that show us the demographic changes in societies. So that, measuring the total volume of migration and asylum gains increasing importance in population changes. In addition, migration and asylum data can be used by authorities to manipulate the public. Therefore, credible migration and asylum data is vital in migration discourse. At the point, to be able to improve reliability and comparability of the migration and asylum data, definitions gain importance. Additionally, it is important for ordinary people to know the categorization and definitions in order to understand the relevant data properly.

Although there is a huge literature on migration, the definitions are fragmented because of the different disciplines looking at the same issue from different perspectives. One common research point of view considers migration as the movement of people from one place to another⁷⁶. However this definition is narrow in context and does not give any detail on the nature of the move. Based on this definition, a move across the hall from one apartment to another and a move across the continents from China to England can be considered as the same. On the other hand, a move for a day or over decades does not make much difference according to this definition. In this sense, the distance, duration, content and intention of the move are determinant factors in the definition of migration.

In the course of history, mass movements of people have occurred in various forms. These are usually classified as; invasion, conquest, colonization and migration⁷⁷. Thus, migration is not the only kind of movement of human beings. Europe experienced all above mentioned mass movements throughout its history. Invasion and conquest were

⁷⁶ ROSEMAN, Curtis C., 'Migration as a Spatial and Temporal Process', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 61, 1971, p. 589

⁷⁷ ISSAC Julius, '*Economics of Migration*', New York, Oxford University Press, 1947, p. 2

experienced in ancient and middle ages. Colonization, on the other hand, more or less came into existence as a European phenomenon. There were two types of colonization which are exploitation and settlement. Most of the European countries experienced both. At the part of settlement colonization, mass people movement took place from Europe to America and Pacific region⁷⁸. Though the European countries are recently dealing with incoming migration, they also experienced outgoing migration in the past.

If we only take the movement of free individuals (not slaves or convicts) as the subject, migration has a twofold aspect; it covers both *immigration* and *emigration*. An emigrant is a person who leaves his abode with the aim of giving up his old residence, the immigrant, on the other hand, takes up a new residence with a view to becoming settled there. Emigration may occur without following immigration; an emigrant who has given up his old residence may not be willing or allowed to become settled elsewhere⁷⁹. However, apart from the exceptional cases, a migration act consists both of immigration and emigration at the same time.

The distance of the move creates another categorization. If a person moves to a country other than his original country of residence, it is called external migration; however, if a person moves within the same country, for example from one region or city to another, it is called internal migration. External migration is usually called international migration in international relations studies. Another important determining factor is the break of person who is on the move from the area of former residence. At one extreme, one can move without breaking of social ties; at the other extreme, one can move with a complete break of ties from the place of origin⁸⁰. It shows us the difference between the short term and long term migration. On the other hand, migrants could live in one country and work in another. There can also be back and forth movement between generating and

⁷⁸ ROSEMAN, *op cit.* (note 76), p. 590

⁷⁹ ISSAC, *op cit.* (note 77), p. 4

⁸⁰ TILLY Charles, 'Migration in Modern European History', *CRSO Working Paper 145*, 1976, p. 4

receiving units⁸¹. In this sense the nature of the move gains importance. It can be permanent, semi-permanent or temporary. In every way, there should be an intention of settlement at the destination point for a reasonable period of time. Too little distance or too little break from the origin cannot be counted as migration. Moves like, a business trip to another city, a visit to a cultural site or a study period as a fellow researcher, can be considered as “mobility”, not migration.

Furthermore, the content of the move is a matter of categorization as well. Migration can take the form of voluntary or forced movement of people. Voluntary migration is the free movement of migrants looking for an improved quality of life and personal freedom, for example, migrants looking for employment and better social facilities. On the other hand, forced migration refers to a situation when the migrant has no personal choice, but has to move due to natural disaster, or to economic or social imposition such as religious or political persecution⁸². Forced migration can take place in two different forms, the first form occurs when the governing authority forces the people to move in order to relocate them within the same country or abroad. In this case the force is used to make people move; the intention is to create the movement. They are called displaced people. In the second form, however, there is a certain threat of persecution on certain people so that those people decide to leave their land. In this case, the intention of the movement is looking for a safe place to settle down. This group of people is called refugees or asylum seekers. Refugees are people who have been forced to leave their home country for fear of persecution, for reasons of race, religion, politics, internal conflict or environmental disaster. They move to other countries hoping to find help and asylum⁸³. Above all, there is a slight difference between the terms refugee and asylum seeker. An asylum seeker is a person who made an application to become a refugee and waiting for the

⁸¹ GEDDES Andrew, *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe*, London, Sage Publications, 2003, p. 8

⁸² WAUGH David, *The New Wider World*, London, Nelson Thorness, 1994, p. 22

⁸³ Ibid., p. 23

result of his application. A refugee, on the other hand, is a person who has been granted the refugee status under the UN 1951 Convention⁸⁴.

Thus far, there are not commonly accepted definitions of above mentioned concepts so that, national migration statistics are not comparable to each other. For example, a country is counting a seven days of stay as migration while the other one is not considering any stay shorter than six months as migration. United Nations Statistics Division (UNSD) and Statistical Office of the European Commission (Eurostat) are working to improve the reliability of statistics. UNSD established some recommended definitions to be used in data collection. According to those recommendations; an international migrant is defined as;

*“Any person who changes his or her country of usual residence. A person's country of usual residence is that in which the person lives (...) Temporary travel abroad for purposes of recreation, holiday, business, medical treatment or religious pilgrimage does not entail a change in the country of usual residence”*⁸⁵.

In the same recommendation, a long term migrant is defined as “a person moves to a country other than that of his or her usual residence for a period of at least a year (12 months)” and a short term migrant is defined “as a person who move to a country other than that of their usual residence for a period of at least 3 months but less than a year (12 months) except in cases where the movement to that country is for purposes of recreation, holiday, visits to friends and relatives, business, medical treatment or religious pilgrimage”⁸⁶. In this sense, short term migration can only happen if the person intends to settle at the destination point. UN also recommends the refugee definition as 1951 Convention.

“A refugee is a person who is owing a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political

⁸⁴ UNITED NATIONS, ‘*Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees*’, Geneva, 1951, p. 6, available at: <<http://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10.html>>, retrieved on: 06 May 2009

⁸⁵ UNITED NATIONS, ‘*Recommendations on Statistics of International Migration Revision 1*’, New York, 1998, p. 17, available at: <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/publication/SeriesM/SeriesM_58rev1E.pdf>, retrieved on: 06 May 2009

⁸⁶ Ibid, p. 18

opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country”⁸⁷.

When we come to the European point of the view, European Commission made a proposal to the Council in 2005 about the definitions of the terms related to migration with the same purpose as the UN. According to this proposal;

“immigration” means the action by which a natural person establishes his or her usual residence in the territory of a Member State for a period that is, or is expected to be, of at least twelve months and “emigration” means the action by which a natural person, having previously been usually resident in the territory of a Member State, ceases to have his usual residence in that Member State for a period that is, or is expected to be, of at least twelve months⁸⁸.

The refugee definition in this proposal of the European Commission is the same with the UN 1951 Convention on Refugees.

To sum up, as it can be seen in above definitions, the European Union is committed to follow the UN recommendations in legal migration definitions and use the data collection methods accordingly. However, national definitions still vary greatly. There are numerous categorizations and the definitions of migration related concepts that can be contradictory.

On the other hand, there is also another term which started to be used immensely on migration related works and reports to define a certain group of migrants “who moves to settle in a country, usually in search for employment, without the necessary documents and permits”⁸⁹. Those people are generally called “irregular migrants”. This group of people is the main contested issue in migration studies. This classification of migration is also particularly important for this study, as it is the kind of migration which is usually perceived as a threat and used in securitization discourses in Europe. Rather, the term of

⁸⁷ UNITED NATIONS, *op cit.* (note 84), p. 6

⁸⁸ European Commission, *Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council on Community statistics on migration and international protection* COM(2005) 375 final, Brussels, 2005, p. 10, available at: < <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2005:0375:FIN:EN:PDF>>, retrieved on: 06 May 2009

⁸⁹ This definition is taken from the glossary which is prepared by UNESCO, available at: <http://www.unesco.org/most/migration/glossary_migrants.htm>, retrieved on: 07 May 2009

“illegal migration” is used in Europe to describe this kind of migration in security discourses instead of irregular migration. Although, it is recommended that Global Commission on International Migration should use irregular rather than other terms in its final report and the term irregular migration is used by most organizations which more or less deal with migration, like the Council of Europe, International Labor Organization (ILO), International Organization for Migration (IOM), the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the European Union is the only significant international actor that continues to use the term ‘illegal migration’⁹⁰. There are other terms like clandestine, undocumented or unauthorized migration however; those terms also do not cover the whole meaning of the concept.

The term of illegal migration is used in security discourses because of the image that it refers. Illegal migration generally connotes criminality although most of the irregular migrants are not criminals. Additionally, this term also makes people disregard the humanity of this group of people. As long as they are referred illegal, they are dehumanized and their basic human rights can be easily forgotten. However, being irregular as a migrant is something easy; it can happen in various ways even though it is unintended. Koser defines irregular migrants as;

“people who enter a country without the proper authority (for example through clandestine entry and entry with fraudulent documents); people who remain in a country in contravention of their authority (for example by staying after the expiry of a visa or work permit, through sham marriages or fake adoptions, as bogus students or fraudulently self-employed); people moved by migrant smugglers or human trafficking, and those who deliberately abuse the asylum system”⁹¹.

On the other hand, the system itself sometimes pushes people to be irregular. For example, an asylum seeker may need to enter the country illegally in order to make the asylum application through human smuggling. While his application is being processed, the asylum

⁹⁰ KOSER, Khalid, ‘*Irregular migration, state security and human security*’, Global Commission on International Migration, London, 2005, p. 5 available at :< www.gcim.org/attachements/TP5.pdf>, retrieved on 07 May 2009

⁹¹ Ibid, p. 6

seeker is not allowed to work in many EU countries so that the asylum seeker needs to work without a work permit in order to live under suitable conditions. In many cases, the irregular migrant does not intend to be irregular in the first place but become one on the way of migration process. In this sense, they should not be called “illegal” but rather “irregular” being as the irregular part of the migration system. On the other hand, numbers of illegal migrants declared by the European Countries are exaggerated while most of those irregular migrants are the ones who came with a valid visa but overstayed in the country. Most of those overstayers turn back to their home country later.

In this study, the word migrant is used to refer a person who moves from the country of his or her usual residence to another country with the purpose of settling there. Asylum seeker on the other hand, is used to refer a person who left his or her country of usual residence with a well founded fear of persecution and ask for asylum in another country. Illegal migrant is used to refer an irregular migrant and refugee is used to refer a person who was granted with the refugee status under the UN Geneva Convention

Lastly, there are other migration related concepts like chain, curricular and career migration which are used in order to describe certain groups of migrants. They were not defined here separately in order to be able to focus on the general framework.

2.2. Historical Background of Migration in Europe

As it was already mentioned, Europe experienced many migratory movements during the ninetieth and at the beginning of the twentieth centuries⁹². However the end of the First World War changed the nature of migration in Europe. The dissolution of imperial states like Habsburg and Ottoman empires caused the emergence of new states in the Middle and Eastern Europe which were not ethnically homogeneous and stable. This new structure caused a great deal of mass migration through population exchanges and forced displacements. The Bolshevik revolution in Russia also created movements in northern Europe. Later, aggressive Nazi policies made Jews and other threatened groups move away

⁹² TILLY, *op cit.* (note 80), p. 16

from Germany. During the Second World War, Europe experienced devastating human losses besides considerable movements of groups all over Europe, especially, in the places that fell under Nazi occupation.

Since the end of the Second World War, international migrations have grown in volume and changed in character⁹³. In this chapter, the migration movements after the Second World War will be discussed within three phases. The first, from 1945 to the early 1970s, is the period that large number of migrants coming from less developed parts of the world, went to the fast expanding industrial areas of Europe. The second phase which started in the mid-1970s refers to a process of complex new patterns of migration. The third phase which started in 2001 refers to a period which migration occurred to be a global challenge within the so called “new world order”.

2.2.1. First Phase (1945-1973)

After the Second World War, already industrialized countries before the war, showed an astonishing performance in economic recovery and the Western Europe became one of the industrialized capitals of the world with the North America and Australia. The leading economic tendency of large scale capital was the concentration of investment and an expansion of production in Western societies. It is not something surprising that the Western Europe appeared to be a migrant worker magnet as a result of these developments. Many migrant workers were drawn from the less developed countries into the industrialized parts of Europe. On the other hand, mass movements of European refugees after the war were also significant at that time. Especially, Germany experienced the most of these refugee movements⁹⁴.

This phase can be analyzed within two main types of migration which helped the formation of new and ethnically distinct populations in advanced industrialized countries. The first type is the migration of workers from the European periphery to the Western

⁹³ CASTLES, *op cit.* (note 74), p. 68

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 69

Europe, often through “guest worker systems”. The second type is the migration of colonial workers to the former colonial powers⁹⁵. As Geddes states it “Post-war migration to Western Europe was structured by links between sending and receiving countries and by the development of the European economy that generated demand for migrant workers”⁹⁶.

This period is also the answer to the question of why there are so many international migrants in Europe out of a few places. Most of South-North labor migration has been from former colonies or dependent territories to the dominant center of the North, or has been originated through selected recruitment by the states in Europe⁹⁷. After the Second World War, independence movements started to occur in colonies of the Western states. Those developments first, created a return migration of the native Europeans who were settled in colonies. The second move was the inflow of citizens of newly independent colonies. Especially France, Great Britain, Belgium and the Netherlands were affected by return migration from the European colonists and the inflow of workers from the former overseas territories⁹⁸. Coloneal connections played an important role in migration structure in this period.

As being the most important colonial states, Great Britain and France experienced the most significant internal migration waves from the former colonies. Many migrants coming from Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco made their way to France. Likewise, Great Britain became the destination point for many people from India and Pakistan during this period. As Hansen puts it “in 1962, some 500,000 non-white migrants had entered the UK, decade later, when the government curtailed the migration privileges attached to UK citizenship, the figure was closer to a million”⁹⁹.

⁹⁵ Ibid. p. 69

⁹⁶ GEDDES, *op cit.* (note 81), p. 14

⁹⁷ FAIST Thomas, “The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces”, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 7

⁹⁸ ZIMMERMANN Klaus, ‘Tackling the European Migration Problem’ *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 9: 2, 1995, p. 46

⁹⁹ HANSEN Randall, ‘Migration to Europe since 1945: Its History and its Lessons’ in: SPENCER Sarah (ed.) ‘The Politics Of Managing Opportunity, Conflict and Change’, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 2003, p. 26

However, migrants coming from former colonies were not enough to feed the growing industries' demand. On the other hand, not all the Western European states had colonies. States like Germany, Austria, Sweden and Switzerland were also in need of extra work force and they could not benefit the former colonial ties like France and Great Britain. For this reason, formal recruitment agreements were signed with mostly the Eastern and the Southern countries. Germany did not have recent colonial connections that could be exploited for labor market purposes so that recruitment agreements with Italy (1955), Spain and Greece (1960), Turkey (1961, 1964), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964) and Yugoslavia (1968) were signed. Later, former colonial countries supplemented their colonial links with these kinds of agreements. Belgium had four, Luxembourg had two, and the Netherlands had five¹⁰⁰.

Those migrants who came under the recruitment agreements are mostly labeled as “guest workers”. This concept was first introduced by the then German government and followed by Austria, the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark and Belgium. They were called as guest as they were supposed to turn back to their home country when the economic circumstances changed. In the course of time, most of those guest workers decided to be permanent in the host countries and with the help of the NGOs and efforts from the academic circles, legal arrangements guaranteed the right to stay for these workers.

2.2.2. Second Phase (1973-2001)

The post-1973 period was one of consolidation and normalization of immigrant populations in the Western Europe. Recruitment of both foreign workers and colonial workers largely terminated¹⁰¹. Nearly all European countries stopped the primary migration in early 1970's. The basic reason for this downfall of migration demand is the economic stagnation of the time. The need for extra workforce came to the saturation point with the slower growth in the western industries. This period is symbolized with the first oil crisis

¹⁰⁰ GEDDES Andrew, *Immigration and European Integration: Towards Fortress Europe?*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2000, p.19

¹⁰¹ CASTLES, *op cit.* (note 74), p. 79

and oil price shock at the end of 1973. With this event, the economic structure has changed. This change affected the migration tendencies as well.

The expectation of return migration from Western Europe to the emigration countries did not come true. After a drop in immigration in 1974-1975, particularly in France and Germany, immigration began to rise again in 1976¹⁰². The migration back home did not take place, on the contrary, family reunification and political immigration became to be the main features of this period. The expected return to the country of origin did not happen because of many reasons. First, the guest workers stayed longer than they were expected to do for economic reasons and built a new life in the host country. After a reasonable period of time, turning back to the home country seemed as a start over again. Additionally, economic stagnation affected the emigration countries as well. In this sense, the job opportunities were limited back home for the immigrant workers.

After the halt in immigrant recruitment in Europe, the roots and procedures have changed but the immigration remained as a fact. The colonial migrants already entered in the former colonial states as citizens. After a while, they started to enjoy their right to family reunification. Western countries tried to stop those attempts and encourage repatriation; however they could not manage to slow down entries through family reunification. As a result, it seemed that, by admitting young people in 1950's and 1960's, the European states committed themselves to admitting spouses, children and sometimes grandparents later¹⁰³. In this form of migration, number of woman migrants was significant so that, it can be said that there is a feminization of migration at that stage. When migration became to be a political debate in 1970's and 1980's, secondary migration was on the focus.

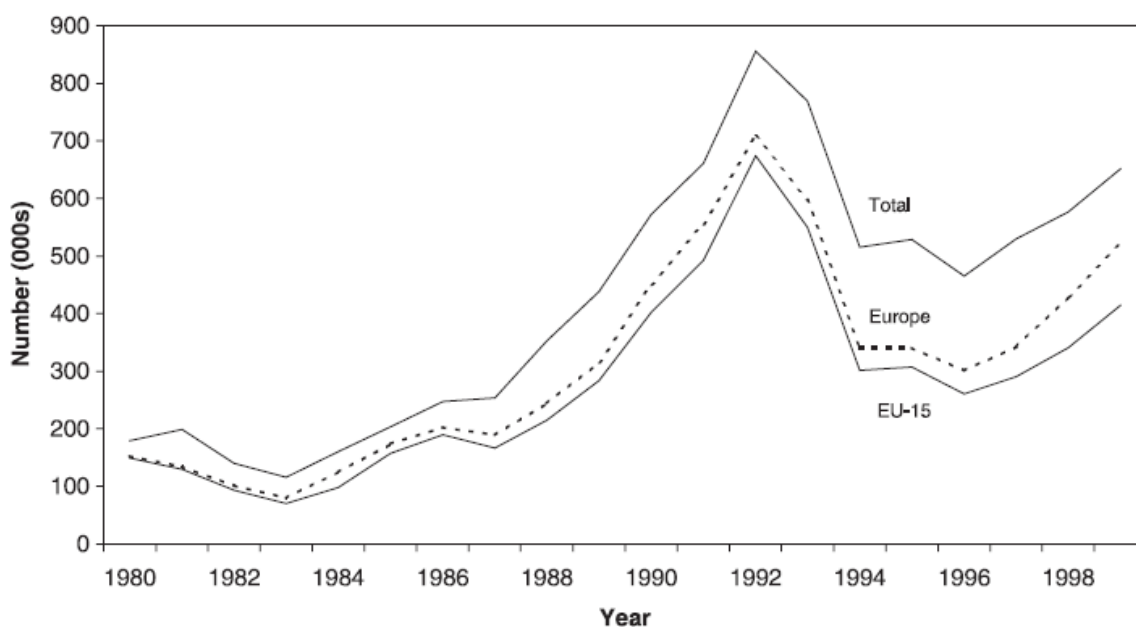
The next wave of migration developed in the aftermath of the end of the Cold War in 1989-90 with a particular noticeable increase in asylum seeking migration and migration

¹⁰² ZIMMERMANN, *op cit.* (note 98), p. 47

¹⁰³ HANSEN, *op cit.* (note 99), p. 27

defined by state policies as “illegal”¹⁰⁴. This new wave was called as political and economic migration. Especially in asylum, there is a huge shift in numbers between 1989 and 1995. There are several reasons that can be shown to explain this huge shift. The wars took place around Europe, oppressions and large scale human right violations in countries around and the lack of good economic and social conditions in neighbor countries can be counted as reasons.

Graph 2.1. Asylum applications to industrialized countries, 1980–90



Source: UNHCR, Asylum Applications in Industrialised Countries: 1980–1999, 2001 available at: <<http://www.unhcr.org/3c3eb40f4.html>>, retrieved on: 15 July 2009

However, there are two important historical events which affected the numbers of refugees in Europe. The first one is the disintegration of Soviet Union and its symbolic event of the fall of the Berlin Wall. That made it possible to cross the borders of Soviet Union and the chaotic situation in this highly populated country produced large number of asylum applicants. The second important event is the break up of the former Yugoslavia and incidents which is commonly called as ethnic cleansing in the regions of Bosnia and Kosovo. Europe also faced with refugee camps and met with the terms like “temporary

¹⁰⁴ GEDDES, *op cit.* (note 81), p. 17

protection” with this event. It is also worth to mention here that, 12 new members of the European Union were the most important contributors of asylum applications to the then EU 15’s. Especially before the disintegration of the Soviet Union, so many asylum seekers chose the old EU countries as a destination¹⁰⁵.

This wave of migration after 1989 deserves a closer attention for this study as it overlaps a period when the migration policies started to be politicized in Europe. The attitudes towards the asylum seekers and migrants have fundamentally changed in Europe in this period. Asylum started to be perceived as something negative after the end of the Cold War. Before this event, asylum seekers were seen as the result of the totalitarian regimes in Soviet Bloc and decolonization. In this sense, they welcomed the refugees before the end of the Cold War as a natural action for European liberal democracy. Additionally, there were few of them so that they hardly were a political problem or were perceived as a threat to European security. Asylum regime was put as a part in international law after the Second World War. The European states valued asylum and right to flee from persecution before the end of the Cold war. This is because the right of asylum was seen as an integral part of human rights which is the most important value of the Western liberal regime as opposed to the socialist competitor regime.

However, when the scale and the national origins of the asylum seekers started to vary and the structure of the word politics started to change, European countries tried to stop this inflow. Concurrently with the rising asylum applications, immigration policies were started to be stricter to stop economic migrants. However, migration did not stop but its roots have changed. Irregular migrants raised in number. As a result of this fact, as Geddes puts it “many of asylum seekers were viewed as “bogus” in the sense that they were seen as economic migrants seeking to avoid dodging controls on labor migration by using the asylum channel”¹⁰⁶. However, it is something hard to make a proper division

¹⁰⁵ HATTON Timothy, ‘Seeking Asylum in Europe’, *Economic Policy Journal*, 38, 2004, p. 9, available at: <<http://www.cbe.anu.edu.au/staff/info/hatton/asylumep2.pdf>>, retrieved on: 10 May 2006

¹⁰⁶ GEDDES, *op cit.* (note 81), p. 18

between genuine and bogus asylum seekers. Most of the time, they both come from the same countries, through the same roots and even declare the same false documents.

2.2.3. Third Phase (2001 and After)

After 2001, perception of migration has changed like everything else at the international stage. It can easily be said that terrorist attacks in 11 September 2001 has fundamentally changed the already changing environment in migration and asylum. European countries, following the United States (US), restricted their visa policies immediately after the attacks. Border controls nearly doubled and immigration became to be one of the most important problems of Europe. Despite of this acceleratory event, there were already growing tensions over migration at the end of the 1990's. Irregular migration and "fortress Europe" claims were shown as the most important obstacles in front of the deepening integration in Europe.

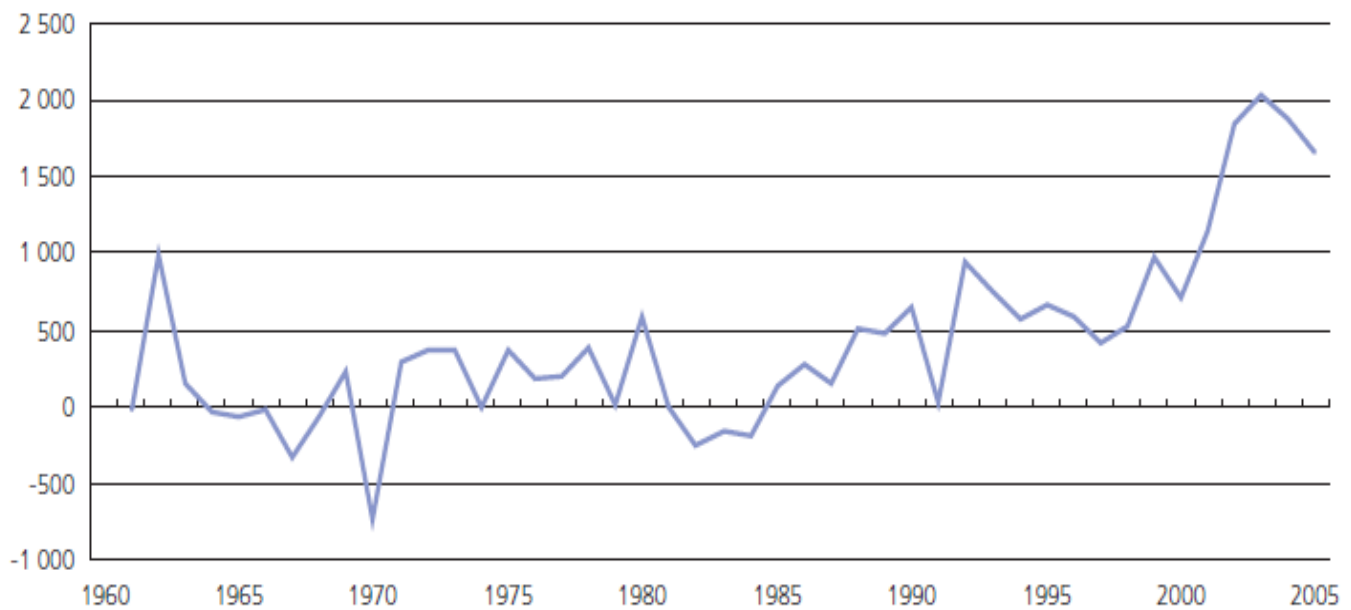
On the other hand, the event of 9/11 showed that, global terrorism is a security problem for every country (at least for every developed country). Global terrorists use different methods or different roots that have never used before so that the governments and security officials were confused about the direction of the threat. They were also confused about the necessary measures to deal with the threat. Security perceptions have changed accordingly. It was realized that terrorist organizations like El Qaeda have a global network and members all over the world. In this sense, everyone could be perceived as a potential terrorist and a security threat. In other words, there is a consensus on that every foreigner entering in the country should be examined carefully as far as everyone can be a member of these terrorist networks.

Since 9/11, internal and external control of immigrants has increased. Measures which try to handle the threatening migrant make him or her more visible as an alien¹⁰⁷. We started to hear more about migrants caught at the border of the European Union even

¹⁰⁷ FAIST Thomas, "'Extension du domaine de la lutte": International Migration and Security before and after September 11, 2001", *International Migration Review*, 36:1, 2002, p. 12

though the unauthorized entry was already the case before 9/11. It is because, the issue became to be a public concern even more after the attacks. Global security is also linked with the border controls in the international arena. Cooperation among the European countries on external borders gained prominence.

Graph 2.2. Net migration in EU-27



Source: EUROSTAT, Europe in figures — Eurostat yearbook 2008, 2008 available at: <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/publications/eurostat_yearbook>, retrieved on: 15 July 2009

As it can be seen in the graph above, incoming migration did not stop even with the strict policies established after 9/11, even though it showed a decrease after 2004. Asylum applications are still in rise as well. However, the home countries of migrants and asylum seekers are diversified. Asian and African migrants increased in numbers. Though, some countries which received many migrants before 9/11 reported minus net migration in 2004 and 2005 like the Netherlands, net migration remains stable in Europe for the last 3

years¹⁰⁸. On the other hand, while examining the figures of net migration, this should be kept in mind that, some of the immigrants reported are nationals returning to their country of origin or the nationals of the other European Union countries.

Table 2.1. Net migration in selected European Countries

Country	Net Migration (per 1000 people)	Country	Net Migration (per 1000 people)
Germany	2.19	Italy	2.06
United Kingdom	2.17	Norway	1.71
France	1.48	Sweden	1.66
Netherlands	2.55	Finland	0.73
Denmark	2.49	Belgium	1.22
Austria	1.88	European Union	1.23

Source: CIA World Factbook 2008, available at: <<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/download/download-2008/index.html>>, retrieved on: 15 July 2009

The result of all these developments in Europe after the Second World War was that the migrants were there to stay and new ethnic minorities were created. Although there already were minorities in Europe before the war like Catalans, Basques or Scots, the post-war migrants and their descendents are totally another issue for Europe. To deal with this new phenomenon and to normalize the ethnic relations, Europe created the concept of “immigrant integration”. Integration was used in different ways and senses in different European countries. Some try to assimilate them into the native society but none were successful in doing so. On the contrary, in the short or medium term migrants almost always have higher birth rate than the indigenous population. The result for every nation in Europe was the emergence of multicultural, multilingual societies¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰⁸ EUROSTAT, Europe in figures — Eurostat yearbook 2008, available at: <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/publications/eurostat_yearbook>, retrieved on: 15 July 2009

¹⁰⁹ HANSEN, *op cit.* (note 99), p. 27

III. SECURITIZATION OF MIGRATION AND ASYLUM POLICIES IN EUROPEAN UNION

European integration has gone a long way since the end of the Second World War and showed an astonishing performance on harmonization that has never been achieved before. It was such a big phenomenon that brought nation states together with their own accomplishments and shortcomings, and then created a harmony in one supranational system. As being such a unique case, it has faced a lot of challenges and changes in the international system. Lately, one of the issues that were shown to be a big challenge before the further integration and wellbeing of the social state, which is something that the European understanding of governance based upon, is migration.

Migration is a very familiar concept for Europe in general; however it is new as a challenge for European states. In this sense, even though it is the thing that gave way to today's structure of Europe, as the years passed by, migration became more and more problematic for the European countries. As the European integration gains depth, the question of migration turns to be a bigger problem for European countries. However, we cannot show a single reason for this shift in this policy area, it is rather a multidimensional issue. First of all, migration is recently being mentioned together with Schengen Regulations, Border Control and Police tasks because of the abolishment of internal borders within European countries. Thus, it is normalized to think of migrants together with security concerns resulted by the deepened integration. Europeanization of migration policies created an atmosphere that the restriction of migration is a necessity so that, migration is generally accepted as something to be avoided. On the other hand, cultural identity and homogeneity of the nation states are perceived to be damaged by migrants in Western societies. This new phenomenon is also seen as another important reason of recent securitization attempts of migration in Europe. Additionally, economic difficulties and problems in the welfare system in Europe make the migrants to be perceived as overage in this system. Last of all, rising xenophobic and racist tendencies in the Western societies do not welcome migrants.

In this chapter; I will try to trace the signs of securitization of migration and asylum policies and analyze it in the context of the above mentioned reasons. I will touch upon the question of whether the issues of migration and asylum are securitized or not in the European Union and try to find the answer of this question on the basis of official documents of the European Union and speeches of some political actors. While doing this, I am aware of the existence of the other important actors like media and civil society. Their contribution on the process of securitization will not be analyzed here because of the need to limit the frame of this study.

3.1. Security and Migration in Europe

“Immigration can present threats to security in the receiving countries, albeit generally not directly of a military kind. The capacity of social, economic, political and administrative institutions to integrate large numbers of immigrants, and the resistance of some immigrant communities to assimilation, affect the stability of society and therefore the ability of receiving states’ governments to govern¹¹⁰.”

The above statement is a well rounded summary which points out the recent conceptualization of the issue of migration in Europe. While keeping the migration and asylum experiences of Europe in mind, the last decade can be considered as a unique case. Migration started to be perceived in security terms and cause lingering, highly mediatized and intense discussions. Immigrants and refugees are referred as disturbing components of the society by ruining the normal ways of life. It is not the first time that different people are being perceived as disturbing but it is the first time that they are portrayed as endangering a collective way of life that defines a community of people¹¹¹.

Even when the European countries were in need of extra workforce and welcoming migrants into their societies in 1950s and 1960s, migration was a political issue as it was the political choice of governments. When the migrant population reached up to a significant point, it was again a challenge to be faced for European societies. Migrant

¹¹⁰ HEISLER O. Martin and Layton-Henry Zig, ‘Migration and the Links Between Social and Societal Security’ in WÆVER, Ole, Barry Buzan, Morten Kelstrup and Pierre Lemaitre, *op cit.* (note 52), p. 162

¹¹¹ HUYSMANS, *op cit.* (note 21), p. 17

groups were in need to be accommodated within proper conditions at the beginning. When the “temporary” immigrant groups turned to be permanent ones, integration of immigrants became to be a political issue. Migration was handled as rather an economic or humanitarian concern at that time. However, migration is a phenomenon which has long-term consequences. Migration posed a long-term challenge of managing cultural and political change for European countries.

Although, many scholars claim that securitization of migration occurred in 1980s¹¹², migrant groups already took their part in security discussions before then. As an example, in the late summer of 1958, a group of white hooligans in Notting Hill, London, and in Nottingham went on “nigger hunts”, attacking West Indians with knives and broken bottles. No one died in that incident but the “race riots” shaken the public; from then on, immigration and race were high politics¹¹³. It can be said that xenophobic and racist tendencies already existed when migration became to be a political problem. Similar incidents continued to happen in Europe afterwards. The Solingen and Molln incidents which took place in Germany in 1993 were especially significant. In those incidents; houses of Turkish migrant families were set on fire by neo-Nazi groups. Eight Turkish migrants burned to death. European governments tried to cease racial tensions after the incidents. In this sense, migrants were the ones who were perceived as threatened at that time.

When it comes to the mid-1980s, migration was perceived as a challenge for each and every stakeholder in Europe. The topic was highly politicized. It was because of the changing security environment in Europe and the unmanageable increase of migrants. European countries decided to stop receiving immigrant workers and restricted the migration and visa policies. It was also the time that European integration was about to deepen and European cooperation to be extended to the policy areas other than economic and financial cooperation. The following section will touch upon the most significant stages

¹¹² For more info see: HUSMANS *op cit.* (note 21), pp. 63-84 and HEISLER O. Martin and Layton-Henry Zig, *op cit.* (note 110)

¹¹³ HANSEN, *op cit.* (note 99), p. 28

of the Europeanization of migration and asylum policies to highlight the growing tendency to restrict migration and asylum with a growing politicization of migration as a danger. However, all the developments about the migration and asylum policies will not be dealt here. Only the ones which were seen important in the context of securitization process were selected by the author of this study.

3.1.1. Migration and Asylum Policy of the European Union

Until the accomplishment of the single market among its members, European Communities did not pay so much attention to migration issues. When integration deepened, European Community started to consider giving special rights to the member state's citizens. For instance, Community decided to distinguish the right of free movement of nationals of member states from nationals of third countries with a Council Regulation by stating that "any national of a Member State, shall, irrespective of his place of residence, have the right to take up an activity as an employed person, and to pursue such activity, within the territory of another Member State"¹¹⁴. This regulation simply does not concern the third country nationals living in a member state. The idea took its formal form in Paris Summit in 1972 where the foundation of the future Union was laid. From this point on, European Union policies tend to differentiate the rights of the nationals of the member states from third country nationals¹¹⁵.

As it was already stated in the second chapter of this study, in late 1970s migration and asylum became to be a public concern. There was a shift from a liberal migration and asylum policy to a restrictive policy at the state level. On the other hand, the change to a restrictive regime did not radically change the understanding of migration and asylum. The restrictive policies were aggravated by changes in the economic structure and by a desire to protect the social and economic rights of the domestic workforce.

¹¹⁴ EUROPEAN COUNCIL, 'Regulation on freedom of movement for workers within the Community', 1612/68, 1968, available at: <<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:31968R1612:EN:HTML>>, retrieved on 19 July 2009

¹¹⁵ HUYSMANS, *op cit.* (note 21), p. 66

Meanwhile, political discourse started to link migration to the unrest in the public order. Besides the tendency to halt labor immigration, the immigrant population continued to grow because of the permission to immigrate on the basis of family reunion.¹¹⁶ As a result, migrant population started to be visible. Migration and asylum became to be tangible facts. This fact automatically reflected the migration rhetoric. Politicians started to have skeptic presentations about migration and asylum. The future of the policies started to be questioned in public discussions. However, in the community level, it was not considered as important as it was in the state level. In the Community, migration was mostly handled as a social and economic issue in the context of construction of a single market in which workers can move freely between member states. However, when we come to 1980's, the asylum problem has changed the focus. Asylum started to be accepted as a gateway for unwanted economic migrants¹¹⁷.

European integration process is mostly related with the spill-over effect which means the cooperation in an area leads the member states to cooperate in other policy areas as well. However, the spill-over effect is not a sufficient explanation for the developments in the area of migration and asylum. Formation of the internal market created the need to harmonize asylum and immigration policies for member states. During the harmonization process of the policies on asylum and immigration, the issue has started to be framed by the external and internal security issues. Restrictive measures are used in order to prevent illegal migration. Furthermore, illegal immigration was categorized under the same group as the international crimes such as terror and drug trafficking.

3.1.1.1 The Trevi Group and the Ad Hoc Group on Immigration

There are a number of organizations which contributed to the development of a European Union policy in Justice and Home Affairs area. Those were aiming to create transnational cooperation in the areas like internal security, terrorism and illegal migration

¹¹⁶ Ibid. 188

¹¹⁷ CALLOVI Giuseppe, 'Regulation of Immigration in 1993: Pieces of the European Community Jig-saw puzzle', *International Migration Review*, 26:2, 1992, p. 355

control. They were limited in scope and established outside of the institutional framework of the European Communities. They were rather established on an ad hoc basis, namely Trevi (Terrorism, Radicalism, and Extreme Violence International), the Ad Hoc Group on Immigration and the Schengen group. Monar calls them the laboratories of the common European migration and asylum policy¹¹⁸. The experienced gained and the cooperation achieved outside the legal framework of the Community contributed to the later formation of the Europeanized policy.

Trevi Group had focused on cooperation against terrorism and first met in 1976. The first and foremost aim was combating terrorism. It was a form of intergovernmental co-operation group that aims to provide information exchange between its members. It was not based on any formal treaty provision¹¹⁹. It had a wide area of interest including the organized crime, illegal migration, drug trafficking, namely the issues that are perceived as related to internal security. Trevi group is particularly important for this study as being one of the first attempts to focus on internal security which links illegal migration to security issues. It is also significant that the group established a link between terrorism and migration long before 9/11 attacks.

One of the *ad hoc* groups that were established within the frame of Trevi was the Ad Hoc Group on Immigration which was established in 1986. The group aimed to encourage cooperation in migration related fields. The group assisted in drafting the Dublin Convention on Asylum and the Convention on External Borders. It was made up of six different sub-divisions and had a complex structure. The group got involved in establishment of the Centre for Information, Reflection and Exchange on Asylum (CIREA) and the Centre for Information, Reflection and Exchange on Frontiers and Immigration (CIREFI)¹²⁰. These organizations were dealing with the supervision on immigration flows

¹¹⁸ MONAR, Jörg. "The Dynamics of Justice and Home Affairs: Laboratories, Driving Factors and Costs", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2001, 39: 4, p. 748, Monar also includes European Council in this framework.

¹¹⁹ Ibid, p. 750

¹²⁰ BENYON, John. "Policing the European Union: the Changing Basis of Cooperation on Law Enforcement", *International Affairs*, 1994, 70: 3, p. 508

and asylum applications, in the context of fake documents, illegal immigration and related issues and promotion the exchange of intelligence¹²¹.

3.1.1.2. Schengen Convention

In the meanwhile, Schengen agreement (1985) was signed among the five member states which are Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. This convention brought the elimination of border checks among its members at the same time, it called for a common visa policy, the harmonization policies to deter illegal migration and a computerized information system to coordinate actions related to individuals who have been denied entry¹²². The abolishment of internal border controls created the need to strengthen controls on the external borders, and improved judicial and police co-operation. As far as asylum seekers are concerned, the most important elements were the agreements to harmonize visa policies and to introduce carrier sanctions¹²³.

In the Schengen Agreement, the unauthorized entry was presented as a cross-border threat. In Article 9, it was stated that

“The Parties shall reinforce cooperation between their customs and police authorities, notably in combating crime, particularly illicit trafficking in narcotic drugs and arms, the unauthorized entry and residence of persons, customs and tax fraud and smuggling”¹²⁴.

It is possible to think that Schengen agreement comprises the signs of criminalization of the illegal immigrants, as the unauthorized entry in any kind was mentioned together with transnational crimes.

¹²¹ DEARDEN Stephen J.H, ‘Immigration Policy in the European Community’, *European Development Policy Study Group Discussion Paper*, No. 4, p. 26, available at: < <http://e-space.openrepository.com/e-space/bitstream/2173/1879/2/dearden%204.pdf>>, retrieved on: 12 July 2009

¹²² KOSLOWSKI Rey, ‘Immigration, Border Control and Aging Societies in the European Union’, *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 8:2, 2002, p. 174

¹²³ SPENCER Sarah (ed.), *The Politics of Migration. Managing Opportunity, Conflict and Change*, Oxford, Blackwell, 2003, p. 92

¹²⁴ ‘The Schengen acquis - Agreement between the Governments of the States of the Benelux Economic Union, the Federal Republic of Germany and the French Republic on the gradual abolition of checks at their common borders’ O.J. L 239, 22/09/2000 P. 0013 – 0018, available at: <<http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/pdfid/3ddcb75a4.pdf>>, retrieved on 12 July 2009

Schengen Convention also paved the way to the creation of a comprehensive information system which is Schengen Information System (SIS). The system was developed to foster the cooperation among the Schengen countries and to support the harmonization of visa and residence permit applications. This practice again, is significantly important for this study. As Bigo states that, with these kinds of systems, “each country started to sell its fear” to the other countries by creating a wider security definition¹²⁵. Schengen was an intergovernmental bargain by five member states, outside the EU’s institutional framework at the beginning. In this sense the absence of scope for judicial scrutiny harbored the democratic deficit¹²⁶. However, Schengen Agreement later incorporated with the *acquis communautaire*.

3.1.1.3. Single European Act (SEA)

The Schengen Agreement was caught up by the Single European Act in 1986. This Act completed the formation of the internal market. The Act proposed the four freedoms of movements: goods, capital, services and labor. With this Act, member states also agreed to co-operate in the fields of entry, movement and residence of third country nationals. SEA is important in the sense that it is the first time that European Community members agreed to cooperate in the above mentioned fields within the legal structure of the European Union. However, as Bauer stated, this development also created an “internal security gap ideology” in Europe¹²⁷.

Although European migration policies were already strengthened at the state level or through intergovernmental attempts, Single European Act laid even a wider ground for restricted policies and legitimized the restricted policies through “internal security gap ideology”. SEA made the connections more evident between free movement and migration

¹²⁵ BIGO Deider and Guild Elspeth (eds), *Controlling Frontiers Free Movement Into and Within Europe* Aldershot, Ashgate, 2005 p.236

¹²⁶ GEDDES, *op cit.* (note 100), p.82

¹²⁷ DEN BOER Monica, ‘ Moving between Bogus and Bona Fide: The Policing of Inclusion and Exclusion in Europe’ in: MILES Robert and THРАНHARDT Dietrich, (eds) *Migration and European Integration the Dynamics of Inclusion and Exclusion* , London, Pinter, 1995, p.97

and asylum. External border control gained increasing prominence after the Act. However, there was no explicit treaty competence for immigration and asylum policy areas. This situation also created uncertainty and security concerns at the side of the member states¹²⁸.

3.1.1.4. The Treaty on European Union (Maastricht Treaty)

The European Union advanced to its goals with the Maastricht Treaty (1992) on many aspects. It is an important turning point for the migration and asylum policy of the Union. With this treaty, cooperation in the fields of Justice and Home Affairs formed as one of the three pillars of the EU. Also the Common Migration and Asylum Policy was under the Justice and Home Affairs umbrella. In the treaty migration was introduced as a 'matter of common interest' together with the fight against drugs and fraud, judicial cooperation in civil and criminal matters, customs cooperation and police in the fight against terrorism, drugs and trafficking and other forms of international crime¹²⁹. In this sense, migration and asylum issues are mentioned together with other criminal matters again in the Maastricht Treaty.

Another important aspect of the Maastricht Treaty is the creation of the “European Citizenship” concept. It was stated in the treaty that “The Union shall set itself the following objectives: (...) to strengthen the protection of the rights and interests of the nationals of its Member States through the introduction of a citizenship of the Union.”¹³⁰ By stating that, Maastricht Treaty sharpened the differentiation of the third country nationals and the nationals of the member states. The language of the citizenship discourse is also very significant. “Protection of the rights of the nationals of its member states” automatically raises the question of “protection from whom?” The hidden answer of this question may be the migrants and asylum seekers.

¹²⁸ GEDDES, *op cit.* (note 100), p. 68

¹²⁹ Treaty of Maastricht on European Union, Title VI, J4, Official Journal C 191, 29 July 1992, available at : <<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/11992M/htm/11992M.html>> , retrieved on 25 June 2009

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

After the Maastricht Treaty, the most important reforms followed by the 1990 Dublin Convention and the resolutions of a ministerial meeting in London in 1992. In Dublin it was determined that, in order to prevent ‘asylum shopping’, an asylum claim would be dealt with by one state only, specifically the state of first entry. The term of “asylum shopping” continued to be used later to refer the asylum seekers who applied for asylum to a country after being refused by another European country¹³¹. With the Dublin regulations, asylum seekers can apply only one country in Europe to seek asylum. This practice narrows the chances of an asylum seeker to be granted with the refugee status.

A consensus was later reached in London on three further issues in 1992. Those are commonly called the “London Resolutions”. The first one was the ‘safe third country’ concept that allowed member states to refuse to consider an asylum claim if the applicant had transited through a country considered ‘safe’ where he or she could have sought asylum. The second one was to determine that ‘manifestly unfounded’ claims could be rejected without the right of appeal. The third one was the concept of ‘safe countries of origin’ where there is no explicit risk of persecution, and a quicker procedure could be applied to applicants from those countries¹³². It is possible to say that the attempt of this Convention is to reduce the number of asylum applications.

However, especially the concepts of “safe third country” and “safe country of origin” were highly debated within the civil society. Safe country of origin is a concept which is an EU invention. This part of the regulation took countless critics especially from Statewatch. Statewatch organization called for withdrawal of the regulation. The “safe country of origin” principle allows states to deny the access of asylum seekers on the grounds that human rights are so well protected in their country of origin that persecution which is serious enough to cause people to flee never occurs. However, according to the Statewatch, the list includes countries like Benin, Botswana, Cape Verde, Chile, Costa

¹³¹ HATTON Timoty, ‘European Asylum Policy’, *IZA Discussion Paper No. 1721*, 2005, p. 5, available at: <http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=799705>, retrieved on 10 May 2006

¹³² HATTON, *op cit.* (note 105) p. 9

Rica, Ghana, Mali, Mauritius, Senegal and Uruguay that generated refugees who had reasonable grounds to flee before¹³³.

To legitimize the restricted actions, asylum seekers are claimed to threaten the Europe's asylum system. In this sense the asylum seekers are perceived as illegal immigrants who abuse the asylum system through “asylum shopping” or as just being the “bogus asylum seekers”. As a consequence, it legitimized all kinds of restrictions in asylum policy.

3.1.1.5. The Treaty of Amsterdam and After

With the support from the Commission and the public to deepen internal security led to the transfer of immigration and asylum fields to the First Pillar under a title called “Visas, Asylum, Immigration and other Policies related to the Free Movement of Persons” in the Amsterdam Summit. In the Treaty of Amsterdam (1997) the sections of the Third Pillar relating to immigration, asylum and refugees were communitarized¹³⁴. However, Denmark, Ireland and United Kingdom opted out of cooperation in these fields particularly by claiming that there are many difficulties of overcoming the nation-state centric perception of migration and asylum issues.

There is an ironic significance of the Amsterdam Treaty which is the representation of illegal migrants as a threat to the formation of an “area of freedom, security and justice”. It is ironic in the sense that, the treaty aims promoting freedom in Europe by restricting visa and asylum practices. Furthermore, demonstration of Europe as an area reinforced the representation of “us” and “them” which, as a result, legitimized the exclusion of “others” who can be perceived as migrants and asylum seekers.

¹³³ PEERS Steve, ‘Statewatch analysis EU law on asylum procedures: An assault on human rights?’, *Statewatch publication*, 2000, p.2, available at: <<http://www.statewatch.org/analyses/no-20-sp-asylum-nov.pdf>>, retrieved on 10 May 2006

¹³⁴ HUYSMANS, *op cit.* (note 21), p. 67

Following the Amsterdam Treaty, the most significant development is the Tampere Summit. The Summit and the Common European Asylum System gave the European Commission the right to propose legislation starting in 2002 in order to produce a set of harmonized asylum policies by 1 May 2004.¹³⁵

It was also decided to build a Common European Asylum System (CEAS) in two stages, the first one is the harmonization of existing national asylum policies, and the second one is a more integrated EU-wide asylum system, providing a cohesive status for all the people who was granted asylum, and including some centralization in processing procedures¹³⁶.

Later, Laeken European Council reaffirmed the decisions taken in Tempere. Additionally, the priority was given to cooperation with the countries of origin and transit with readmission agreements. An action plan was decided to be established as well. Later, the plan came into force in 2002 and appeared to be a comprehensive one to combat illegal immigration and trafficking of human beings in the European Union. The plan also set six policy areas in which the action is necessary to fight illegal migration. The mentioned areas of action are;

- Visa policy
- Infrastructure for information exchange, cooperation and coordination
- Border management
- Police cooperation
- Aliens law and criminal law
- Return and readmission policy¹³⁷

¹³⁵ ACKERS Doede, 'The Negotiations on the Asylum Procedures Directive', *European Journal of Migration and Law* 7, 2005, p.8

¹³⁶ HATTON, *op cit.* (note 131), p. 8

¹³⁷ Six areas for action available at: <

http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/fsj/immigration/illegal/fsj_immigration_illegal_en.htm>, Retrieved on 25 July 2009

Meanwhile, on the Asylum Policy, Tampere decisions were tried to be put into effect by the Union. The first stage of CEAS included new regulation which is called Asylum Procedures Directive. It covers the procedures which asylum claims are processed. These include definitions of manifestly unfounded claims and safe third countries and the rights to interviews, to legal assistance, and to appeal.¹³⁸ The first stage of the European Asylum System is now completed even though, in practice, national policies are not fully harmonized. It has been agreed that the process of creating a new system, the so-called Hague Program, will be completed in 2010. Hague sets the political terms for immigration issues for the next five years¹³⁹.

9/11 and Madrid bombings created a shift in restricted policies. Justice and Home Affairs Council had a meeting immediately after the attacks. Following this meeting, a Common Position to Combat Terrorism was adopted by the European Council. The Article 10 of the position is especially important which states that;

“The movement of terrorists or terrorist groups shall be prevented by effective border controls and controls on the issuing of identity papers and travel documents, and through measures for preventing counterfeiting, forgery or fraudulent use of identity papers and travel documents”¹⁴⁰.

With this article, Council affirmed that strict controls on the borders are the effective way to “combat terrorism”. After 9/11, previously adopted measures to prevent illegal migration are linked and underlined with the emphasis to combat terrorism. However, as it was already mentioned above, EU was already eager to strengthen the external border controls to stop illegal migration. Under the light of this fact, it can be said that terrorist attacks were used as a justification to an ongoing process. It proves that labeling migrants and asylum seekers as “presumed terrorists” was not new for the European Union. Security framing of

¹³⁸ COSTELLO Cathryn, ‘The Asylum Procedures Directive and the Proliferation of Safe Country Practices: Deterrence, Deflection and the Dismantling of International Protection?’, *European Journal of Migration and Law*, No. 7, 2005, p. 37

¹³⁹ BENDEL Petra, ‘Immigration Policy in the European Union: Still Bringing up the Walls for Fortress Europe?’ *Migration Letters*, 2:1, 2005, p. 21

¹⁴⁰ COUNCIL of the European Union, ‘Common Position on Combating Terrorism’, (2001/930/CFSP), 2001, available at: < <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2001:344:0090:0092:EN:PDF>>, retrieved on: 25 July 2009

the migration and policy in European countries started long before 9/11, so that the changing discourses, newly taken policy decisions and introduced legislations do not seem to change the way of framing migration and asylum contexts in the European Union¹⁴¹.

When we come to the question how the migration in Europe is securitized, the answer can be found in the security discourses in Europe. In the following section, a short analysis will be made on security discourses and security framing of immigration in the European Union.

3.2. Securitizing Speech Acts in the European Union

As it was already mentioned in the first chapter of this study, security is a speech act and it is about discourse. The speeches of the important actors about an issue can be considered as the most important steps of securitization. Through the effect of the mass media on society and on the relations of power and resistance, immigration as a threat and a security concern has become the hegemonic discourse type in government policy in Europe¹⁴². Although migration and asylum policies are the prioritized issues to be harmonized for the European Union, state representatives and statesmen are still the most important actors in security discourse. However, the practices shaped by a supranational entity are extremely effective as being the evidence of general standing of its members towards the issue. So far, the European Union perspective on immigration provides us with no “new” vision but with the emergence of a “shared” vision between the member states¹⁴³.

In the speech act, the wording and terminology are the most significant components. In European security discourse, migration problem is linked, most of the time, to the other problems like unemployment, criminality, violence, insecurity and drug trafficking. Dehumanizing the migrants through criminalizing them is another important tool which is used to securitize migration. As Kaya states it; “this tendency is reinforced by

¹⁴¹ HUYSMANS, *op cit.* (note 21), p. 63

¹⁴² BOUNFINO Alessandra, ‘Between Unity and Plurality: The Politicization and Securitization of the Discourse of Immigration in Europe’ *New Political Science*, 26:1, 2004, p.24

¹⁴³ Ibid.

the use of racist and xenophobic terminology that dehumanizes migrants. One can see this racist tone in the terms such as “influx”, “invasion”, “flood” and “intrusion” which are used to mean large numbers of migrants”¹⁴⁴.

When we look at the content of the leading political discourses on migration, we see that there are two types of speech acts which lead us to the same end. The first one is the positive self representation. In this type of speech act, the security actor wants to attract the audience through emphasizing the concept of “we”, and the positive features of the respected group which is eventually under threat. The wording of this kind of speech acts concentrates around the hospitality, generosity and respectfulness to the human rights and the rule of law. These speech acts basically aim to create the understanding of “whatever is wrong is not our fault. We did everything we could do to make it work.” And there is a hidden meaning as such; “they are the problem, not we”.

The second type of speech act is the negative representation of the other. The security actor wants to attract the audience by emphasizing the harmful features of the immigrant groups. The harmful or destructive actions of migrants vary from being abusers of the system to being the cause of increasing violation and crime in the host societies. One of the most popular discourses, in this sense, is the criminalization of migration. Above all, migrants are wanted to be seen as threats to the host country and its citizens. They are generalized irrespective of their status. However, asylum seekers and refugees, as being the ones who are more vulnerable in this context are mentioned the most.

The European Union documents are rich in positive self representation. The well known promise of creating an “area of freedom, security and justice” is the most obvious example of it. The passage below taken from the Lisbon Treaty (which is not yet in force and still in the progress for its ratification by the EU member states) is also a good example of this type of discourse.

¹⁴⁴ KAYA Ayhan, *Islam, Migration and Integration: The Age of Securitization*, Hampshire, Palgrave:Macmillan, 2009, p. 8

“The following text shall be inserted as the second recital, drawing inspiration from the *cultural, religious and humanist inheritance of Europe*, from which have developed the universal values of the *inviolable and inalienable rights of the human person, freedom, democracy, equality and the rule of law*¹⁴⁵.”

It is not surprising to see the emphasis on human rights, rule of law, and democracy in a European Union treaty; however, linking those values to cultural, religious and humanist inheritance of Europe makes it important in the sense of securitizing speech acts. Especially the part that refers to the “religious” inheritance of Europe, is related to securitization discourse of migration, because a significant part of those migrants are Muslims and do not share the same “religious inheritance” with European people. In this sense, the passage spells out the good “we” who share values and inheritance.

The same rhetoric is used in the area of immigration and asylum as well. In the official website of the European Commission it was stated that;

“The European Union (EU) is an area in which freedom of movement must be ensured. Since the beginning of 1990s, the flow of persons seeking international protection in the EU has been such that the Member States have decided to find common solutions to this challenge. A set of commonly agreed principles at European Community level in the field of asylum can provide a clear added value while continuing to safeguard *Europe's humanist tradition*.¹⁴⁶”

European Commission states here that, while harmonizing the European Asylum Policy, the European Union will keep up the “Europe’s humanist tradition” which again defines a good “we”.

Second type of speech act, on the other hand, can be traced in legal documents as well. European Commission instantly uses the words “combat” and/or “fight” with illegal immigration in legal documents. As an example, the below sentence was taken from a communication document of Commission;

¹⁴⁵ Treaty of Lisbon amending the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty establishing the European Community, signed at Lisbon, 13 December 2007. Notice No 2007/C 306/01. *Official Journal of the European Union* C 306:50, 2007, p. 10, The italics are added by the author of this study to draw attention to the parts that connote security.

¹⁴⁶ The passage is taken from: < http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/fsj/asylum/fsj_asylum_intro_en.htm>, retrieved on: 21 July 2009, The italics are added by the author of this study to draw attention to the parts that connote security

(...)in line with priority to be given to controlling *migration flows*, practical proposals for *combating illegal immigration* more effectively needed to be brought forward swiftly¹⁴⁷.

The same kind of securitizing discourse can be seen in Council documents. Below, there are two passages taken from different Council documents;

“In recent years, the *steep rise in the number of illegal immigrants (and therefore potential asylum-seekers)* caught has revealed the increasing need to include their fingerprints in the system¹⁴⁸”.

“Member states may revoke, end or refuse to renew the status granted to a refugee...when there are reasonable grounds for regarding him or her as a *danger* to the community of that Member State in which she or he is present¹⁴⁹”.

In the first passage, illegal migrants were shown as the future asylum seekers. In this sense, they are perceived as potential cheaters or the abusers of the asylum system. In this respect, it can be said that illegal immigrants can do anything to end up in Europe so that they can easily abuse the asylum system. They were criminalized here because they have the potential. The second one is even more significant. It proposes to end a person's refugee status if he or she poses “danger” to the community of the member state. The nature of the danger basically is the terrorist activity but the term “reasonable ground” leaves the issue in a grey area. The question of “what ground is reasonable enough?” was left to be uncertain.

Besides the official documents of the EU, speech acts of political actors are important in the securitization discourse as well. On this stage however, the most significant speech acts occur in the state level. Those are the discourses that combine

¹⁴⁷ EUROPEAN COMMISSION, ‘*Communication From the Commission to the Council And the European Parliament on a Common Policy on Illegal Immigration*’, COM(2001) 672 final, Brussels, p. 5, available at: <<http://www.statewatch.org/news/2001/nov/illimm672.pdf>>, retrieved on 19 July 2009. The italics are added by the author of this study to draw attention to the parts that connote security

¹⁴⁸ COUNCIL of the European Union, *The Vienna Presidency Conclusions 1998*. Available at <http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/00300-R1.EN8.htm>, retrieved on 19 July 2009. The italics are added by the author of this study to draw attention to the parts that connote security

¹⁴⁹ COUNCIL of the European Union, Directive on Minimum Standards for the Qualifications and Status of Third Country Nationals, 2004, Available at <http://europa.eu.int/eurlx/pri/en/oj/dat/2004/l_304/l_30420040930en00120023.pdf>, retrieved on: 19 July 2009, The italics are added by the author of this study to draw attention to the parts that connote security

representations of good “we” and the bad “other” within the same frame. As being the first of its kind, Margret Thatcher’s following statement is worth to mention;

“If we went on as we are then by the end of the century there would be *four million people* of the new Commonwealth or Pakistan here. Now, that is an *awful lot* and I think it means that people are really rather *afraid* that this country might be rather *swamped by people with a different culture* and, you know, the *British character* has done so much for *democracy, for law and done so much throughout the world* that if there is any *fear* that it might be *swamped* people are going to *react* and be rather *hostile* to those coming in¹⁵⁰.”

If we consider that, this speech was made in 1978, it can be said that, Margret Thatcher’s speech is one of the first speech acts of its kind. She puts an extra emphasis on the issue of culture. Her wording is even harsher than today’s leading security speech acts. She talks about the fear of being swamped by other cultures and the possibility of hostile reactions. She also makes the good self representation by mentioning the things that the “British people” achieved so far which are about to be ruined.

Another example of the bad representation of “other” is a speech referring to migrants that the French President Nicolas Sarkozy made on a television interview;

“*No one is obliged to live in France. And when someone loves France, one respects her. One respects her rules. (...) You do not cut a sheep’s throat in your bathroom tub*¹⁵¹.”

In this speech, there is alienation of foreign people. They are defined as the ones who do not respect the French way of life, if they do not “love” France. Representation of sacrifice as “cutting sheep’s throat” is especially a good example of bad representation of the “other”. On the other hand, by saying “no one is obliged to live in France”, he disregard the

¹⁵⁰ THATCHER Margaret 1978, Granada TV Interview, cited in: BOSWELL Christina, ‘*European Migration Policies in Flux: Changing Patterns of Inclusion and Exclusion*’, London, Blackwell, 2003, p.16, The italics are added by the author of this study to draw attention to the parts that connote security

¹⁵¹ SARKOZY, Nicolas , interview on TF1 channel news programme, 5 February 2007, cited in: SAYEGH Pascal Yan, ‘Discursive Elements in the (de)Banalisation of Nationalism. A Study of Speeches by Gordon Brown and Nicolas Sarkozy’, CFE Working paper series No. 35, p. 17, The italics are added by the author of this study to draw attention to the parts that connote security

fact that some people have no other choice but living in France like refugees or stateless people.

To sum up, securitizing speech act is valid both at the EU and at the state level. We can witness securitizing speech acts in official documents as well as speeches of the political actors. The EU documents focuses on the concepts of “insider” and “outsider” through the EU and non-EU citizen dichotomies. Political actors on the other hand, focus on the bad representation of the “other” by describing them as a danger or a threat. Good self representation is the tool that both parties use. It helps to emphasize the fact that the speech act is made for “us”, for the good citizens who deserve to be protected from the “abusers”, or the “bad outsider”. Same kinds of discourses can also be seen in media, press and academic circles.

Based on the leading discourses, securitization can be traced in three basic areas in Europe which were first proposed by Jef Huysmans and followed by the other analysts later¹⁵². Those areas are the ones that securitizing speech acts are concentrated around, namely, internal security, cultural identity and welfare state. I will briefly touch upon each of them to conclude the analysis within specific areas.

3.2.1. Internal Security

After the abolishment of internal borders and by the establishment of a single market in Europe, internal security is linked to external border controls and visa policies. One expected that the market would not only improve free movement of law-abiding agents, but would also facilitate illegal and criminal activities by terrorists, international criminal organizations, asylum-seekers and immigrants¹⁵³. In this sense, the securitization of migration in the area of internal security can be analyzed in the context of external borders. The Schengen Agreement later incorporated with the Justice and Home Affairs pillar after the Treaty of Amsterdam and the European Union started to put an extra

¹⁵² HUYSMANS, *op cit.* (note 21), p. 63

¹⁵³ *Ibid.* p.70

emphasis on cooperation in external border controls. However because of the securitization of the issue, "Schengenland" would later receive another nickname "Fortress Europe" from its critics because of its emphasis on internal security and containment of migratory flows through often xenophobic policies¹⁵⁴.

The European Union tried to overcome the side effects of the establishment of the internal market through police and customs cooperation. However, those attempts created a security continuum connecting border control, terrorism, international crime, migration and asylum issues¹⁵⁵. From that point on, migration and asylum started to be mentioned together with criminal matters in official documents. In Maastricht Treaty, for instance, the common cooperation areas were stated as such; "migration, border controls, drug trafficking, judicial cooperation on law and crime, police cooperation on international crimes and combating terrorism"¹⁵⁶. Migration issue became the subject of the actors who deal with the criminal matters like drug trafficking, terrorism and organized crime. This fact changed the perception towards migration from being a humanitarian issue to a criminal matter, or a threat.

This linkage is illustrated best in the Common Position on Combating Terrorism in 2001¹⁵⁷.

"Steps shall be taken in accordance with international law, to ensure that the refugee status is not *abused by the perpetrators, organizers or facilitators of terrorist acts* and that claims of political motivation are not *recognized as grounds* for refusing request for the extradition of the alleged terrorists. The Council notes the Commission's intention to put forward proposals in this area, where appropriate."¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ KIRISCI Kemal, 'A Friendlier Schengen Visa System As a Tool of 'Soft Power': The Experience of Turkey', *European Journal of Migration and Law*, 7, 2005, p. 344

¹⁵⁵ HUYSMANS, *op cit.* (note 21), p. 71

¹⁵⁶ Treaty of Maastricht on European Union, *op cit.* (note 129)

¹⁵⁷ HUYSMANS, *op cit.* (note 21), p. 71

¹⁵⁸ COUNCIL of the European Union, Common Position on Combating Terrorism, 2001, Available at <http://europa.eu.int/eurlex/pri/en/oj/dat/2004/l_304/l_30420040930en00120023.pdf>, retrieved on: 19 July 2009, The italics are added by the author of this study to draw attention to the parts that connote security

The passage above draws the attention to the possibility of taking unfair advantage of asylum for terrorist (or criminal) purposes. It means that the system of political asylum can be used for criminal purposes and measures should be taken to stop this misuse. This attempt, naturally, will draw asylum matters into security practices.

Securitization of migration in internal security area gained prominence after 9/11 attacks. Terrorist activities were linked with the asylum and immigration politics. It gives way to terrorists to come to the European countries. The discourses establishing the link between the two, make the audience to perceive the irregular migrants and asylum seekers as potential terrorists.

Another important result of these securitizing discourses is that, it pushes the security authorities and institutions to get involved in the immigration matters. When migrants and asylum seekers are labeled as potential criminals, security authorities start to treat them as such. Security authorities are used to apply extraordinary measures when dealing with the issues.

3.2.2. Cultural Identity

When the cultural identity is politicized, it is inevitable to include minorities in the general discussion. As it was already stated above, migration experience of Europe after the Second World War, created multicultural and multilingual societies. This new structure of European countries is contradictory with the historical perceptions of the terms like nation and public. Managing national identity and integrity is perceived possible if national and cultural homogeneity is achieved. In this sense, multicultural environment does not suit the traditional identity understanding.

Construction of the European identity since the Maastricht Treaty also helped the securitization of migration in this area. European Identity in a “we” versus “them” manner,

made the securitization of migration possible. Citizenship concept automatically brings the non-citizens with it. In this sense, it alienates a group within the society. As Kaya states it;

“Anti-illegal immigration activity operates as a technology of anti-citizenship portraying those to be excluded from citizenery, and implies crucial issues of belonging, identity, inclusion and exclusion.”¹⁵⁹

The political rendering of cultural identity involves a mixture of issues, including multiculturalism, European identity, nationalism, xenophobia and racism¹⁶⁰. The new emerging conservatism in Europe, tries to sell a dream of a cultural, racial and religious unity within European states. This new kind of discourse is highly credited in some European countries and the discourse became harsher and harsher as a result of this fact. The pure unity of those phenomena perceived impossible to achieve if the “different components” became parts of the respected society. In this sense, unity and integrity are declared threatened.

Xenophobic and racist discourses put emphasis on the current situation which will pull Europe into a cultural war which was something first proposed by Samuel Huntington in his well known book called “clash of civilizations” and highly credited later. Others claimed that migration effectively keeps down the political and cultural integration. Also the extensive media coverage of immigrant involvement in riots in urban ghettos, the political rendering of these riots as manifestations of incivility, and the political revival of the notion of a dangerous class help to create the ground for reifying cultural danger¹⁶¹. However, the involvement of migrants in ethnic or religious resurgence is a reaction to poverty, unemployment, insecurity and institutional discrimination¹⁶². Additionally, it can also be the result of ill managed integration policies. The pressure to assimilate them into the dominant group pushes them to stick even more to their own values and traditions.

¹⁵⁹ KAYA, *op cit.* (note 144), p. 9

¹⁶⁰ HUSMANS, *op cit.* (note 21), p. 73

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² KAYA, *op cit.* (note 144), p. 9

Conservative parties in Europe have been using anti-immigration discourse for a long time. As an example, in 1964 in the UK, a Tory challenger unseated a prominent labor MP; Patric Gordon Walker offered an apologized interpretation of the slogan ‘If you want a nigger for your neighbor vote Liberal or Labor’ and painted nightmare scenarios of an immigrant take over of the UK.¹⁶³ However, with the securitization of migration, anti-immigrant discourse became widespread. As far as it is realized that this discourse is credited by the voters, migration issue started to be used in nationalistic or patriotic sentences.

In this area of securitization, positive self-representation is commonly used. In those discourses, national identity and symbols are over valued. The recent electoral victory of Nicolas Sarkozy has to do with his cultural security discourse. In a campaign video on immigration and national identity, Sarkozy stated the following sentences:

“If no one explains what France is to newcomers, to people who want to *become French*, how can we integrate them? The French integration model has failed because we have forgotten to *talk about France*. I do not want to forget about France, because *France is at the core of my project*.”¹⁶⁴

In his speech, he presents the way of immigrant integration as “becoming French”. He constantly repeats the words “France” and “French” to emphasize the national identity.

According to the Copenhagen School, societal security is about sustainability, within acceptable limits of evolution of traditional patterns of language, culture, association, religious, national identity and custom¹⁶⁵. However, there is not a certain point or level that we can tell that those components are in danger or threatened. In this sense it is all about perceptions, the matter is entirely subjective.

¹⁶³ HANSEN, *op cit.* (note 99), p. 27

¹⁶⁴ SARKOZY, Nicolas, “Identité nationale”, campaign video, accessed 24 November 2007, cited in: SAYEGH Pascal Yan, ‘Discursive Elements in the (de)Banalisation of Nationalism. A Study of Speeches by Gordon Brown and Nicolas Sarkozy’, CFE Working paper series No. 35, p. 17, The italics are added by the author of this study to draw attention to the parts that connote security

¹⁶⁵ HEISLER O. Martin and Layton-Henry Zig, *op cit.* (note 110), p. 23

In the United Kingdom, as an example, Tory leader Michael Howard stated in 2005 general election campaign that;

“*Our* immigration system is *being abused* – and with it *Britain’s generosity*.... We face a *real terrorist threat* in Britain today – a threat to *our safety*, to *our way of life*, and to *our liberties*. But we have absolutely no idea who is coming into or leaving our country.”¹⁶⁶

Michael Howard points out here that the British way of life and liberties are threatened by uncontrolled migration. However, he is not certain on how it happens. The most significant part here is the threatened liberties of British people. It demonstrates the native people are in a tight corner. The constant usage of the word “our” has a hidden meaning that there are “others” in the picture.

Religious discourses are also significant in this context. The reason is that, they are perceived as the most different components of the general immigrant body. They are both culturally and religiously different. 9/11 attracts also contributed the security framing of Muslim groups living in the EU. Hereafter, they were perceived the most dangerous ones. Their way of life and traditions are commonly used in anti-immigration reasoning by demonstrating them as uncivilized¹⁶⁷.

As a multicultural project, the European Union supposed to promote multicultural discourses. However, with the emergence of the European citizenship concept, EU has contributed to a reasoning of “other”. This type of reasoning gave way to nationalist, conservative and right-wing movements for rising their popularity and credibility. This new political environment puts the further integration in a risky situation because the European nations represent the former “other” to each other.

¹⁶⁶ Story from BBC NEWS, available at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/uk_news/politics/4389761.stm>, Published: 2005/03/29 18:00:17 GMT, Retrieved on: 23 April 2009, The italics are added by the author of this work to draw attention to the parts that connote security

¹⁶⁷ KAYA, *op cit.* (note 144), p. 5

3.2.3. Welfare State

"It is in vain to say, that all mouths which the increase of mankind calls into existence, bring with them hands. The new mouths require as much food as the old ones, and the hands do not produce as much."¹⁶⁸

The above statement summarizes the basic reason for securitization of migration policies in this area. When the population is rising in a situation where there is a substantial level of unemployment, immigrants seem to represent lower social welfare and increasing social tensions.

Immigrants and welfare state have rather a complex relationship. Before 1970's, when the European economy was developing and was able to promote welfare to everyone, immigrants were not perceived as an economic burden, rather, they were seen as the helpers of promoting the welfare for the elderly, by being productive. In an aging society like Europe, migration was traditionally accepted as a solution. When the older people retired and become the consumer of the welfare system, immigrant population were the ones who took over and started producing on behalf of the retired population.

When the European economy faced economic stagnation, unemployment became to be an important problem. Before the economic stagnation, the immigrant population accepted jobs that no local worker preferred. With the rise of unemployment, however, immigrant population started to be perceived as the ones who took away the jobs that the local unemployed could have taken. A recent statement of Spanish Labor Minister Celestino Corbacho, summarizes the problem as such; "With the world recession, our own economic situation, four million unemployed, there's no way Spain can take more immigrants."¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ ZIMMERMAN, *op cit.* (note 98), p.1

¹⁶⁹ Story from MERCO PRESS, available at: < <http://en.mercopress.com/2009/06/15/with-four-million-unemployed-no-room-for-immigrants>>, Published: 2009/06/15, retrieved on: 23 April 2009

Under these circumstances the distribution of social goods like housing, unemployment benefits, health care and other social services became to be a complicated issue. As far as they were not perceived as people who belonged to the host society, they were perceived as people who took advantage of the scarce resources which belonged to the host population. This situation created a new phenomenon; welfare chauvinism. Welfare chauvinism refers to a privilege of national citizens in the distribution of social goods. According to this idea, immigrants and asylum seekers are illegitimate recipients of national resources. As Huysmans puts it;

“Immigration and asylum feature prominently, in the contemporary struggle for the welfare state. More specifically, immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees are increasingly seen as having no legitimate right (which is different from their legal rights) to social assistance and welfare provisions.”¹⁷⁰

Securitization speech acts in this area centers around these ideas. The economic burden that the immigrant population creates is emphasized. The phrases like “money of the tax payers” and “abusers of the welfare system” are commonly used to convince the audience. As an example; in a speech of the British MP Edward Garnier, it was stated that

“Our duties to our citizens include the duty to *protect our welfare and benefit budgets and our housing system* at a time of economic stringency. *Those who should not be here* but who have got round the system by false applications are of *no benefit to our people*.”¹⁷¹

With this remark, Edward Garnier puts extra emphasis on the protection of welfare and social services. He repeats the word “our” constantly to point out that; those resources belong to the “British People”.

It is logical to say that, European countries are experiencing a welfare crisis. The current economic context forced the governments to be very careful in distributing the scarce resources among people. Therefore, welfare issue is an issue of high politics. It is involved in the political discussions and electoral campaigns for this reason. Politicians

¹⁷⁰ HUYSMANS, *op cit.* (note 21), p. 77

¹⁷¹ GARNIER Adward, Hansard, Col. 61, 2 November 1992, cited in: BLOCH Alice and Levy Carl (eds.), *Refugees, Citizenship and Social Policy in Europe*, London, Macmillan, 1999, p. 65, The italics are added by the author of this work to draw attention to the parts that connote security

tend to propose the bigger slice of the cake to the groups that they want to attract their attention and to take their support. As far as most of the immigrant population does not have a vote in elections, they automatically become the ones who will not have a share from the cake for the politicians.

3.3. Concluding Remarks

Europe has been a migration continent since the 20th century and experienced both incoming and outgoing migration movements. However, unlike the US, Europe is not a melting pot which brings different cultures together in harmony. Europe has even a longer history in national rivalry and religious clashes. After the Second World War and with the emergence of the European integration, a multicultural approach started to develop. Europe is still in the process of developing a multicultural understanding. On the other hand, security construction in Europe has gone far beyond the process of multiculturalism.

Securitization of migration and asylum in Europe emerged through some complex issues and events. Global security environment and political context also gave way to securitization in Europe. Migration experience of the European countries created new minority groups. Since the migration to the European countries did not stop when as desired by European governments due to economic and social reasons, migration stepped up to a higher level of politics in Europe.

From the analyses of the speeches of the important actors and the statements in the official documents, it can be seen that securitization of migration had started in late 1970's and became more and more intense. Nation States could not manage to deal with the migration issue in normal politics because of the failure in integration policies, economic stagnation, misperceptions, and increasing nationalism which can be counted among many of these reasons. When migration could not be dealt within the framework of normal politics, the issue started to be politicized and later securitized. Securitization discourses were used to legitimize the actions like detention centers for asylum seekers.

The most important consequence of securitizing movements was the normalization of nationalistic, racist or xenophobic tendencies. Securitization created an environment which gave way to intolerance or hatred in the society to the so called “other” which was also developed by the same logic. When intolerance and hatred are normalized and nationalistic movements gain power from the situation, the emerging European integration can also be damaged. An attempt to create the idea of living together in peace cannot have a proper meaning in an area of intolerance and hatred.

Therefore, it can be argued that securitization of immigration and asylum policies might have a negative effect in the future of European integration. Because of this reason, in the following chapter, effects of securitization of migration in further widening and deepening of the European Union will be discussed.

IV. SECURITIZING THE FUTURE: IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER DEEPENING AND WIDENING OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

European migration policies are in a period of change through security framing and securitization. Migration and asylum policies are being restricted for almost three decades in both state and community level. Migration and asylum were perceived and shown as threats to the European society. Security discourse over migration can be traced in every level of politics. Ordinary citizens are exposed to the securitization rhetoric and they are inevitably affected. This situation creates a growing feeling of insecurity within the society. Through the securitization process, it is normalized to feel insecure and in an endless struggle. On the other hand, as a result, the escalating discourse of “migrants are not belonging here” creates depression among migrant population. The situation quietly feeds the xenophobia, racism and hatred within the European societies.

In this respect, securitization creates “fear societies”. As Waever stated that “the act of securitization may lead to over-securitization so that securitizing the issues is not a good thing”¹⁷². Now, European countries need to face the fact that, the issues of migration and asylum are, in some extent, over securitized in the European Union¹⁷³. Transforming migration and asylum issues into a security problem was already not natural at the beginning. Those issues are the humanitarian issues which are in need of humanitarian responses. When they were responded by security senses through extraordinary measures, social and humanitarian problems occurred. As Huysmans states it; “securitization of migration and asylum becomes to be a security drama”¹⁷⁴.

Such over-securitization has given rise to the concerns that, the European Union countries build up a fortress around the Union and close themselves to the outside world. It

¹⁷² WÆVER, *op cit.* (note 1), p. 64

¹⁷³ HUYSMANS Jef “Migrants as a Security Problem: Dangers of 'securitizing' Societal Issues”, in: MILES Robert and Thranhardt, Dietrich (eds), *Migration and European Integration: The Dynamics of Inclusion and Exclusion*, London, Pinter Publishers, 2005, p.53

¹⁷⁴ Ibid

is only one aspect of the issue. The other one is the fear, racism and xenophobia within the fortress. The hatred and the atmosphere of insecurity, automatically affect the peace inside the fortress, and raise the questions over the future of the European integration.

Today, the policies of the European governments are primarily focused on reducing the numbers of asylum seekers and illegal immigrants in every way possible. It is seen as the immediate solution to the economic and social problems. However international law and humanitarian principles oblige states to deal with all individual asylum seekers. On the other hand, in the long run, the restricted policies will harm the future of the integration. The securitized policies reduce the credibility of the Union in the outside world. As Rudge states it, “sealing off of Europe from the third world asylum seekers compounded by inaction and indifference to the growing tragedy of global refugee displacement, then we see the worst of both worlds.”¹⁷⁵ Therefore, the founding mottos, like “promoting peace and prosperity” or “an area of security, freedom and justice” are about to lose their meanings and started to be used in only sarcastic comments.

The effects of securitization of migration and asylum policies vary greatly. It affected the social way of life, relations between the states and, in a way, changed the global understanding of migration. However, the effects on European integration can be analyzed under two main areas; further deepening and widening of the European Union. This classification is based on the internal and external aspects of the issue. In dealing with it, the effects on further deepening will first be outlined by placing a special emphasis on the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion. Then the effects on further widening will be analyzed by placing a special emphasis on the recent and future European enlargements. As it was already mentioned, there are other effects of the phenomenon as being a global issue. Those effects will not be covered here because the survey area of this study is the European Union.

¹⁷⁵ RUDGE Philip, ‘Fortress Europe’, in U.S. Committee for Refugees (ed) World Refugee Survey, 1986 cited in: SANTEL Bernhard, ‘Loss of Control: The Build-Up for a European Migration and Asylum Regime’, in: MILES Robert and Thranhardt, Dietrich (eds), *Migration and European Integration: The Dynamics of Inclusion and Exclusion*, London, Pinter Publishers, 2005, p.89

4.1. Implications for Further Deepening

Though it is often claimed that the European integration has stronger roots in political cooperation, one can more easily place the European Union in an economic cooperation context. It is a fact that, economic integration has always been the front runner of the European integration. Because of this reason, European integration creates the image of economic power which promotes wealth and prosperity. In this respect, European Union Members have always been an attraction point for migrants and asylum seekers. This is one of the reasons why cooperation in justice and home affairs under European integration created so much interest in world politics.

European integration and securitization of migration and asylum have rather a complicated relationship. Harmonization of the migration and asylum policies can be perceived a step forward for European integration, since it is an important area in the context of the state sovereignty. After nearly twenty years of intergovernmental cooperation, European countries are moving towards a common asylum and immigration regime. In this sense, harmonization of the migration and asylum policies can be seen as an added value to the “ever closer Union” which is the ultimate aim of the European integration process.

On the other hand, the fast harmonization of the policies resulted by the securitization of the issue in European politics. The threat perceptions and the recent security environment created the pressure on the EU member states to cooperate in the issues of migration and asylum. Abolishment of the internal borders created the increasing concerns over internal security. After the SEA, member states had no other choice but to cooperate in immigration, asylum and visa policies. As long as the problem is important and perceived to be vital by the politicians and officials, security discourse started to be used in order to frame the issue as a security matter. With this way, authorities create the possibility of using the measures that normally cannot be used in politics. However, the security discourse had a growing impetus on EU politics. Securitization of migration

created an atmosphere of fear and insecurity. In this sense, one can perceive harmonization of migration and asylum policies as something good for the European integration; however, the securitization rationale behind the harmonized policy fostered the fears, uncertainty and insecurity in the European Union.

4.1.1. European Identity and Citizenship

Another aspect of securitization of migration is the perceived contribution to the identity formation. Collective identities are not naturally emerging; they usually develop through a construction process. When the collective identity formation starts, first who should be members of that group has to be decided. It is usually followed by the emergence of “we” who are decided to be included in the collective identity. Secondly, the mutual evaluation of the past is made which helps the emergence of “we” who become aware of their distinctiveness. Additionally, it emerges through discursive practices. The subject group should be convinced via discourse that they are supposed to have special bounds while, they have specialties in common¹⁷⁶.

After the emergence of the European integration, identities are being examined and redefined within the dynamics of “new Europe”. Identity and belonging are the most important concepts in legitimizing the governance of a group, society or a state. In this sense, European identity construction became to be a necessity to enhance the legitimacy of the European integration. Creation of a “we” concept also brings the concept of the “other” into existence. According to Huysmans, fear of the “other” is also a way to construct the “we” feeling. As he states it “a security drama turns life into a struggle, for survival, therefore it is the security which involves the continuity of self-identity”¹⁷⁷.

As a proof to the mentioned statement, identity politics is accelerated by the increasing politicization of immigration and asylum issues in Western European countries.

¹⁷⁶ BARNAVI Elie, ‘European Identity and Ways of Promoting It’, in CAVANNA Henry (ed.), *Governance, Globalization and the European Union: Which Europe for Tomorrow?*, Dublin, Four Courts Press Publication, 2002, p.90

¹⁷⁷ HUYSMANS, *op cit.* (note 173), p. 58

When the securitizing speech acts became to be effective, European societies reacted to the issue which was presented as a threat. Migration raised the questions of national identity and political community. As Laffan states it, “[migration] challenges the concept of “self” and the “other” in an acute manner because other now reside in Europe, settled in metropolitan colonial centers where they have raised families and established institutions”¹⁷⁸. In this context, one can say that migration and asylum could be seen as an integral part of identity construction in Europe. However, securitization of migration and asylum policies has negative effects as well for the European identity in the long run.

Since the 1970s, the idea of European citizenship and a ‘People’s Europe’ has been promoted by politicians, intellectuals and bureaucrats of the European Community¹⁷⁹. However, the European citizenship was established by the Maastricht Treaty in 1992. The main condition was presented to be a European citizen is to be a citizen of one of the member states. European citizenship does not replace but complement the national citizenship. In this sense, European citizens do not have uniform rights but rather they enjoy a first level of nationality rights within a member state and a second level of new rights enjoyed in any member state of the EU¹⁸⁰

This feature of European citizenship gives the notion that, not all the people in Europe are equal. Third country nationals are deliberately ignored in this process. By giving a new citizenship and a new level of rights to the nationals of member states, left the other residents in Europe with less rights than the others. Additionally, member states remain to be the only authorities to decide who can be a European citizen via their naturalization policies which is not something harmonized within the European Union¹⁸¹.

¹⁷⁸ LAFFAN Brigid, “The Politics of Identity and Political Order in Europe”, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 34:1, 1996, p. 88

¹⁷⁹ JAMIESON Lynn, ‘Theorising Identity, Nationality and Citizenship: Implications for European Citizenship Identity’, *Sociología* 34:6, 2002, p.2

¹⁸⁰ GUILD, Elspeth “The legal framework of citizenship of the European Union”, In: CESARANI David and FULBROOK Mary (eds.), *Citizenship, nationality and migration in Europe*, London, Routledge, 1996, p.31

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.* p.36

Under these circumstances, one country may give citizenship to a third country national easily but the other member does the same thing within a very long and hard process.

Besides all these shortcomings of the concept, it did not make so much sense for the ones who could acquire the citizenship. This is because; citizenship concept is traditionally supported with the nationhood and cultural identity¹⁸². European citizenship shaped to be lack of the nationhood aspect. The European Union tried to fill in the concept with the attempts of identity formation; however, it appeared to be an image game by overvaluing the symbols and glorifying Europeanness by talking of it as a race or nation. The identity formation involved the drawing and reification of social boundaries through discursive framing, the manipulation of symbols and most importantly, various othering techniques. The “other”, in the course of time, became to be the migrants in the European Union¹⁸³.

The growing problem of migration and asylum in Europe simply suited in this concept. Securitization of migration overlapped with the identity construction process. Policy actors started to describe migrants as the threat to cultural identity and the collective way of life of the individual nations in the Union. When all the European nation states felt the same fear that posed to their national identity and social integrity, they had chosen the collective action as the solution. This situation created an artificial togetherness. However, the exclusion of migrants fostered the nationalism and racist and/or xenophobic tendencies. In this sense the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion became to be a tricky game for the European Union.

4.1.2. Dynamics of Inclusion and Exclusion

Similar to the case of European citizenship, harmonization of migration and asylum policies evolved by creating two categories of people in Europe; citizens and non-

¹⁸² Ibid, p. 45

¹⁸³ CEDERMAN Lars Eric, (ed.), *Constructing Europe's Identity: the External Dimension*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000, p. 115

citizens. Additionally, there is a growing sense of exclusion of non-citizens out of the integration process¹⁸⁴. This situation implies the issues of identity, belonging inclusion and exclusion in the European Union. Anti-immigration and securitization rhetoric aimed to legitimize the techniques to stop illegal immigration and reduce the number of asylum seekers at the first place. However, the rhetoric affected the perception of regular migrants and then all foreigners¹⁸⁵.

The dynamics of inclusion and exclusion in Europe started with alienation of the foreigner. The foreigner is perceived as the migrant, because they are the ones who are against us. They want to take the jobs away from the natives and to empty the governments pocket by abusing the welfare system. In this context, fear of the other became to be the major tool of exclusion. As in the words of Huysmans;

“Excluding the migrant is an inclusion of the natives (...) this dialect of inclusion and exclusion is a dialect of trust and fear. In the security drama, individuals are constructed into an opposition of self/other in which the self includes those who are trusted and exclude those who are not trusted and, thus, feared – they become the other.”¹⁸⁶

This dialect of inclusion and exclusion set the idea of migrants in a position that represents “what we are not”. In this sense they are being thought as the same, in the same category, irrespective of their color, sex or religion. They are “what we are not” in general. It created the prejudices towards them. They are negatively stereotyped as, for example, “people who breed like rabbits”, “people who do not respect woman” or the ones who are uncivilized or vandal¹⁸⁷. This framing of migrants as security threat and othering them creates territorial exclusion at another stage. It brings the ghettoizing of the foreigner to exclude them from the native way of life. This happens rather in a natural way. For example, native people do not want to rent their houses to a foreigner because they are stereotyped as “dirty” or “noisy”. Foreigner also does not prefer to be next to the native

¹⁸⁴ MILES Robert and Thranhardt, Dietrich (eds), *Migration and European Integration: The Dynamics of Inclusion and Exclusion*, London, Pinter Publishers, 2005, p.89

¹⁸⁵ KAYA, op cit. (note 144), pp. 23-24

¹⁸⁶ HUYSMANS, op cit. (note 173), p. 60

¹⁸⁷ Ibid

who stereotypes him, looking him with prejudices. In this sense, foreigners prefer to live with the other foreigners to feel at home, to feel normal, not different¹⁸⁸.

In order to get rid of this fear composition, integration of the migrants comes into the agenda. However, in the context of inclusion and exclusion, integration appears to be the elimination of the other¹⁸⁹. The main logic of integration attempt is to assimilate the migrant, turning him/her into one of “us”. The way of integration starts with the elimination of the differences, elimination of the things that make the foreigner the “other”. However, through securitization of migration, every component of the other perceived as dangerous.

On the other side of the coin, migrant population also feel threatened and insecure. As long as they are being tried to be excluded from the social, cultural and economic life, their future in Europe seem to be unclear and vague. Being criminalized also puts them in a depressive position. Social discrimination grows with the growing xenophobic and racist tendencies. The past memories of violent actions towards foreign population (like the memories of Solingen and Molln events for Turks in Germany) also create the fear of being killed or persecuted just because of being a foreigner.

The reciprocal fear of the other for both sides, can lead them to a struggle for survival. In this context, there is always a risk that the interaction between the natives and the migrants turns to violence¹⁹⁰. It does not mean that it eventually turns into violence but there is a high risk in Europe in this sense. The reason of this escalating risk can be explained through the well known concept of “security dilemma”¹⁹¹. The story starts when the native population starts to see migrant population as a threat and securitize them. Then migrant groups start to feel insecure because they have been perceived as bad and took counter measures as living in ghettos or establishing organizations for not feeling alone.

¹⁸⁸ KEMPEN Ronald van and Özüekren A. Şule, ‘Ethnic Segregation in Cities: New Forms and Explanations in a Dynamic World’, *Urban Studies*, 35:10, 1998, pp. 1643-1644

¹⁸⁹ HUYSMANS, op cit. (note 173), p. 61

¹⁹⁰ Ibid

¹⁹¹ For more info see: ROSE William, ‘The security dilemma and ethnic conflict: Some new hypotheses’, *Security Studies*, 9:4, 2000, pp. 1-51

These measures are perceived as further threatening by the native population and the fears continued to grow on both sides. This self-feeding nature of security can lead up to violence easily.

The most evident example of this situation has been experienced in 2005 in France. Following the death of two teenagers with migrant origin in Paris, three weeks of riots took place in nearly every city in France. The teenagers were electrocuted as they ran through an electrical power station, fleeing from police although they did not get involved any criminal activity. This event brought the fears out that have been collected in the process of securitization. French cities broke out in riots by socially alienated teenagers, mostly 16 years old or younger. The riots caused millions of euros damage¹⁹². The race riots can easily spread all over Europe, and extend in scope as long as securitization of migration and asylum feeds the fear and hatred in the society.

The aforementioned dynamics of inclusion and exclusion creates the insecurity and fear societies in the European Union. On the other hand, the main starting point of the Union was to create peace and prosperity in Europe and with more ambitious words to create “an area of freedom security and justice”. However, with securitizing the migration and asylum issues, the Union fosters the fears and insecurity itself in Europe. This dilemma is important not only because it carries a risk of social unrest in Europe but also it carries a risk of blocking further integration.

Doty names these kinds of attempts of exclusion as “neo-racism”. She states that;

“Neo racism functions as a supplement to the kind of nationalism that arises from the blurring of boundaries and the problematizing the national identity that the deterritorialization of human bodies gives rise to.”¹⁹³

However, one can also argue that exclusion also gives rise to the classical racism and in greater extent to nationalism. In the third chapter of this thesis, it can be seen that, the anti-

¹⁹² BALZ Michael J. and HADDAT Yvonne Yazbeck, ‘The October Riots in France: A Failed Immigration Policy or the Empire Strikes Back?’, *International Migration*, 44:2, 2006, pp. 1-3

¹⁹³ DOTY, Roxanne Lynn , "Racism, Desire, and the Politics of Immigration", *Millenium*, 28, 1999, p. 597

immigrant and securitizing discourses comes from the conservative parts of the politics. The harshest discourses also belong to the nationalistic sentiments of the European societies. As long as anti-immigrant stance is highly credited by the society as a result of the rising fear and insecurity, nationalistic movements are in rise. This is not something good for the European integration as long as most of nationalist political parties are also Eurosceptic¹⁹⁴.

The most evident result of this issue is the French rejection of the constitution in the referendum. European constitution has been shown as a big step to the further integration. However, in 2005 French public rejected the constitution and just three days later Dutch also rejected with even a bigger percentage. On the campaigns against the European constitution, anti-immigrant discourse was significant. The fear of loosing the whole sovereignty of the state, doubled with the fear of immigrant take over of the society¹⁹⁵.

4.2. Implications for Further Widening

European integration has gone a long way since the original six member states who signed the Rome Treaty. European integration is a dynamic process which aims intensification and enlargement of the integration within the European continent. However, the enlargement after the disintegration of the Soviet Union happened to be the most problematic one in many aspects. Economic, social and political problems which arose from this enlargement were debated for years in Europe. As it was already stated earlier, it was also the time that migration and asylum issues were being politicized and securitized. Naturally, one of the main issues about the enlargement concentrated around migration and asylum issues.

¹⁹⁴ KATZ Richard S., "Euroscepticism in Parliament: A Comparative Analysis of the European and National Parliaments", *Paper Presented at the European Consortium for Political Research Joint Workshop, 21-27 March, Turin, 2002*, p. 15

¹⁹⁵ FRANCK Raphael, "Why did a majority of French voters reject the European Constitution?", *European Journal of Political Economy*, 4, 2005 p. 1074

European Union's enlargement processes itself, actually, is a security concern. In fact, some of the most challenged and debated issues in enlargement are about illegal migration, human smuggling and human trafficking as well as border control. This situation occurred because the old member states felt that the newcomers will contribute to insecurity because of their significant economic disparities and structural shortages¹⁹⁶. In securitization of migration and asylum policies, external border control occupies an important place. Strengthening the border controls is one of the actions that the securitization showed its one of the most significant effect.

When we consider the fear that securitization of migration and asylum created, it can be said that, the European Union started to pay a particular attention to border controls. Before the Eastern enlargement, the borders were relatively secured as long as they are protected by the ones who carry the fear of immigration, like Germany or Austria. However, the Central and Eastern European Countries (CEES) were still the emigration countries when the Eastern enlargement started to be debated. They were perceived as the ones, who do not carry the fear of migration as much as the old members do. In this sense, European public opinion did not trust the newcomers on border controls.

Such a doubt is not totally groundless. Because the statistics show that 78 per cent of illegal migrants trafficked into the EU states originated from Eastern Europe after the collapse of the Soviet regime. It is a fact that, the broadening of the external borders of the European Union created economic and social problems at border areas of new member states because the borders of those counties were integrated during the Cold War when all of these states were under the Communist regime¹⁹⁷. Under these circumstances, the new members were in need of financial and technical assistance. After the accession, old members supported the new ones in the sense of subsidy and trained staff about border controls.

¹⁹⁶ KOFF Harlan, 'Security, Markets and Power: The Relationship Between EU Enlargement and Immigration', *Journal of European Integration*, 27:4, 2005, p. 398

¹⁹⁷ Ibid. pp. 412-413

The same fears are still relevant for the future enlargements. Especially in the case of Turkey's accession to the European Union, border control issue stands as a major issue. As long as Turkey has borders with many Middle Eastern countries like Iran, Iraq and Syria, illegal migration through Turkey creates a big problem. Even before the accession, Turkey is an important country for transit illegal migration to Europe. Although Turkey is a transit country for the smuggling of migrants, transit-trafficking action or trafficking networks operating in the Turkey has not yet been discovered¹⁹⁸. However, this fact does not clear the image of Turkey as a transit country. As far as there is a constructed fear of illegal immigrant who is making his way to Europe through Turkey, Turkish accession to the Union will continue to be debated on this basis for a long time.

Another important effect of securitization of migration and asylum appears in the composition of migrants who are perceived as a threat within the securitization process. When we look at the migrants who arrived the European Union countries either as migrants or asylum seekers till the mid 2005, we see that majority of them were the nationals of the central and eastern European states which joined the European Union with recent enlargements or the candidates to be members in the future.¹⁹⁹ Most significantly, in 2006, the largest foreign immigrant groups in the EU were citizens of Poland (about 290 000 persons), Romania (about 230 000) and Morocco (about 140 000)²⁰⁰. It means that, the migrants who are seen as a threat to security, became and becoming the legitimate members of the threatened society.

Securitization of migration and asylum is a result of the past migration experiences of Europe. Increasing migration and asylum into Europe when she was not equipped to accommodate and employ the migrants, created the need to reduce migration throughout

¹⁹⁸ ICDUYGU Ahmet, 'Demographic Mobility and Turkey: Migration Experiences and Government Responses' *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 15:4, 2004, p. 91

¹⁹⁹ This statement is based on the data taken from the database of Eurostat available at :
<http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/doc_centre/asylum/statistics/docs/2001/population_by_citizenship_en.pdf>
, Retrived on 23 April 2009

²⁰⁰ Eurostat Newsrelease, 162/2008, Publication Date: 18 November 2008 available at:
<<http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/population/documents/Tab/3-18112008-EN-AP.PDF>>,
Retrieved on 02.05.2009

Europe. On the other hand, the most important contributors to migration flows were also located in Europe. When the political and economic conditions have changed, the emigration countries of Europe wanted to become a part of the integration.

Table 4.1. Main immigrant countries of origin in selected EU countries in 1997-98

	Inflows of foreigners by country of origin as % of total	Stock of foreigners by country of origin as % of total		Inflows of foreigners by country of origin as % of total	Stock of foreigners by country of origin as % of total
Denmark			Sweden		
Somalia	8.6	4.1	Iraq	15.1	4.5
Fed. Rep. of Yugoslavia	7.1	13.5	Finland	8.4	18.4
Iraq	6.3	3.4	Fed. Rep. of Yugoslavia	5.4	6.1
Germany	5.5	4.8	Norway	4.6	5.6
Norway	5.3	4.8	Iran	4.1	4.8
France			Netherlands		
Algeria	14.3	16.4	Morocco	6.5	20.0
Morocco	13.8	16.9	Turkey	6.3	16.9
Turkey	5.8	5.2	Germany	5.8	7.9
China	4.9	0.3	United Kingdom	5.8	5.8
Tunisia	4.6	6.3	United States	4.0	1.9
Germany			Finland		
Poland	10.9	3.8	Former USSR	29.8	23.6
Fed. Rep. of Yugoslavia	10.2	9.8	Sweden	9.6	9.3
Turkey	8.0	28.6	Estonia	8.1	12.0
Italy	5.9	8.3	Somalia	4.3	6.5
Russian Federation	4.7	2.3	Iraq	3.2	3.0

Source: COPPEL Jonathan, Dumont Jean-Cristophe and Visco Ignazio, 'Trends in Immigration and Economic Consequences', OECD Economics Department Working Papers, No. 284, OECD Publishing, 2001, p. 9

The above table gives us a general idea of the amount of migrants generated from the new or prospect members. Securitization of migration and asylum policies also framed those migrants from the newcomers of European integration as a security issue. The public opinion which carries the fear of migration is extremely worried of mass immigration flows

from Central and Eastern European countries after the accession²⁰¹. One of the reasons of the growing opposition for further enlargements in Europe lies in this fear of migration.

All those fears were relevant before the Eastern enlargement and those debates over migration brought the transitional periods for free movement of labor for some new members like Poland. The fear of migration became even a bigger problem after the Eastern enlargement. Croatia, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Turkey are the official candidates for the accession to the European Union however, especially for Turkey migration issue is a challenge in front of the accession process. Although official EU statements refers to other issues like Turkey's poor human rights record or the dispute over Cyprus as justifications for the slower accession process, the political, economic and social challenges increased by the prospect of free movement from an Islamic country remains an unspoken suggestion²⁰². European Commission started to mention Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia, including Kosovo as potential candidates²⁰³. The immigration challenge will also be faced by them while those countries generated many asylum seekers in Europe earlier.

Even if we consider that those countries are welcomed by the European Union, the prospected immigrants from those countries are not most welcomed. The discourses that took place in the election and referendum campaigns in European countries like Polish plumbers, Turkish taxi driver or Roma travelers²⁰⁴ refers to the bitter images of the newcomer European citizens. They were referred as the “other” and stereotyped badly during the securitization process. This can be perceived as the most direct effect of securitization in this context. It brings the risk of having two levels of citizens within the

²⁰¹ KIELYTE Julda, and Kancs, d'Artis, ‘Migration in the enlarged European Union: Empirical evidence for labour mobility in the Baltic states’, *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 33:3, 2002, p.1

²⁰² KOSLOWSKI Rey, ‘International Migration and European Security in the Context of EU Enlargement’, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 12:1

²⁰³ EUROPEAN COMMISSION, Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council, Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2007-2008, COM(2007) 663 final, available at: <<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2007:0663:FIN:EN:HTML>>, Retrieved on: 14 August 2009

²⁰⁴ MARYNIAK, Irine, ‘The Polish plumber and the image game’, Eurozine, 2006, p.1 available at: <<http://www.eurozine.com/pdf/2006-11-15-maryniak-en.pdf>>, Retrieved on: 01 May 2009

EU. The new member's citizens would place in the outer circle of the European citizenship. In this sense, equality which is the one of the most important values of the European Union would lose its meaning.

4.3. Concluding Remarks

Securitization of migration and asylum policies is aimed to deal with growing migration and asylum seekers to the European Union. It would not be wrong to say that it helped the authorities in Europe who are dealing with migration issues. There can be seen so many measures about migration in the European Union that could not be used under different circumstances.

On the other hand, securitization of migration and asylum may be correct for the aims but wrong for the outcomes. Securitization is something hard and risky to control. When an issue is labeled as a security issue, the fear of threat can go beyond the intended boundaries. In the case of migration and asylum, securitization has a high chance to lead to unwanted results. Further deepening and widening of the European integration which is the starting point of the whole harmonization processes can be damaged. At best, the fundamental values and endeavors of the integration like promoting equality, peace and security would not be realized. If securitization leads to violation and confrontation among indigenous and migrant groups, "promoting peace and prosperity" became to be a broken promise.

On the other hand, while keeping in mind that the ultimate aim of the European integration is to create "an ever closer Union among the peoples of Europe" and the new members are also considered as the "equal parts" of the union, securitization of migration and asylum policies creates a contradiction between the stated aim and the practice.

CONCLUSION

This study aimed to analyze securitization of migration and asylum policies and the effects of this to the European integration process. European migration and asylum policies are in a period of change. For the last three decades, migration and asylum to the European countries started to be regarded as one of the major problems to cope with. Restricted policies both in the state and community level could not be as effective as it was desired. Changing security perceptions and the security environment has coincided with the migration and asylum problem somewhere in this process. Within this framework the main argument of this study has been that the migration and asylum policies of the European Union had been securitized in order to solve the problems resulted by the increasing migration and asylum applications. For this reason, there are three main research questions of this study;

- 1) How did the migration and asylum become to be security issues?
- 2) How and to what extent the migration and asylum policies were securitized in the European Union?
- 3) Is there any effect of securitization of migration and asylum policies for the future of European integration process?

The answer of the first question was found within the changing security perceptions. Especially, with the end of the Cold War security and threat perceptions had fundamentally changed. The Copenhagen School's approach was found to be the best theoretical foundation to explain the changing security understanding. According to this multisectional approach, migration and asylum could be placed in societal security sector as a threat posed to cultural identity and social integrity of the nation states. Within the recent security composition, as long as it is no more likely to have major military threats posed by other nation states, societal security gains prominence. According to the Copenhagen School, securitization is explained as a social construction process. Issues become security

matters when they are successfully presented as such. In this context, security is perceived as a speech act. Securitization is a process of taking the issues out of the political realm and putting them into the security realm. By doing so, security actor's aim is to legitimize the use of extraordinary measures in dealing with the issue. Because of this reason, when migration and asylum started to be perceived as an increasing problem, they started to be presented as a security problem as well.

After making the examination of official texts, speeches of policy actors and considering the harmonization of migration and asylum policies, regarding the second research question, it is found out that migration and asylum policies are highly securitized and to some extent, over securitized.

Since the beginning of the 1970's, mainly because of the economic stagnation of that time, migration and asylum policies have been restricted and the issue started to be politicized. At the beginning, the main reason of these restriction attempts was raising unemployment. The main aim of these policies is to favor native workforce over migrants. However, those policies could not stop increasing migration and asylum coming into Europe. The past migration experiences of the European countries created new minority groups. Public awareness has increased over the issue and the problem turned to be a large scale public discussion. Concurrently, the establishment of the Single European Act, the internal market also raised the questions about EU's internal security.

Under these circumstances, migration and asylum were included into the agenda of the high politics in Europe. In this sense, one can say that securitization of migration and asylum policies started at the end of the 1970's and became more and more intense. Securitizing speech acts were used to legitimize the actions like highly restricted visa policies and border controls or detention centers for asylum seekers. In this sense it can be concluded that the established rules of the game has already been broken through securitization.

It is also found out that speech acts in the European Union can be divided into two main categories. The first one is the good self representation and the second one is the bad representation of the other. Good self representation is mainly used in the European Union's official documents while bad representation of the other is more popular at the state level. Additionally, the speech acts are concentrated around three main issues; internal security, cultural identity and the welfare state.

Finally, regarding the last research question, it is found out that the securitization process has very important negative effects to the further deepening and widening of the European integration. Securitization of migration and asylum policies became a security drama. Increasing and intense speech acts attempting to securitize the issue, creates insecurity within Europe and at the last stage, creates "fear societies". Securitization attempts on the other hand, turns out to be an endless struggle. The self-feeding nature of the fear gives the way to even harsher speech acts. This situation feeds the hatred and xenophobia which can be described as a new kind of racism. In other words, securitization of migration and asylum creates a butterfly effect and may result the ends far beyond the intended boundaries.

Though, othering the migrant groups could be seen as a tool in creating the European identity, dynamics of inclusion and exclusion in the European Union carries the risk to ruin the achievements that have been accomplished so far. As long as securitization attempt gives rise to insecurity within the society and nationalistic movements in Nation states, the European mottos like 'being together in diversity' or 'promoting equality, peace and security' can turn to be broken promises. On the other hand, securitization creates a fear of all kinds of "others" and the enlargement of the European Union is also effected by this increasing fear. European periphery consists of main emigration countries of the past. The so called "other" inside Europe which was named through securitization process includes the nationals of new or prospected European Union countries. The rising opposition to the further enlargements is also fed by the fear created by the securitizing speech acts.

Therefore, the overall conclusion of the study is that securitization of migration and asylum policies have a self-feeding nature and carry the risk of losing the control of the fear which was created by the securitization process itself. The uncontrolled fear gives a new way to the threat perceptions that are not actually exist or not as important as they are perceived so. There is a high risk that at some stage of the securitization process, the European Union can find itself while tilting the windmills.

Under the light of the above mentioned analysis, further researches can be done to analyze the ways of de-securitization of migration and asylum policies of the European Union. Additionally, as long as it was found out that the future European Union enlargements are highly effected by securitization of migration and asylum, the contagion effect of securitization can be analyzed in the case of the European Union enlargement policy, presumably in another research.

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