Migration and Security in Europe

Supervisor: Anders Melbourn
Abstract

Migration has been seen as an issue that needs to be addressed by governments as well as international organizations such as the European Union, IOM and so on. Over the last twenty years or so many political and scholars designed to combat the problem of migration at both national and international level. This thesis aims to explain whether migration is becoming viewed as a security threat for the EU or it’s just a challenge. I will focus primarily on the issue of migration to the European Union. The theory of securitization has been used to examine the process whether the issue of migration has become seen as a threat to the European member states. In this study I will use case study methods to analyze the process of securitization of migration to the EU and support my arguments with official political data.

Keywords: The European Union, Migration, Securitization, Security, Threat.
List of Abbreviations

AWGI  Ad hoc Working Group on Immigration
CIS   Commonwealth of Independent States
EC    European Community
ECSC  European Coal and Steel Community
EP    European Parliament
EFS   European Political Cooperation
EU    European Union
FRONTEX European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union
ENP   European Neighboring Policy
ECFP  European Common Foreign Policy
ECSP  European Common Security Policy
SIS   Schengen Information System
SEA   Single European Act
TEU   Treaty of establishing the European Union
IOM   International Organization for Migration
UN    United Nations
Definitions
In order to make it easy for the reader to understand the content of the paper I decided to clarify the main terms of migration process. All the definitions were taken from official web site of IOM.

Asylum seeker - A person who seeks safety from persecution or serious harm in a country other than his or her own and awaits a decision on the application for refugee status under relevant international and national instrument.

Immigration - A process by which non-nationals move into a country for the purpose of settlement.

Immigrant - A person who move into a country for the purpose of settlement.

Irregular migration - Movement that takes place outside the regulatory norms of the sending, transit and receiving countries.

Irregular migrant - A person who, owing to unauthorized entry, breach of a condition of entry, or the expiry of his or her visa, lacks legal status in a transit or host country.

Migrant - At the international level, no universally accepted definition for "migrant" exists. The term migrant was usually understood to cover all cases where the decision to migrate was taken freely by the individual concerned for reasons of "personal convenience" and without intervention of an external compelling factor; it therefore applied to persons, and family members, moving to another country or region to better their material or social conditions and improve the prospect for themselves or their family.

Migration - The movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border, or within a State. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification.

Refugee - A person who, 'owing to a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinions, 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.'
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1. Introduction

Migration as a process of movement from one country or region to another is not a new phenomenon. People move from one place to another all the time and this process called migration. The term describes the process of persons moving across borders to live and work and generally implies non-EU citizens moving into or within the EU (Eurofound). Viewed on a global level the issue of migration has increasing relevance to the fact of increasing the world’s population and technological development. Millions of people have crossed international borders, often illegally, to reach the developed countries in order to find better economic and social conditions and better life.

There are different kinds and types of migration by which we can describe the reason and ways of international migration activity (Human Migration Gide 2005). The most common type of migration to the EU is external migration, when people move across national borders. The most common ways of migration to the EU is from south to north, from Africa to western European countries, and from east to west from Asia, Middle East and CIS to Europe. For example African people use their boats in order to reach European coastline but this way of migration is very dangerous and many people die trying to reach “better life”. People may make individual decisions to move for reason varying from economic opportunity or environmental pressure to religious freedom. Among the reason for migration we can mention two main factors so called ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors (Human Migration Gide 2005).

Large migrant populations have become almost an expectation in every European country, so common that now we see it as a norm. The majority of migrants take not well paid jobs, but they can earn more than they would earn in their home country when doing the same work (Boswell 2003). European countries such as France, Germany and UK try to limit the number of immigrants by itself, using their national legislations, but many peoples use all possible ways to emigrate anyway. European Union is full of foreigners, rather not only from their neighbors but also from all over the world. Under such conditions, more and more attention has been paid to migration security. Problems linked with the issue are now deliberated at high-level political meetings between heads of state. In other words the issue of migration becomes an extremely important political question.
1.1 Background

Migration process has been developed through the time and it become faster in the current moment of globalization. Migration process in Europe is a part of global immigration activities and it’s affected by globalization and national policies such as liberalization. The technological development and travel communication has highly increased immigration movement across national borders. About 20.5 million foreigners are living in Western Europe at the beginning of the twenty-first century, while additional 8 million were foreign born but not foreign nationals (IOM 2003: 240-241).

In the late 1980s and 1990s migration policy was not important to European member states because free movement of workers did not affected policy agenda. In the time period before sign Schengen Agreement migration process to the EU were seen as a need of labor force as well as in need of population. Thus, migration policies were motivated by the change in labor and social sector and migration issue was not even a political issue.

At the time when Schengen Agreement was singed in 1985 it was clear that free movement of people across the EU will be a concern of further discussions. The core element of these discussions was mostly about the problem of borders control and about other issues such as illegal migration, asylum and visas policies.

Without internal borders between Member States any person can move freely within the territory of the EU. Opened borders between participating countries make free movement of people across borders of the European Union a part of the negotiations between Member States. Also, open borders in the EU mean that one government’s immigration policy potentially has a direct impact on the policies of other EU governments (Hix 1999:321). Elimination of physical border controls inside the Europe makes it very difficult for Member States to control immigration flows. It means if one of the Member States will allow immigrants to stay on its territory it doesn’t mean that they will choose this particular country for permanent place of residence, rather they will immigrate to more develop EU Member States.

1.2 Purpose and Problem Formulation

Migration is one of the most complicated issues to be dealt with in a modern time. Migration as a policy issue was never confined to a single ministry since it had implications for labor, economics, foreign affairs, social affairs and internal affairs (etc.) (Guiraudon 2003:266). The process of migration was seen different because different policies were provided by different state institutions.
Immigrants were primarily seen as an extra workforce in the most European countries and labor market required a cheap and flexible labor (Huysmans 2000:753).

Studying of migration involves many aspects of human behavior and encompasses areas such as poverty, gender politics, and refugees. Different understanding of this issue by scholars and politicians leads to different policy programs at national and international level. Security is becoming seen as a centre policy of migration management, but different cases of migration required different policy approach to be deal with. It is obvious that increase of amount of international immigrants has directly affected the concern of national security and policies design. Such political programs are detected in strengthening of borders control with neighboring countries.

The issue of migration is essentially a problem and this problem is becoming more and more significant in Europe as in the whole world because of its increase proportion and irregular spacing. The need to control immigration took it out of politics, creating a new political perspective. Problems linked with this issue such as illegal immigration, refugees and so on have become a matter of political meetings between European governments. Some scholars, for example Neal (2009) argued that the issue of migration has not been securitized yet despite the exponentially grows of illegal migration since 1990. From one hand European politicians try to limited migration flows, from the other EU is dependent from immigrants in demographic and labour areas.

As mentioned above international migrations to the EU are seen by many politicians in terms of illegal migration and refugees. Illegal immigrants are those who moved without legal permission and refugees are those who crossed an international boundary to escape persecution. In this sense when migration has been associated with illegal migration, it has elevated the status of migration to a security challenge.

This thesis aims to explain whether migration is becoming viewed as a security threat for the EU or it’s just a challenge. I will focus primarily on the issue of migration to the European Union. The theory of securitization has been used to explain whether the issue of migration has become a threat to the European member states. In this study I’m going to analyze the process of securitization of migration to the EU. In this paper I will focus not only on illegal migration (though in some cases it becomes a reason to put migration in to security concern), but rather on migration activity in general. In my paper I’m going to scrutinize the process of securitization of the migration issue in the EU focusing on its possible consequences.

My research question is based on hypothesis that migration is a security threat for the EU. My research will be about verifying this hypothesis by studying EU official documents. In order to test this hypothesis it is necessary to study the development process of the EU political framework towards migration. This political framework will be analysed in the light of the politicization process.

Therefore, I’m also going to answer additional questions:
1. What kind of threats is associated with migration?
2. What are the possible ways of controlling the migration process to the EU as well as inside the EU?

1.3 Scope and Limitation

The limitations of this study are characterized by the purpose of this study. I have chosen one specific security aspect, such as social security, which also can be linked to human security. My focus in this paper will be paid on the immigration process to the EU. Firstly I’m going to analyze European immigration policy in terms whether the migration is presented as a threat to the European Union? I’m not going to analyze the details of migration policy or Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) but rather the feature of migration process to the EU. In other words European migration policy and CFSP is a space of my study but not a subject. Thus the main focus will be paid on security of migration in terms of asylum seekers, refugees, labor immigrants and illegal immigrants.

In this study I will focus on the European Union as a single actor because the problem of migration has reached European national level. This limitation can be explained by the factor that migration issue is a serious problem for the whole EU and thus require a common European strategy. So my study is about migration security in the European Union and the results of this research can’t be appropriate to other states or regions of the world.

There is also time limitation in my study. Obviously, it is impossible to consider migration problem from the establishing of the EU. Thus, analysis of migration issue is started from 1993 when Dublin Convention was signed and the problem has occupied European national level. Nevertheless in first subchapter of my analysis named Preconditions of Politicization I will go beyond posed time limits in order to highlight all need data for background understanding of this process.

1.4 Disposition

The work consists of five chapters. The first chapter introduces the purpose of thesis and outlines the main questions. In the second chapter main theoretical conceptions on securitization and security are described as well as theoretical interconnections between security and migration. The third chapter explains the method that was used in the process of writing. It also presents literature overview and information about previous studies. Chapter four contains the analysis. In this chapter the answers to the posed questions can be found. The fifth chapter summarizes and presents conclusions of the analysis.
2. Theoretical framework

In order to be able to analyze posted questions I have chosen a theory formulated by Copenhagen school of international relation named securitization. The reason behind the chosen theory is because the theory in itself is unique and isn’t only used as the theory but also a framework for further discussion of the security issues. This theory is very useful and has a great explanatory power and can be applicable to different security issues. Therefore, this theory is needed to meet certain conditions such as politicization and securitization in order to be proved.

2.1 Previous research

Interconnection between migration and security was a subject of different research in social, economic, and political areas. Growing migration process has stimulated academic discourse and this issue area is saturated of different academicals publication. In these papers (see below) the issue of migration has been observed as potential challenge or even threat for the European Union. In 1998 Barry Buzan (1998) introduced a new way of understanding what security threat is, through the investigation of securitization process. This theory will be presented later in this chapter.

I can mentioned such scholars as Christina Boswell and Elspeth Guild which have devoted themselves to studying the impact of non-military threats such as energy, human trafficking and migration on states security system. These papers give me a lot of inspiration for writing this paper. Guild (2009) wrote mainly about EU migration policy and externalization of migration control. Boswell (2003) in her article “Migration Control in Europe after 9/1: Explaining the Absence of Securitization” she stated that securitization of migration control issues would also have conflicted with a number of the policy goals of European governments. According to Boswell migration was not securitized because of European governments had an obvious interest in keeping open mobility for the purposes of business, tourism and study.

The main inspiration source is the paper written by Van Dijc “Is the EU policy on illegal immigration securitized? Yes OF Course!” In his paper Van Dijc argued that the migration process was successfully securitized. The same arguments I have found in the “The European Union and Securitization of Migration” written by Jef Huysmans. I also use a paper “Securitization and Risk at the EU Borders: The Origins of FRONTEX” that criticizes securitization process in Europe written by Andrew W. Neal. He is one of the scholars who argued that immigration to the EU was not successfully securitized. Nevertheless, in his article he stated the facts that can serve as a precondition for further securitization.
2.2 Meaning of Security

In the last twenty years security studies has become one of the most dynamic fields in International Relations. One of the reasons is that since the end of the Cold War more and more attention has been paid on security area especially on non-military security threats. The problem of security becomes one of the most important issues because of its connections to different aspects of people’s life. Before and during the Cold War period security defined as states protection from external military threats. The definition of security has changed and now it includes the ability of protection from existing threats. Internal threats were taken into account and security priorities have changed from states security to human security. Edward Kolodziej gives one definition of security: “Security is a special form of politics; all security issues are political problems” (Kolodziej 2005).

According to Buzan (1998) security is divided into five parts: military, economic, social, environmental, and political. Every sector has different security explanation and different form of security usage. For example military security is about physical protection and economy security is about business competition. Scholars consider security as 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 (Emmers 2007: 118).

Security threat exist when an issue is presented as posing an existential threat to a designated referent object (traditionally, but not necessarily, a state, incorporating government, territory, and society) (Buzan et al 1998:21). Referent object is a thing that is seen to be existentially threatened and that has a legitimate claim to survival. In this context, security is about survival. On the condition of an existing a real threat, states are justifying the use of extraordinary measures to reduce the threat. The invocation of security has been the key to legitimizing the use of force, but more generally it has opened the way for the state to mobilize, or to take special powers, to handle existential threats (Buzan 1998:12).

2.3 Security and Migration

Buzan (1998) has closely linked the issue of migration as an issue that may be viewed as a possible threat to the societal security. With regards to the scope of this thesis the issue of migration is considered by prominent scholars and European politicians mostly through social security perspective. The societal security agenda has been set by different actors in different eras and regions. Buzan has outline it in such theoretical development: “Migration – X people are being overrun or diluted by influence of Y people; the X community will not be want it used to be, because other will make up the
The challenges facing social security are coming from external boarders and migration is one of the main challenges. The question posed by migration focused on social, economic and political patterns of migration such as demographic development, unemployment and identity. Social security issues are always ultimately about identity and the most important referent objects in societal sector are stability of social institutions. Society can react to such threats in two ways: through activities carried out by the community itself or by trying to move the issue to the political (and potentially the military) sector by having the threat placed on the state agenda (Buzan 1998:122).

The future development of social security is dependent on security programs which posed under current set of assumptions such as high percentage of social awareness. According to Buzan (1998:119) social insecurity exist when communities of whatever kind define a development or potentiality as a threat to their survival as a community. The social security toward migration has important effects on political, social and economic conditions give arise to the long term policy. At the state level such policy can be seen through legislation and border controls. For example there are numerals of limitation on legal immigration such as correction the size of immigration flows through visa policy. In addition, in order to be prepared for further immigration difficulties, social security system needs more transparent policy instruments.

2.4 Securitization Theory

A new scientific theory of securitization has been considered as one of the most prominent approach in security studies. The theory of securitization has been created in the late 1990’s by Barry Buzan, Ole Weaver and Jaap de Wilde, the core of the Copenhagen School.

Securitization process can be identified as moving the issue from non-political area to the political area and then to the security field. Non-political issue means that the government does not paid any attention to the issue and the issue is not involved into the public debate and thus presented as a norm of social life. They define securitization as a successful speech act (Buzan et al. 1998). When high official representative such as the head of the state, prime minister or other politicians address the public or political issue to the security field by saying that this issue require additional measures, and if we will not take this measures everything else will be irrelevant, this statement can be considered as a clear speech act. For the analyst to grasp this act the task is not to assess some objective threats that “really” endanger some objects to be defended or secured; rather, it is to understand the processes of
constructing a shared understanding of what it to be considered and collectively responded to as a threat (Buzan 1998:26).

Politization means that the issue has achieved political system and according to Buzan (1998) it is a part of public policy, requiring government decision and resource allocations, or more rarely some form of communal governance. Political or public identification of an issue as a threat is the first step for process of securitization named politicization. Speech act is one of the main parts of politicization and if speech act was successful the politicization process also can be identified as successful and the next step is securitization.

Securitization means that already politicized issue is framed as a security problem through an act of securitization and securitizing actor stated that the issue requires emergency actions. Securitization occurs when a securitization actor, stating that a particular referent objects is a threatened in existence, claims a right to extraordinary measures to ensure the referent objects survival (Van Dijck 2006). Balzacq (2005:2) argued “that securitization is better understood as a strategic (pragmatic) practice that occurs within, and as part of, a configuration of circumstances, including the context, the psycho-cultural disposition of the audience, and the power that both speaker and listener bring to the interaction.”

So, to briefly summarize what securitization theory is: the main argument of securitization theory is that security is a speech act, that alone by uttering ‘security’ something is being done (Taureck 2006). Securitization is a process of turning a normal issue into a security issue reflecting it as an existential threat. In other words, securitization is the presentation of a public issue as a security problem or security risk. A securitizing actor by stating that a particular referent object is threatened in its existence claims a right to extraordinary measures to ensure the referent objects survival. Securitization means the inclusion of a normal issue firstly to the public debate (politicization) and then securitization (representing as an existential threat). The process of survival in that an issue is then moved out of the sphere of normal politics into the realm of emergency politics, “where it can be dealt with without the normal (democratic) rules and regulations” (Buzan 1998:24).

A successful securitization thus has three components (or steps): existential threats, emergency action, and effects on interunit relations by breaking free of rules (Buzan 1998: 26). For the content of security this means that threat can be anything a securitizing actor says it is. Securitization is a social product that’s lead to negative consequences. Basically, security should be seen as a negative, as a failure to deal with issues of normal politics (Buzan. 1998: 29). The act of securitization can be considered as successful securitization when the relevant audience is convinced and sure of the existential threat (Buzan 1998). Taking political issue to the security policy called securitization move. Securitizing move leads directly to taking extraordinary measures which will never be taken if the issue remains in the sphere of normal politics (Taureck 2006). On the other hand the adoption of
extraordinary measures means is not considered as a requirement. Thus if the result of securitization act is successful then it gives securitizing actors the right to use additional measures to solve the existential securitized issue. At the same time it is not always completely clearly seen what an extraordinary measure means. The first two step means managing security issue by political and security tools by taking emergency action a. The third step of successful securitization means that we can see what effect, mostly negative effect securitization has on society and social relations. When all three steps done it can be argued that securitization was successful.

Act of securitization can lead to excesses of power in the name of defense of civil liberties. One of these consequences, that the state can use securitization as a political tool, arguing that society is insecurity in order to legitimize its policies.
3. Methodology

This paper is a typical case study of securitization of migration to the EU based on academic and official data. Books, articles and official papers have been chosen in a critical matter. I tried to be as neutral as possible in choosing the articles and used the sources that I could see being most neutral and those publishers who didn’t had any engagement to any political party, or side. The author of the paper is Ukrainian and since Ukraine is not a part of the EU it makes the analysis as objective as possible. Also this work is based on official data and facts rather than on personal opinion.

3.1 Case Study Method

This thesis will go through the way in which the issue of migration may be seen as a security issue within the European Union. More precisely, in my paper I will focus on the policy and legislative approaches taken by European organizations as a policy instruments focuses on migration process. For political science as a whole the case study method is relevant for examining political world and political questions as well as security questions. My paper is case study research because case study method allows describe the process of securitization by explaining political debate and political decisions. Issue studying in this paper is beyond any political borders named migration that encompass national and international level is complicated and multifaceted issue. Thus the political decisions and research made on this issue are opened for debate and critics. For example migration has a number of cases (illegal migration, refuges, asylum seekers and so on) which led to a different policy and legislative approach designed to manage this problem. Separate studying of all interconnected aspects of migration is beyond the limit of this thesis. The strength of case study is in particular case to provide a general analysis of research issue. Case study methods allow me to make a deep analysis of the processes rather than describing it as qualitative method does. According to Andrew Bennett: “Case study finding are usually contingent and can be generalized beyond the type of case studies only under specified conditions, such as when a case study shows that a variable is not a necessary condition or a sufficient for an outcome, or when a theory fails to fit a case that it appeared most likely to explain”.

The focus of this study will be in examining migration process and policies designed to manage potential challenges. My analysis will present an overview of political documents and statements made by European institutions thus documentary analysis is the main methods of my analysis. Chosen methods allow me to deeper my analysis in such key spheres as social system and social relations which are essential for migration process. Case study method is also effective in identifying intangible factors, such as social norms, socioeconomic status, gender roles, ethnicity, and religion, whose role in
the research issue may not be readily apparent (Mack 2005). All these factors are important for background analysis of push and pull factors of migration and also for further understanding of politicization and securitization process in terms of the influence of these factors on social insecurity.

According to Robert K. Yin: “A case study is an empirical inquiry that: investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real–life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used”. Due to the thesis’s purpose and posed additional questions a case study method is the most appropriate to use. The case study methods concentrated on the particular case narrowing possible conclusion and living almost no place for generalization.

3.2 Material

The issue of migration has gained such wide public and academic attention thus there are a lot of available material on this issue. In order to answer the posed questions I have collected and analysed a large amount of material. A majority of the material I have used are academic articles and publications as well as official documents and other sources. I this way I hope to reach a balance of analysing primary material that is the official documents as well as studying secondary, academic sources. Academic publications are mostly used in first two subchapters named precondition of politicization and politicization and last sub chapter of my analysis named politicization is based on official document. In such way I tried to reach a balanced conclusion. Within the literature on migration presented in this thesis I attempts to understand of what migration is and to make a comprehensive analysis. Literature has been sorted according to author’s personal opinion during long time searching through academic database. Official document was sorted according to the most important points of migration issue analysis such as identity, crime, illegal migration and labor migration and this points was crucial in choosing this or that official document.

To create a theoretical framework section I have used a number of articles and books written by prominent scholars in the field of security studies. The main theoretical sources are “Security: a new framework for analysis” written by Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, and Jaap de Wilde, “On Security” edited by Ronnie D. Lipschutz and “Contemporary Security Studies” edited by Allan Collins and “Towards a Theory of Securitization: Copenhagen and Beyond” by Holger Stritzel. These books and articles were used to explain securitization theory. I also used papers that criticize securitization theory, namely by Rita Taureck “Securitization theory and securitization studies”.

As for analysis, here besides articles and books I also used official documents issued by European Commission and European Council. Among the articles I must mention “Migration in
Europe from A-Z” by Hugo Brady which gave me initial idea of the issue and also this article is serving as a foundation of my paper. In his article Brady go through the main points of immigration to the EU such as asylum, illegal migration, the problem of border control and so on. Article named “The European Union as a Security Actor: Moving Beyond the Second Pillar” written by Kamil Zwolski. His article helps me to understand the changes that have been made in current EU security agenda. Finally this article has deeper my understanding of current security studies in more critical way.

Among books we must mention the book “European Security in the Twenty-First Century: The Challenge of Multipolarity” written by Adrian Hyde-Price was used for background understanding of the security challenges of the European security. The main part of my analysis named securitization is based on official documents issued by European Commissions and European Council which both play an important role in the EU political framework. The increase attention by this organization to the issue of migration from the last fifteen years or so was a concern of serious discussion in public and political sphere. The documents were picked up from large amount of different official source and further studying of the issue of migration in my paper is not possible without great explanatory power of these documents. By itself these documents play an important role in my analysis and mostly my analysis has been made with a help of these documents. Still there are plenty of different useful official sources available on European official website but I worry that by using extra documents which covered the same problem my paper would become too dense to cover allocated time and space.
4. Analysis

In this chapter I will present an analysis of immigration policy of the EU started from 1993 when Dublin Convention was signed and the problem has occupied European national level. In this paper I will consider EU as a united actor and all finding will be related to the union as a whole. To be able to understand the process of politicization and securitization in the EU it is necessary to look at the document issued by two leading European institutions such as European Commissions and European Council. The documents of these two institutions will be analyzed in the followed subchapters.

This chapter consists of three parts. The first part tells about preconditions of politicization of migration to the EU. In this chapter I will consider Schengen policy in terms of cooperation between EU member states. The second sections analyze the process of politicization of migration as well as EU external policy toward the countries of origin. In the last section of my analysis I will analyze of how migration grows may be regarded as a possible threat which potentially can lead to the beginning of the securitization process of migration to the EU. This part of analysis is based on EU official documents of European Commissions and European Council.

4.1 Preconditions of Politicization

The first major official document of the EU on the growing migration flows was Dublin Convention. In such a way the European Union has responded to the growing migration population and asylum seekers. Nearly 20 million people in each year from 1998 to 2002 qualified for a received refugee assistance (Kegley 2003: 282). A common asylum system should mean that all EU member-states provide refugees with the same essential services on arrival; assess their claims the same way; and use the same rules to grant and withdraw refugee status (Brady 2008:7). However, the Dublin Convention of refugees and asylum still varies greatly between the member-states. Despite that all serious problems that occurred during the period of 1990-2010, the Dublin Convention can serve as a first sign of upcoming process of politicization of migration to the EU. For further understanding of politicization of migration it is important to analyze conditions which lead to the adoption of the above mentioned document.

Firstly it will be important to describe the main points of Dublin Convention. In respect to this chapter Dublin Convention is not a subject, rather a space, thus I will not go deep in it. Dublin Convention was reached in 1990, but only come in to force in 1997 (European Parliament 2000). It requires potential refugees to be looked after by the EU Member State in which they first arrive. So an economic migrant can not use permissive asylum laws in one country to enter the EU with the aim of
getting to another which may offer better working conditions or social security (Brady 2008:7).
“European asylum policies aim at preventing migration with accelerated procedures for examining asylum requests, a common definition of a refugee, the notion of ‘safe third country’ and the 1990 Dublin Convention which organized a system to determine which contracting party is responsible for examining an asylum request” (Guiraudon2008: 267).

Debates between EU member states about the free movement of people across internal boarders, that emerged after the signing of Schengen Agreement in May 1985 (but come in to force in 1995 thus the analysis is started from 1993) also can serve as a foundation for politization process. After the establishment of Schengen Agreement the EU officials were mostly concerned with deepening and widening of European integration, and looking forward for signing new integration treaties. Nevertheless they paid little attention to security of migration in the EU. The Dublin and Schengen Agreements were in fact adopted outside the EU framework and their implementation delayed respectively until 1997 and 1995” (Guiraudon2008: 269).

I can strongly argue that the main precondition for further development European migration policy and adoption of all documents and acts was extremely increasing number of immigrants and refugees that coming not only from neighboring countries such as Balkan’s countries or CIS’s countries but also from former European colonies in Africa. My arguments in this paper indicate that migration issue is presented a serious problem for the EU and thus required more political attention. Under political attention should then learn different political decisions and programs which accrue in result of migration activity.

Most of the EU countries did not have border control or passport checks between them and thus people are moving across the EU without any border control and thus one of the main point of European politicians is that such free movement of people makes it difficult to control migration flows. Many European politicians and prominent scholars have argued the same fact and for example Brady (2008) in his article mentioned that “Interior officials in the Schengen area reported an increase in illegal immigration immediately after the lifting of controls”. Thus migration issue has become extremely important political issue due to the disappearance of the border control inside the EU and increased immigration population in European countries. Nevertheless, the free movement of people is the main principle of the Schengen Agreement as well as the whole European integration process.

Nevertheless I have to mentioned another major official document named “Guidelines for a Community Policy on Migration” (COM(85) 48) issued by European Commission in 1985. This document is openly shows that migration policy is becoming viewed as an important political agenda. The aim of these guidelines was to developed coherent integration policies for legally resident third country nationals. Indeed, despite the migration control the immigrant population continued to grow because workers and other temporary migration population never going to return home. This
Commission proposal illustrated the fact that migration policy was no longer a single political issue of individual member states but rather has reached European national level. So, further regulation on this issue will be carried out by the European Commissions and European Council.

As was mentioned before my general argument is that migration process to the EU has been politicized because of increasing number of immigrants, asylum seekers as well as illegal immigrants. Insignificant problem of immigration to the EU has become a hot issue during 1990s exacerbated impact strong enough to make the EU officials start thinking about migration in terms of political and legislative frameworks such as the Dublin Convention.

4.2 Politicization

It is possible to say that the start point of the politicization process of security of migration to the EU was adopting of Dublin Convention. While the document in large part consists of information about asylum seekers in EU it nevertheless contains very important points that actually preceded politicization (European Parliament 2000). The paper describes main points of asylum, citizenships and responsibility upon member states. The most important questions that the Dublin Convention pose for debate is sounds as follow: Can the European Union accept an increase immigrants and refugees without compromising its security? And how can they ensure the development and better operation of immigration policy in the European Union and with neighboring countries? Nevertheless, the purpose of this thesis is not about answering these questions.

All European countries feel the impact of immigrants, for example Germany has more then 3 million Turkish populations, France and UK are crowded by immigrants from all over the world. Europe is currently absorbing 2 million migrants each year – more as a proportion of its population than any other part of the world, including North America (Brady 2008:1). Spain’s official immigrant population has risen by 400 per cent in ten years and Italy worries about an estimated 100,000 Romanian immigrants, most of whom are thought to be without a job (Brady 2008:1). Such tendency has force EU member states to review their policies and improve their cooperation in this sphere by providing more closer join actions. European countries manage migration best when they work with the migrant’s country of origin on everything from border control to development issues.

From the 1990s the EU is improving its attempts to control immigration in various ways. They already work closely together in the Schengen area, sharing information via a single computer system called the Schengen Information System (SIS) (Brady 2008). In 1995, the Schengen Information System laid the information for an EU-wide change in the policing of immigration based on security and efficiency rather than the law. The SIS is an information system that allows the competent
authorities in the Member States to obtain information regarding certain categories of persons and property COM (2001) 720. The establishing of SIS as a European information exchange system also can serve as a case of politicization. Creation of Schengen area and further European integration process has brought the issue of external migration into the political agenda and inevitably it is being recognized that there is a need to establish a common EU immigration policy.

Immigration policy has entered the Community agenda through the prior consultation procedure on migratory policies towards third countries, in place since 1988. In 1998, the EU governments established the Ad hoc Working Group on Immigration (AWGI), which was an intergovernmental body of officials from interior ministers outside the EU institutional structure (Brady 2008). It was a temporary commission which aim was to provide a framework for further policy development towards the immigration reality (Brady 2008).

The entry into force of the Amsterdam Treaty in 1999 also addressed some of the institutional impediments to implementing preventive approaches. Amsterdam shifted the legal basis of immigration and asylum policy from the third to the first pillar, giving the Commission a greater role in initiating policies, and facilitating coordination with development policy, which also came within the first pillar (Boswell 2003: 632). EU has a range of policies and policy tools of immigration policy for preventing the reality of migration. “With the coming into force of the Treaty of Amsterdam, Community competence was firmly established in the areas of immigration and asylum. From being a matter for inter-governmental co-ordination under the “third pillar” arrangements, responsibility for developing policy was moved to the “1st pillar” with a programme of action to be adopted by the Council in order to establish progressively an area of freedom, security and justice (Articles 61-63)” COM (2000) 757 Article 63 (3) of the Treaty of Amsterdam directed the Council to adopt “conditions of entry and residence, and standards on procedures for the issue by Member State of long term visas and residence permits, including those for the purpose of family reunion”.

The process of politicization of migration issue also had much to do with institutional dynamics such as home and justice ministries that do a lot for migration restriction as well as within national bureaucracies in terms of visa applications and other political instruments (Boswell 2003). If to look at this issue from this perspective visa policy was one of the aspects of migration policy aimed to limited accession of unwanted immigrants. Thus, visa policy provided by the EU can also be considered as a part of politicization process. One of the policy control methods is encompassing cooperation with countries of origin through readmission treaties. These third countries were obliged to apply EU standards of migration management for readmitting irregular migrants and these approaches had potential mechanism to manage immigration reality, consequently this approach is having an immediate impact on migration management with transit or sending countries (Boswell 2006). Execution of readmission treaties with third countries can serve as one of the politicization’s steps. The
politicization of the migration had direct impact on public and political discourse in most EU countries and thus pushing this issue into security realm. However, uncontrolled immigration has impacted on the European immigration policy and thus increased politic discourse to limit the number of immigrants. Politicization is seen through open debate on the EU capacity for border control and further restriction of migration policy and access to national states. Migration has indeed been placed on the EU policy agenda and significantly transforms national and local migration policy.

4.3 Securitization?

EU migration policy is very sensitive area because it deals with a real people and their lives. Member States have been done a lot of work in order to manage migration flows but still much left. The problematic of migration process have been a subject of high official meeting of European Commissions and European Council. In fact, EU immigration policy required for a comprehensive approach to recognize that nexus between security and immigration exist. As has been noted asylum system was shared between the member states and was supposed to be held by national ministers. In practice, asylum policy represents restriction and limited accesses for asylum-seekers, families of immigrant workers or illegal immigrants and to expel them from an EU territory (European Parliament 2000).

“The Commission believes that the Member States would be better place to combat what is presented as a real abuse of the asylum system if they had a wide range of open and transparent immigration management policies taking better account of the economic and demographic situations of the Member States.” COM (2000)755

In this statement European Commission promote that the migration system of the member states have to be opened and clear. Hence, European countries has referenced on national legislation as a framework for further development of common migration policy. The problem of migration has risen up the political agenda in most European countries and debate over political framework of all member states focused upon practice of migration policy. This factor has played an important role in understanding European migration framework and what effect it has on European migration policy.

“This more open and transparent immigration policy would be accompanied by a strengthening of efforts to combat illegal immigration and especially smuggling and trafficking, not only through increased co-operation and strengthening of border controls but also by ensuring the application of labour legislation with respect to third country nationals”. COM (2000) 757

European Commission consider further development of migration policy not only through joined action and close cooperation between member states on borders control but also through
ensuring European national legislation. However, taking into account this proposition I can argue that and strengthening of border control was not so effective in managing migration process. The discourse is divided in to two parts; the first is about what should be done in practice such as ensuring of border control and what should be done in order to support this practice such as improvement of current legislation.

“The Commission also intends to clarify the way in which the other components of an overall immigration policy must be taken into consideration. These include the fight against illegal immigration, relations with countries of origin and of transit and, especially, the humanitarian dimension – asylum policy – the importance of which has been repeatedly emphasised in recent years and which will be the subject of a separate Communication which is being presented jointly with this one”. COM (2000) 757

Thus the bulk of recommendations focus on the importance of co-operation with countries of origin and transit countries through readmission agreements in order to secure immigration reality. Third states which have singed such treaty obliged to fulfill posed requirements but on the ground when their nationalities are badly treated in the EU they are unwilling to follow posted requirements. These factors were increasingly acknowledged as those which block immigrant access to state social and economic structures.

However, Commission has positive view on economy migration. There is one strong argument is that labor movement in many European countries officially opposed immigration control. The reason for that was the need in cheep labor force and human resources. Importantly, that the way in which immigration was seen by labor market before is well reflected in present immigration and policy.

“Economic benefits may be more positive with respect to highly qualified migrants who are meeting skills needs, than for the low qualified who may, in some cases, be competing with national workers for jobs. It is in the lower skilled sectors (e.g. agriculture and related industries, catering, cleaning) where the largest numbers of undocumented migrants tend to find employment, often receiving wages which undercut the local workforce and sometimes in conditions which may lead to exploitation and to social unrest” COM (2000) 757

Another Commission document stated that “Immigrants represent an important pool of potential entrepreneurs in Europe. Their businesses have a significant impact on EU economic growth”. COM (2007) 512
The European labor market needs more highly skilled workers, such as information technology specialists, business managers and so on. Majority of immigrants who are coming from Africa, Asia or Middle East are unskilled and taking none well paid jobs. In this document Commission also focuses on the impact on social system such as labor market, healthcare system and education. European Commission state that besides common negative perception of labor migration there is also can be a positive effect. In the most cases of labor immigration, immigrants are high educated and experienced people who decided that they can earn more money if they use their knowledge and experience abroad. In such case the host country can have economic benefit from such type of immigration.

Therefore we can see different discussion in member states of how they are beneficial from economic migration. However not all immigrants has a positive impact on labor market, there are economically unbeneficial migrants such as asylum-seekers, refugees and illegal immigrants. A common fear of the European countries is that the flows of labor immigrant can increase the rates of unemployment. Actually it can be true, but there is no any politic, economic or public evidence of the facts that immigration flows has a clear connection to the rates of unemployment. Also it is interesting to see in what sectors of labor market unemployment actually taking place, because high experience professionals are always needs.

"Immigration is a permanent feature of European society. If the flow of immigrants – who should be understood throughout the text as legally residing immigrants in the territory of the Member States - is orderly and well-managed, Member States reap many benefits. These include stronger economies, greater social cohesion, an increased feeling of security, and cultural diversity. Taken together and across all Member States, these benefits advance the European process and strengthen the Union's position in the world. Therefore, the effective management of migration by each Member State is in the interest of all" Council of the European Union 2004 (14615/04).

Council stated that EU is focused on preventing unwanted migration, through visa policy and carrier sanctions rather that create common political instruments which could considerably change the system of managing migration. The benefits of migration can be achieved only through effective management of migration.

"In the comprehensive plan to combat illegal immigration, the European Union has equipped itself with an effective means of bringing about proper management of migration flows and combating illegal immigration." Council 2002

The words of 'combat' and 'illegal immigration' may be identifying as securitization move. Council indeed makes moves towards the constitution of measures that had recognized strong form of immigration control. This move was, however, expressed the process of acknowledgment the link
between migration and security policy. As a result such perception produces more and more awareness and creates insecurity for the European Union.

“A third-country national is the subject of an expulsion decision in cases of a serious and actual threat to public order or to national security” COM (2002) 175

The Commission is presenting immigrants and refugees as threats to national identities. This statement can be considered as a fact of moving the issue of migration from the political field to the security realm. The words “third-country national” and “threat” used in order to differentiate native population and immigrants as two different communities and as a result, state construct a security policy based on enmity (sometimes personal enmity) towards foreigners. Presentation migration policy through security perspective has also sustained the securitization of migration.

“Moreover, the existence of serious grounds for believing that a third country national has committed serious criminal offences or the existence of solid evidence of his or her intention to commit such offences within the territory of a Member State are sufficient”. COM (2002) 175

In this example Commission indicate illegal migration with criminal activity. It can be proved by the fact of high percentage of immigrants which have been imprisoned. This is again the strategy of securitization. The second regulation is the example of criminalization. The way in which migration has been associated and compared with other social problems such as organized crime, which is already securitized issue, has mean that the issue of migration is a similar security case. Such presentation of immigrants as a threat to social systems was an important element facilitating this process of securitization.

“The Commission has emphasized that these policies must be accompanied by additional measures to combat illegal migration” COM (2002) 175

Many of the policy that has been implemented on the issue of migration have been placed under the growing amount of immigrants flows, particularly viewing them as illegal immigrants. Commission has enforced that policies and actions which strive to combat illegal migration must be accompanied by additional measures. Nevertheless, Commission didn’t describe those additional measures and the way of how they should be used. If the Commission recommended using additional measures, it may mean that the previous programs were not so successful and thus need to be changed or modified. Political and consequently security programs can be central components of additional measures.
Migration had been progressively reconceptualized as posing a security threat to receiving countries as being linked to organized crime. This redefinition of migration as a threat was not a product of real changes in the scale of migration such as growing socioeconomic awareness as well as cultural concerns into the migration problem. Securitization of migration may sustain a radical political strategy by excluding some categories of people by identifying them as a danger to social or cultural values. The core of problem is the distinction between the self and the other, inside and outside, EU citizens and non-EU citizens. Securitization always has negative consequences. At European level it has an impact on social integration and social identity and made racist discourse and xenophobia more visible. However, presentation of such suggestions in which migration could be identifying as a security concern and the reality that may be introduced as policy implementation are very far apart.
5. Conclusion

Taken into consideration all the findings I can say that EU see immigration as complicated and problematic issue that has increase social and political debate. The real problem of migration is seen in terms of illegal migration and in close connections of immigrants to the criminal networks. Due to increasing awareness the issue of migration is seen as a security concern. By securitizing migration it is not mean that this issue will be considered only from security perspective, rather it is mean that European Institutions see migration as potential security problem but still security policy is seen to be the core of many polices designed to rule the complex of migration process. Considering securitization of migration this issue didn’t require emergency action to deal with and thus can’t be identify as a real threat for the EU social or other security systems.

Securitization can be used as a political instrument in order to manipulate public opinion on the ground of security. In this sense every society creates its own fears and threats, because securitization is social and cultural product, but not natural. It is obvious that EU see immigrants living in its territory as a case of social awareness to the unemployment and criminal activity. However, the statements made by the EU institutions presented migration as security threat in many European countries trend to produce violence and xenophobia. Hence, as long as the issue of migration is defined as a security issue, it will continue to be a case of negative perception and political debates. Considering the negative effect of securitization on states systems, policymakers would further restrict immigration policy in order to reduce unwanted immigrants. This can be seen in resent policy changes of boarder security that has become a safety security net. I also would like to say that in the way in which an issue is presented is particularly significant for how it is perceived.
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