

TESTING THE SECURITIZATION PARADIGM OF THE SO-CALLED COPENHAGEN SCHOOL IN THE CASE STUDY OF EUROPE MIGRANT CRISIS IN 2015

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Abstract: Migration is an international phenomenon and contentious concept. Although people have been moving by political, economic and cultural motivations since the beginning of the human history; particularly recently, migration fuels traditional fears over national and societal security. Because, migration, a normal or typical political issue can be altered to a security threat by repetitive and successful speech acts. This fact has often been referred to as 'the securitization of migration', which means the presentation of migration as a security threat. In this regard, the arrival of more than one million refugees to the EU in 2015 -Migrant (Refugee) Crisis- constitutes an important milestone. The starting point of this study is to depict "How the securitization process of the 'Migrant Crisis' was operated". It will be in charge of defining not only the key-concepts, such as "securitization move" and "securitization", but also of what are the success criteria are. According to this study, securitizing actors and their speech acts have opened the way for the success of securitization by providing the perfect ground for altering the question of Migrants into a survival issue. To analyze the characteristics and the implications of securitizing the migration issue within the EU, this article primarily engages with the theoretical approach developed by the so-called Copenhagen School, which outlines how issues become threats those need to be handled by extra-ordinary measures.

Key Words: Security, migration, securitization, EU

Resumen: La migración es un fenómeno internacional y un concepto polémico. Aunque las personas se han trasladado por motivos políticos, económicos o culturales a lo largo de los siglos; la migración alimenta en la actualidad antiguos temores sobre seguridad nacional y social. Dado que la migración, un problema político normal, puede transformarse en amenaza de seguridad por cómo se habla de él -actos de habla-. Este hecho se ha denominado a menudo como "la securitización de la migración"; es decir, el considerar la migración como una amenaza existencial. En este sentido, la llegada de más de un millón de refugiados a la UE en 2015, la crisis de los inmigrantes (refugiados), constituye un hito importante. El punto de partida de este estudio es describir "Cómo se llevó a cabo el proceso de securitización de la 'Crisis Migratoria'". Se tratará de definir no solo conceptos claves, como "securitización" y "acto de habla", sino también cuáles son los criterios que contribuyen a construir con éxito dicha securitización. Según el presente estudio, actores securitizadores y sus actos de habla han abierto el camino para su triunfo, al proporcionar el terreno perfecto para transformar la cuestión de los migrantes en una cuestión de supervivencia. Para analizar las características y las implicaciones de la securitización de la cuestión migratoria dentro de la UE, este trabajo aborda principalmente el enfoque teórico desarrollado por la llamada Escuela de Copenhague, que describe cómo los problemas se convierten en amenazas que deben manejarse con medidas extraordinarias.

Palabras clave: Seguridad, migración, securitización, actos de habla, UE

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1. INTRODUCTION

Migration is a worldwide phenomenon and for ages there are people on the move. People have been moving not only by political and economic motivations, but also by environmental and cultural concerns and this makes migration an integral part of human history. But in recent years the volume, orientation and characteristics of migration have transformed in such a way that, many consider migration to be the most important issue facing the world. Even though, the global trend of migration remains intra-continental and industrialized countries hosts small per cent of displaced people, this does not avoid sparking heated political debates particularly in Europe. Some argues that migration has major benefits, but many other blame the migration for being the Trojan horse of crime, terrorism, infectious diseases, political instability, cultural erosion and economic collapse. Accordingly, presentation of distorted view of migration fuelled the arguments that immigrants have the potential to threaten the internal security (through increasing crime and disorder), societal security (through challenging the white-Christian values) and economic security (through taking jobs and social funds from the native-born). This leads to the 'securitization of migration' and results with shaping the dominant discourse solely through security-related vocabulary.

In fact, securitization of migration is not an issue that Europe is unfamiliar with. During the first years of the post-Cold War era and in the wake of the terrorist incidents in 2001, migration and security were considered as inter-connected. Nevertheless; Europe Migrant Crisis¹ in 2015 -the arrival of more than one million people to the European territories (The UN Refugee Agency, 2015) gave an extra stimulus, which provoked harsher policy orientations in Europe, otherwise would have met with greater opposition. The Europe Migrant Crisis became the European Union's (EU) primary challenge since the euro crisis had come out and a variety of security-related rhetoric and practices emerged. Consequently, it may not be irrelevant to mark the year 2015 as the end of an epoch and the beginning of a new one. The old framework and the old understanding of migration and security came into question with the emergence of such an unexpected reality. Whether the threat is real or not, migration has become an important subject of security studies, as migration was linked to security in the most extreme way.

¹The tragic incidents in the Mediterranean Sea in 2015 called large media coverage and the problem became serious enough to be considered as crisis. However, there is a "conflict" over the words used to refer to the same crisis. In general, "Migrant Crisis" is used as a neutral term by many Western media organizations. However, some other media organizations such as al-Jazeera decided not to use migrant and instead say "refugee". Further information is available at <<http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-34061097>>. In addition, some also use "Mediterranean Migrant Crisis", "European Migrant Crisis" or "Syrian Refugee Crisis" since the vast majority of the refugees was primarily from Syria.

The present paper aims to test the validity of the securitization paradigm applied to the 2015 Europe Migrant Crisis. This will be done vis-à-vis the question: whether and how migration -a non-traditional security sector- has been evoked and transformed as a top priority security issue at European level in 2015. To answer this question, three sub-questions will be asked:

1. Did a securitizing move occur during the 2015 Europe Migrant Crisis?
2. If so, was the securitizing move accepted by the target audience?
3. If migration issue was successfully securitized, any emergency policies were also put into effect?

This study attempts to map the whole process according to the three steps outlined in the securitization framework developed by the so-called Copenhagen School (CS): identification of existential threats; emergency action; and effects on inter-unit relations by breaking free of rules (Buzan, *et.al.*, 1998: 6). Most importantly, practices of security actors will be examined to figure out not why; but, how they securitize this issue. The CS, approaches to securitization negatively, since it means a shift from regular, democratic principles and rule of law; and affirms de-securitization (downgrading the exceptional measures and placing the referent object into the realm that is inside of normal politics). However, this will be excluded from this study due to scope and the whole focus will be put on the securitization process.

The 2015 Europe Migrant Crisis is particularly selected for its likelihood to illustrate securitization characteristics, because of its 'crisis' nature and it is anticipated that unprecedented panic facilitated the conditions for successful securitization. In applying securitization theory as an analytical framework, this study intends to enhance the understanding of the complexity of the securitization paradigm and depicts the 2015 Europe Migrant Crisis from a different perspective. This study aims to show the process, in which language is used to construct the migration issue as a question that requires immediate legal and practical measures. Plus, it is expected the prove that securitization acts are not exclusively reserved for states and military affairs, but rather it would be applicable to non-state actors (EU) and non-military issues (migration) as well. The knowledge from this empirical case will contribute to adapting the same pattern into similar cases too.

When studying migration, terminology matters, since the debate on terminology is not only a question of political correctness, but it has also real implications on migrants. Many people including the general public, academia and public officials reduce migrants into two broad categories: the "legal" and the "illegal". The dichotomy is not only false (Not people, but the acts can be illegal), but also unethical since the word "illegal" implies a legal conclusion (Pace and Severance, 2006: 69). In this study, the term "migrant" is used as a generic title to



encompass all other terms such as emigrant, immigrant, irregular migrant, undocumented immigrant, refugee, asylum-seeker etc.²

Essentially, this study is conducted in an exploratory and epistemological position which allows room for interpretation and provides empirical evidence on the linkage between migration and security. The indispensable component of securitization theory, speech act/discourse, is examined by browsing into the official documents and public discourse of the political actors in the media. The reference media sources are selected for practical reasons for English language, online accessibility and reputation. Even though this research is done mainly through a qualitative methodological approach, public opinion surveys and filtration of specific keywords in EU policy documents (discourse analysis) are also used to understand the process better.

Since the process is analyzed from a macro perspective, this study especially takes into account the decisions taken at European level and the discourse of decision-makers from either EU institutions or Member States. Correspondingly, all other national or trans-border actors such as civil society organizations, private military/security companies, the general public, radical right movements, media and so forth had to be left out to some extent. In order to prevent this study from becoming too broad, only the year 2015 in which the amount of migration reached the largest in the 21st century was taken into consideration. Furthermore, 2015 was the year when considerable public attention had been attracted and immediate decisions had been taken as well.

The structure of this thesis is as follows. After an introduction of research question and methodology, the following chapter presents an overview of the subsequent and relevant literature on security-migration issue. Later, third chapter highlights the historical background in which migration was steadily approached to security. And the next chapter introduces and explains the CS securitization theory, deals with its theoretical foundation, key assumptions and some of the criticism it receives. The fifth chapter constitutes the empirical body of this study and tests the relevance of securitization theory on our case study of 2015 Europe Migrant Crisis. Finally, the last chapter concludes the main findings to discover whether and to what extent our analysis corresponds to the notion of securitization and evaluates the shortcomings of the methodology applied as well as suggestions for possible future research.

² Emigrant is a person who leaves one country to settle permanently in another by variant reasons such as work, education or family reunion.

Immigrant is a person who has moved into a new, foreign country.

Irregular migrant is a person who, owing to irregular entry.

Refugee is a person who flees conflict or persecution. He/She is defined and under protection of international law, and he/she must not be expelled or returned to situations where his/her life is at risk.

Asylum-seeker is a person who has not yet received a decision on his/her claim for refugee status.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

There is plenty of academic debate regarding the security and migration studies respectively. Apart from that; the duality of threats, apparently caused by migration towards national sovereignty and human security are largely reflected specifically in much of the recent academic literature. From contemporary security studies, Boswell argues that since 1970's migration started to become politicized, in which restrictive migration policy was prioritized regarding economic concerns. Huysman (1999: 8) also prompts that, "the most significant steps in the Europeanization of migration policy correlates with a growing consensus about the need to restrict migration". Furthermore, he defines the third pillar on Justice and Home Affairs (JHA), the Schengen Agreements and Dublin Convention as the clear indicators of securitizing the migration process. Ceyhan and Tsoukala (2002: 21-39) are also among the scholars who present the core idea that the integration of Europe, migration and securitization are interrelated concepts. They develop the idea further by addressing to the widespread promotion of preventive and repressive migration policies. To Lazaridis and Wadia (2015), 9/11 marks a crucial moment of for European states to integrate more "securitization" into present migration regime. Watson (2009), shows that migration policy is not simply legislation but rather reflects the construction of a problem created by political elites. He further demonstrates how the securitization of migration produces real policy effects on inter-unit relations. In parallel with this, Guild (2009) presents an international political sociology perspective and opposes the idea that migration and security are strictly state-centric issues. Moreover, she sheds light on the jeopardy that promotion of migration by solely political actors and media has real social consequences on individuals from both local communities and migrants. In one of the few recent studies, while Ostrand (2015) illuminates the Migrant Crisis with data and concludes that the international community failed to respond to the refugee influx, Ruiz and Giménez (2017) indicate the symbiotic relationship between the securitization politics and capitalist market from a critical point of view and call attention to the gigantic trade between different public institutions (like ministries of internal affairs or defense) and private armament companies. Last but not least, Kleinschmidt (2006) argues that over the last two hundred years immigrants have been categorized as threats and the migration policy of the states was mostly dominated by the stereotype image of miserable immigrants. However; 21st century has been witnessing a "new migration", which widens the definition of security actors and has new security demands.

To sum up, there have been numerous studies to investigate security-migration nexus and previous studies have almost exclusively focused on its negative aspects. The literature generally suggests that security concern is a vital element of migration policies. Although their analyses have met with general acceptance, there is still considerable uncertainty on the implication of securitization paradigm on an event with crisis nature which goes beyond state-level.

3. EVOLUTION OF EU SECURITY CONCERNS IN THE MIGRATION FIELD

What we know about securitization of migration at EU level is limited due to lack of comprehensive knowledge regarding the historical background. This section is a preliminary attempt to provide further understanding for the inter-subjective construction of security in the migration field, which primarily rests and enacts on the previous experiences. There is vast amount of historical issues in the evolution of migration policy at European level; however, this study is not specifically designed to present the chronology of this kind of phenomenon. Therefore, the huge volume of information on the historical construction of security and migration dilemma at European level will be compressed and presented in short.

Above all, political spill-over of migration has been drawn since the 1980s but the issue gained prominence in 2000s when migration became a crucial polarizing issue. Dichotomies between “natives and newcomers” in political discourse (Lazaridis and Wadia, *op.cit.*, 2) and “portraying migration as an ‘inevitable’ battle of competing interests between ‘us’ (citizens) and ‘them’” (migrants) served as a perfect tool to politicize the question of migration (Stone, 2012: 396). The more an issue is discussed, the more politicized it becomes. Eventually, more and more actors became involved in discussions. The purposive engagement of different actors in decision-making processes opens way to securitization –which will be discussed in the next chapter in depth- by challenging the status-quo and requiring new government decisions and resource allocations.³

The migratory character of the EU Member States is heterogeneous; and Member States would be categorized roughly into four groups: the northern zone (Ireland, United Kingdom, Denmark, Finland and Sweden) has been very dynamic in terms of migratory movements; the central zone (Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Germany, France, and Austria) is the main focus of immigration attraction that goes to Europe; the southern zone (Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece) has undergone a radical change, since it has turned into a transit destination from being a migrant provider region; and the Eastern zone (Bulgaria, Czechia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Romania,) consists of Member States which are in favor of emigration rather than immigration (Martínez, 2016: 61). Therefore, it is always a challenge to combine these diverse characteristics and interests in order to create a common migration policy at EU level.

To achieve this, no other thing but security logic has been the amalgam of bringing diverse interests and characteristics of Member States in the migration area (Karyotis, 2007: 51). Subsequently, this perspective has always been reflected, re-

³ In some cases, politicization of an issue does not necessarily equate with securitization. Such as humanitarian aids to third countries. However, it is always possible to link a politicized issue to security, since security is a very broad term, and encompasses a broad array of topics from health to environment, development and culture. Therefore, it is argued that politicization explicitly or implicitly supports securitization and always have the potential to start a securitization process at any time and point.

articulated, and further developed. The first initiatives in the 1970s, when there were changes in the labor market, favored the rights of the domestic workers vis-à-vis foreigners. A political rhetoric started to represent immigrants as competitors (Huymas, *op.cit.*, 65). After mid-1980s, the control of the borders shifted to the European level and the security acts were driven by a specific process of articulating new threats (Joppke, 2011: 18) due to dramatic increase of circulation of migrants and refugees within Europe. Immigration was linked to crime and the term "crimmigration"⁴ emerged.

Following the collapse of the Iron Curtain in 1990s, as civil conflicts and separatist movements caused large displacements of civil populations across Europe and the near abroad, the focus was shifted once again on migration policy. With the establishment of the European citizenship in the Maastricht Treaty (1993) and the introduction of a chapter on asylum and migration in the Amsterdam Treaty (1999), migration issue gained a significant momentum by containing more security aspects. A number of security-related institutions, rules and regulations were developed and the migration issue was elevated to the "high politics" (Carrascosa, 2018).

Moreover, at Tampere European Council (1999), a five-year action plan, covering 1999–2004, called for a 'common European asylum system' and measures to stem irregular migration was concluded. And after the dramatic events of 9/11 attacks (2001), Madrid (2004) and London (2005) bombings when the migration had been increasingly linked to terrorism, a new five-year (2005–2009) action plan (Hague Programme) was created to reaffirm the objective of creating a common European asylum system. Since then, the essence was moved from human rights to national security. When The Hague Programme was ended in 2009, Lisbon Treaty "normalized" the issue by assimilating the third pillar policies within the first one (European Communities). The importance of migration, asylum and border control is evident in the fact that they are presented just at the beginning of the Treaty (Article 2) and the objective was defined as the creation of common immigration and asylum policies (Article 63).

All these initiatives over the past years reflected securitarian concerns and made migration and security inseparable or even "synonymous" to each other at EU level (Karamanidou, 2015: 50). Apparently, the manufactured spillover of the security in the EU policies for decades, extremely facilitated the securitization acts of migration during the 2015 Europe Migrant Crisis as well.

4. SECURITIZATION THEORY

Under International Relations discipline, the field of security studies has become one of the most debated areas and in line with the rise of new threats and challenges (e.g. environment, migration) new schools of thought -critical security studies- have emerged by the end of the Cold War. The new literature on security

⁴ A term coined by law professor Juliet Stumpf to reflect the intersection of crime and migration.

became clearly noticeable by a shared interest towards the social construction of security, and this constructivist way of conceptualizing security is mostly associated with the Copenhagen School (CS).

The theoretical foundation of the CS is primarily attributed to Barry Buzan's 1983 book "People, States and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations" and Ole Wæver's 1989 Working Paper "Security, the Speech Act: Analyzing the Politics of a Word". It worked out more systematically later by Buzan, Wæver and De Wilde, who combined their work in a book called "Security, A New Framework for Analysis" in 1998. CS contributed to the present-day security studies by offering an innovative mindset on broad spectrum of security concept which is mostly based on social-constructivism. According to this, securitization is a process in which a normal or typical political issue is altered to a security threat through speech acts.

The security analysis paradigm proposed by the CS, develops the concept of sectors and widens the traditional understanding of security by adding new sectors (Buzan and Wæver, 2003). In other words, "extends the definition of security 'horizontally' to include political, economic, environmental, military and societal sectors and 'vertically' to include referent objects such as the individuals and the groups" (Wæver, 2004: 9). However, it performs it precisely in a balancing way between two opposing positions of "the wideners" who want to include new dimensions to military security and "the traditionalists" who warn against the risk of a conceptual dilution that security would mean anything (Rothe, 2016: 36).

The core assumption of the CS is "securitization" concept which suggests that the objectivity or reality of the threat is not under question, but rather its socio-political construction through speech acts matters with the purpose of ensuring the public consent (Buzan *et.al.*, 36). In this regard, securitization is a process between three realms: Threat, securitizing actor and audience. For that reason, these notions need to be clarified first.

Threat is portrayal of certain issues as something extremely hazardous to the existence of the referent object. Here, the referent object can either be the state, the nation, the nature, or the culture etc. Therefore, the survival and maintenance of this referent object should be a top priority for a large portion of the population in question.

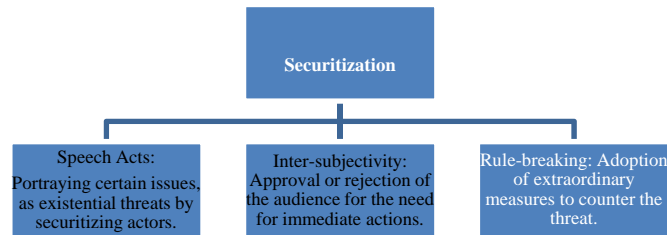
Secondly, the securitizing actor plays a pivotal role in the securitization process. Even though politicians, bureaucrats, media and interest groups may all be securitizing actors, it is often expected that the main actor must be in a position of authority. In practice, securitization actor can either be an individual, an organization, or an institution and different actors may always have different thresholds for defining the threat and counter methodologies to eliminate them (Balzacq, 2005: 191-193). A security argument always involves two predictions: "What will happen if we do not take security action and what will happen if we do" (Buzan *et.al.*, 32). By depicting a threat, the securitizing actor often claims and exaggerates that someone cannot deal with it in the normal way (Buzan *et.al.*, 25-26).

Securitization is an inter-subjective context, since interpretation of the threat is negotiated between the securitizing actor and the relevant audience (Stritzel, 2007: 363). After all, the audience is expected to accept the threat as such in order to match the defining characteristics of securitization. When there are no signs of such acceptance exists, it is only possible to talk about a securitizing move, but an uncompleted securitization process. Paradoxically, the success of securitization is heavily dependent on the audience, rather than the securitizing actors. Here, the main question is: "Does the audience agree that something is an existential threat to their shared value?" (*ibid.*, 31).

Since securitization is an inter-subjective and socially-constructed process, special attention needs to be paid on "speech acts", because speech acts are at the hearth of the securitization operation. Wæver (1995: 55) points out that security is equated with speech act and "by saying it something is done". Solely through discourse, a securitization actor asserts that an existential threat requires special treatments, which may surpass standard procedures. "Conditions for a successful speech act fall into two categories: the internal, linguistic, and grammatical to follow the rules of the act and the external, contextual and social to hold a position from which the acts can be derived" (Buzan, *et.al.*, 32).

Securitization studies aims to gain a precise understanding of whether certain actions "fulfill the security criteria". Being more specific; Have the securitizing actor managed to mobilize support? Who is the audience and what are the facilitating conditions? Have extraordinary actions been taken? And what might be the impact of such securitizing acts on other units? (*ibid.*, 33-35).

Table 1: Encapsulating the Securitization Theory



Last but not least, it might be necessary to underline the fact that CS regards securitization as a negative concept, as it permits actors to break democratic rules to deal with a socially-constructed "monsters". Therefore, CS favors de-securitization, by moving issues "out of emergency mode and into the normal bargaining process of the political sphere" (*ibid.*, 4).

Despite its systematic conceptualization of security, securitization paradigm receives several critics too. First of all, it is only applicable to Western liberal democracies, due to the role of the audience. Furthermore, the role of mass media and social media (especially in terms of visibility) in the securitization process is largely ignored, despite the fact that they may accelerate the securitization process. Another critic comes about the societal security concept. McSweeney (1999) argues



that by defining society in terms of a single identity, the securitization notion risks fostering and legitimizing intolerance between identity groups. In addition to that, Williams (2003) draws attention to the ethics of securitization and emphasizes the risk of securitizing irrational politics through speech acts and Huysman (1999) indicates the paradoxical fact that writing or speaking security already makes the analyst executing a speech act. Furthermore, the CS does not provide any framework about either the threats can be justified or not. Besides, securitization theory also receives critics from Diez and Squirem (2008) who assert that one of the shortfalls of the securitization theory lies under the ambiguity of corresponding to whether or not particular groups or individuals serve as security 'threat'. In addition, they claim that facts as a whole are not securitized, instead certain forms are subjected to securitization. Another critic can be found in Olesker's study (2018). To Olesker, legitimacy is a source of power between the political elites and the audience during the approval of threats and their immediate nature, however; he reaches the conclusion that "the literature on securitization provides little clarification on the significance of 'legitimacy' and how it operates in the securitization process". Some others also suggest how securitization is a far more complicated process than it seems. For instance Bourbeau (2011: 18) states that securitization is not a binary notion, but rather is a scattered inter-action process. Bourbeau also questions the ambiguity of the description of audience, despite its important role in the securitization process. The theory does not answer the questions like "What is a sufficient audience?" or "How to measure it?" (*ibid.*, 41). Ultimately, McDonald (2008: 565) asserts that securitization theory makes too little explanation on discourse analysis and the way in which speech act is constructed and developed.

All in all, securitization is a more extreme version of politicization, where several policy areas are taken beyond the established frameworks (Buzan *et.al.*, 24-25). Accordingly, securitization theory seeks to analyze the process of how an issue from a non-politicized or politicized area transfers to security area, how it becomes an existential threat via speech acts by security actors and how it convince the audience for accepting extra-ordinary measures to be taken. And it is mainly criticized for its simplified conceptualizations and exclusion of non-discursive acts from the theory. However, securitization theory provides important revenue for researches studying security, by moving the gravity of analysis away from merely material factors to social-political ones and depicting the process of inter-subjective construction of security between securitizing actor and audience in relation to a threat.

This chapter has provided insight into the CS securitization theory and explained the actors, conditions and stages of a securitization process. For a complete securitization, a securitizing move has to be initiated by the securitizing actor and has to be accepted by the target audience. This happens by speech acts and an issue moves into immediate security realm from a politicized or even non-politicized area. Ultimately, although it is not compulsory for a successful securitization, use of extra-ordinary measures has to be approved as well.

5. SECURITIZATION PRACTISE DURING THE 2015 EUROPE MIGRANT CRISIS

As this study is particularly interested in 2015 Europe Migrant Crisis, a short introduction is required. The background of the crisis goes back to the March, 2011, when the political instability and increased sectarian violence in Syria erupted and resulted with more than a quarter-million of deaths and 4.5 millions of refugees.⁵ As the Syrian government was unwilling or unable to protect the citizens, high numbers of individuals were forced to leave their homes.

Although the international refugee system was created on the shared understanding that refugees are subjected to universal norms and rules and it is the common responsibility of the global society to take necessary measures, neither the Arab countries nor industrialized countries (e.g. USA, Russia, Israel, Japan, and South Korea) offered any resettlement places. Proximity to the region, its political and economic stability, and the false image that Europe pursues open-door migration policy resulted with over 1 million irregular migrants in a single year.

Despite the crucial distinction between a migrant and a refugee, while migrants are subject to the receiving country's immigration laws and the refugees are processed under the 1951 Refugee Convention and entitled to basic rights under international law,⁶ the terminologies were blurred with the "extra-ordinary people movement towards Europe in 2015". To cut a long story short, European response came immediately but insufficiently.⁷ Matthias Ruete's, Director General of the Directorate General for Migration and Home Affairs of the European Commission, summary is crystal-clear that the EU is facing an 'unprecedented crisis' with 'unprecedented' flows of refugees and migrants for which the 'current system was

⁵ The majority of refugees took shelter in Syria's neighbouring countries (Approx. 3 million in Turkey, 1 million in Lebanon, 650,000 in Jordan. However, the number of asylum applications in the EU-28 exceeded 1,2 million as well. "Asylum Applications (non-EU) in the EU-28 Member States, 2008–2018" (2019). *Eurostat*. <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum_statistics> (Accessed at 01.09.2016).

⁶ International Refugee Law is a part of international humanitarian law. According to Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948 (Article 14/1) "Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution." Plus, 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, and 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees (that lifts the time and geographic limits of the 1951 Convention) reflect the basis of the international refugee regime which are binding upon the signatory States. According to this, refugees not only have the right to physical safety, but also should receive at least the same rights and basic help as any other foreigner who is a legal resident, including certain fundamental entitlements of every individual. (Refugee Protection: A Guide to International Refugee Law (2017). *The UN Refugee Agency*, <<http://www.unhcr.org/publications/legal/3d4aba564/refugee-protection-guide-international-refugee-law-handbook-parliamentarians.html>> (Accessed at 01.08.2016).

⁷ When a number of boats sank in the Mediterranean Sea, with the loss of more than 1,300 migrants in April 2015, a special meeting was held by the European Council on 23.04.2015, and it was agreed to strengthening the presence at sea, fighting traffickers, preventing illegal migratory flows and reinforcing internal solidarity and responsibility. European Council (2015). <<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2015/04/23-special-euco-statement/>> (Accessed at 01.08.2016).



not designed' (2015 EMN Conference). Even though EU laws (Dublin Regulation) state that "asylum seekers must remain in the first European country they enter and that country is solely responsible for examining migrants' asylum applications", in practice it became ineffective as several EU Member States (Greece, Italy etc.) received the largest number of incoming requests due to their external borders. Eventually, a huge institutional chaos came out since the existing norms and rules are incompetent and inadequate to deal with sharply increased flow of migration. The situation was imprecisely called as "Europe Migrant Crisis" or "Europe Refugee Crisis". Here the word "crisis" became a common rhetoric as it indicates a difficult or dangerous situation that needs serious attention. Conforming this, as discussed in previous chapters although migration and security were interconnected at EU level for a long period of time, migration had been largely stayed as still a bureaucratic issue, until it became a fundamental security issue in 2015, not necessarily because of its nature, but because it was presented as such.

The securitization initiatives of Migrant Crisis are considered to be run in order to cope with sudden refugee influx, to by-pass the disaster scenarios produced by media and far-right political parties and to cool down the public opinion. Broadly speaking, as shown in the previous section, securitization has two phases: Portraying the referent object as threat and convincing the audience to accept the implementation of extra-ordinary measures.

Based on the constructivist ontology, securitization needs the pioneering role of the security actors. In this regard, -political elites- performed the leading role since they had power to spread uneasiness among the society. Consequently, a number of non-state actors such as political opposition, the Church, the academia, grassroots movements, and the media became other securitization actors within their capacity to mobilize the public opinion. As a result, a multi-actor based securitization process took place with the aim of creating a perception of immediate threat and it is implied that the securitization process is not against the traditional vision of security, but rather serves it better (Revelo, 2018: 58-69).

The conception of securitization rested on the discursive framing of migration as a boogie and in this regard, irregular migrants were presented as posing an existential threat to three vital domains: national security, welfare system, and identity. Here, "speech acts" let the migration question gain popularity in public debates and provoke unfavorable sentiments towards new arrivals (Ceyhan and Tsoukala, *op.cit.*, 22).

"Something becomes a security problem when the elites declare it to be so" (Wæver, *op.cit.*, 6). Checking the migration discourse of several decision-makers in the EU and Member States, it was visible that its humanitarian aspects were largely ignored, but security aspects were strategically polished. Because, "a securitizing speech act needs to follow a specific rhetorical structure, derived from war and its historical connotations of survival, urgency, threat, and defense" (Munster, 2012). Therefore, theory of securitization, as originally proposed by the CS, shall be applied to analyze the language used by mainstream European politicians and officials. This practice will show how the speeches of powerful individuals were

built upon aggressive, threatening and intolerant discourse. Frankly speaking there is abundance of speech acts regarding this phenomenon, but only a few were included in this study to save more space to the rest of the analysis. To start with, President of the EU Council Donald Tusk addressed to the risk that the crisis had the potential to destroy the Union (Deutschewelle, 2015) and the European Parliament President Martin Schulz warned that Europe hasn't failed yet, but the situation is extremely concerning (Spiegel Online, 2015). European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker also mentioned the emergency situation (European Parliament, 2015), so did the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Federica Mogherini, who described the migrant crisis as "not only a humanitarian emergency but also a security crisis" (The Telegraph, 2015). Beside, First Vice-President of the European Commission Frans Timmermans stated that "every single European" will feel the consequences of the crisis (Euroactiv, 2015). And not only the EU officials but also the leading political figures of EU Member States used an antagonistic language as well. Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban, positioned migration as a threat to the Europe's survival (The Guardian, 2015a), and the Czech President Milos Zeman defined the crisis as "an organized invasion" of Europe and claimed that European culture was being exposed to the risk of oppression by a foreign culture (The New Observer, 2015). The Foreign Minister of one of the six founding members of the Union – Luxembourg- alerted that the crisis could cause the collapse of the EU and could even trigger a war (TRT World, 2015). Italian Prime Minister Matteo Renzi urged for the need of an EU-wide solidarity and "blackmailed" the rest of Europe that, otherwise Italy's plan B would hurt whole continent (The Guardian, 2015b). Many other European politicians referred to "threat" in their discourse as well. While Jorge Fernandez Diaz, Spain's Minister for Internal Affairs claimed that the "terror threat" was increased (Press, 2015), Poland's leader of the ruling party Jaroslaw Kaczynski speculated about how refugees would bring parasites and diseases to the local populations (Huffington Post, 2015). Slovenian Prime Minister Miro Cerar mentioned that in an extreme situation the borders would eventually have to be defended with wire, the police, and even with the army (About Croatia News, 2015). Besides, Danish Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen stated that "We must go further than fine rhetoric, warm feelings and the many likes on Facebook. We must commit each other to action. Also further down the line" (Danish Prime Ministry, 2015). Some politicians used natural catastrophic metaphors in their discourse too. When the German Finance Minister associated the refugee flow with avalanche (The Local, 2015), a British deputy of the parliament equated it with tsunami (The Guardian, 2015c). All these quotes show how the "speech act" of the security actors (re)defined the security by providing a powerful vector for extra "dramatizing" the threat (Buzan *et.al.*, 26). Apparently, three sequential elementary speech acts were used respectively (Vuori, 2008: 77-79):







- Claim: Something is an existential threat.
- Warning: The threat is realized soon, if something is not done.
- Demand: Something should be done.

Additionally, media functioned as a transmitter of hate speech and discourse, and migration was increasingly inter-twined with criminal activities such as terrorism, human smuggling, sexual assaults, theft and vandalism. Unsurprisingly, migration was much more associated with insecurity, in the aftermath of the Copenhagen shootings in February and Paris terror attacks in November 2015, and the media acted as a main actor to stigmatize the migrants by using a particular form of framing perceptions. The investigations reveal that press coverage in all Member States featured anti-migrant perspective throughout the crisis (Georgiou and Zaborowski, 2017) and this helped to create a perception that migration and insecurity are synonymous to each other.

Speech act was also performed in official documents too. Whilst it is not possible within this study to analyse every single documentation regarding the given policy area, the ones that have been selected below are subjected to a critical discourse analysis⁸ to demonstrate the most common themes used throughout the EU documentation. While checking up the discourse used in official documents, the emphasis is given on special wordings such as: security, immigration, false, illegal, European values, solidarity, fake, and terrorist. Words that are particularly used to provoke insecurity among the public are highlighted. In May 2015, the European Commission presented an ambitious set of solutions with the purpose of ensuring security at home and at borders, and managing migration more effectively: A European Agenda on Migration. Roughly, the document was divided into three chapters, in which short term and medium term objectives were defined, and four pillars approach to manage migration was identified. While taking into account the fact that even the articulation of the word “security” does something, a complex security language was carefully used throughout the text. First of all, there were two references to Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) in the document, which clearly links the military combat to the threat (migration). The term “immediate actions” moves the threat (migration) into a category which needs a quick response. Ultimately, the repetitive use of criminal terminology in the text, served to portray the migration and migrants together with illegal acts, which eventually calls the need for effective security measures.

⁸ Discourse analysis is the methodology used to highlight the masked meanings and socio-political consequences in a given speech or text that are constructed by the discourse. For further information: Jørgensen, M.W. & Phillips, L. (2002). *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London: Sage Publications.

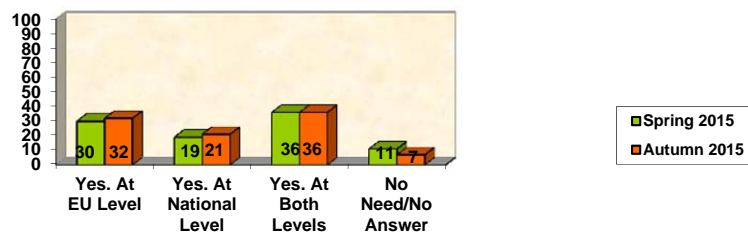
Table 2: The Linguistic-Grammatical Form in the Text

The Term with crime connotations	# of use in the text
Immediate 	14
Criminal 	14
Smuggling/Smuggler 	29
Illegal 	7
Risk 	7
Abuse 	3

Beside the securitizing actor and their speech acts, CS introduces another actor in the securitization process: the audience. When the securitizing actors use speech act to convince (or manipulate) a significant portion of audience, in the end, it is the relevant audience to accept or refuse this securitizing move. Therefore, the audience has primary role to define the success of the securitizing move. And as Dover argues, the essential reality is “what the public opinion is” apart from whether the security concerns are realistic or not (Dover, 2008: 118-130). Due to lack of clear definition of the audience and the exact relationship between the actor and the audience in the securitization theory, the study analyzed the results of the EU-wide public opinion survey. Having a closer look to the *Eurobarometer* statistics of Autumn 2015, almost 90% of the respondents reported that they agree with the additional measures in order to fight with the illegal immigration. Furthermore, the vast majority (68%) of the Europeans expressed their support for taking additional measures at either European or both national and European levels. This also means a 2% increase in public support for adopting new security measures, comparing to the previous survey held in Spring 2015. These figures precisely confirm that the audience seemed to accept the securitizing move.

Table 3: Public Support for Actions towards Irregular Migration

Question: Should additional measures be taken to fight against illegal immigration of people from the outside of the EU? (%)



Source: Eurobarometer Surveys



In addition, many far-right (radical) populist political parties⁹ with anti-immigration agendas made notable gains in elections throughout Europe in 2015, which might be regarded as another indicative that a significant portion of the European population support the securitization of migration by even more restrictive and harsh anti-immigrant policy implementations.

Table 4: Vote Share of Far Right Populist Political Parties in General Elections in 2015

EU Country	Political Party	Share of Vote in the Previous Elections	Share of Vote in the 2015 Elections	Share of Change
Denmark	Danish People’s Party	12.3	21.1	+ 8,8
United Kingdom	The UK Independence Party	-	12.7	+ 12,7
Finland	Finns Party	19	17.7	- 1,3
France	National Front	13.6	27.7	+ 14,1
Greece	Golden Dawn	7,5	7	- 0,5
Poland	Law and Justice Party	29,9	37,6	+ 7,7
				+ 6,9

Source: Aisch, G. Pearce, A & Rousseau, B. “How Far Is Europe Swinging to the Right?” (2017).

Far right political parties contributed to the securitization process as periphery actors, by encouraging agents to make further security speech acts and to move beyond daily policy practices. And their power of influencing the decision-makers was coming from their steadily increasing popular votes, which has an average of slightly less than 7% increase in seven EU member states which had general elections during the Europe Migrant Crisis in 2015.

And finally, CS does not mention the adoption of emergency measures as a must for a complete securitization move, and only asks the consensus of subjects (Securitizing actor and audience) which makes it possible to legitimize emergency measures when it needs (Buzan, Wæver and De Wilde, 1998). If there are measures that go beyond the usual practices, then they constitute the final step of the securitization process. However, what constitutes an extra-ordinary measure is not clearly defined and therefore extra-ordinary measures would be evaluated as the unusual paradigm of the political realm (Emmers, 2006: 135). As a response to 2015

⁹ Above all, radical right political parties do not define themselves as radical right. Nevertheless, despite their significant differences and background, all have a common rhetoric with strong populist elements, in which immigration jeopardizes state and societal security. In any case, this is a subject which goes beyond the scope of this study and here, it is considered as an indirect indicator of public support for securitization of migration.

Europe Migrant Crisis, the most speculatively, a decision on relocating 160,000¹⁰ migrants to the Member States with a total budget of €780 million was taken. Moreover, it was stated that if a Member State cannot temporarily participate totally or in part in a relocation decision, it will be asked to make a financial contribution to the EU budget of an amount of 0.002% of its GDP. Also, implementation of a hotspot approach (An immediate support of EU Agencies (European Asylum Support Office (EASO), European Border and Coast Guard Agency-EBCG, Frontex, and Europol) to the border countries facing highest number of migrant arrivals, was decided under the generic title of "combating irregular immigration" in "A European Agenda on Migration". Furthermore, EU interior ministers have agreed to execute several rules to suspend the passport-free travel in the Schengen zone when it needs (Financial Times, 2019). It became beyond doubt that migrants were regarded as threat, rather than needing to be protected. Following instructions by the European Council, European Union Naval Force Mediterranean (EU NAVFOR Med), and a naval operation was launched in the Mediterranean Sea and the deployment of Rapid Border Intervention Teams (RABIT) was decided. Additionally, the Commission initiated to establish a European Border and Coast Guard to facilitate the effective management of the external borders, to increase security within the Schengen area, and to introduce mandatory systematic checks of EU citizens at external land, sea, and air borders (European Council, 2015).

Eventually, a series of diplomatic attempts at international level were simultaneously put into effect as well. The European Commission announced a proposal for a regulation establishing an EU common list of safe countries of origin (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, North Macedonia, Kosovo, Montenegro, Serbia and Turkey, and adding an annotation that others may be added in the future), which has an objective of regulating the swift processing of asylum applications from persons originating from countries designated as safe (European Commission, 2015). The regulation was addressing to the common EU procedures for granting and withdrawing international protection, with an objective of standardizing the asylum and border procedures of EU member states. Furthermore, the geographic limits of the counter-migration measures were extended to the non-EU countries by transforming them into so-called border-guards. For example, New Partnership Framework with Third Countries policy was initiated first in October 2015, with the aim of saving lives at sea, preventing illegal migration, enhancing cooperation with third countries on returns and readmission of irregular migrants, linking migration and development policies and fostering investments in partner countries. In line with this, an international summit on migration between the EU, and the African and other key countries concerned was held in Valletta (Malta) in November 2015 to create a common platform for promoting and organizing further international cooperation in the migration field. Plus, the EU and Turkey agreed on a joint action

¹⁰ The Justice and Home Affairs Council adopted in September 2015 two Decisions to relocate 120.000 + 40.000 (160,000 asylum seekers) from Italy and Greece to the member states based on Commission proposals. In the framework of the second implementation package (September 2015) Czechia, Hungary, Romania and Slovakia voted against the EU proposal to relocate 120,000 migrants.



plan, in which the EU is committed to provide an initial €3 billion to assist Turkey with the condition to keep Syrian refugees away from EU territories (European Council, 2015). Also within the EU, a total of €2 billion were allocated to a Member State –Greece– to help it cope with the migrant crisis in its territories. The allocation of financial assistance was designed not only from the “Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund”, but also from the “Internal Security Fund” which shows an extra evidence of securitization of the migration as well (European Stability Initiative, 2019).

Besides supra-national level, security actors were enabled to take exceptional measures at national level too. Labeling migration as an alert issue resulted with tangible implications in the relevant policies, regulations and laws. In this regard, for example, greater surveillance, detention, and more restrictive policies were introduced (Koser, 2011). One of the most contested measures was building fences and walls, like much of the previous *Iron Curtain*. While Bulgaria announced its own plan for constructing a border fence with its Turkish border and Estonia announced its own wall with Russia, Hungary had already finished building fences at the Croatian and Serbian borders. Additionally, Hungary adopted a new series of “martial laws”, which allowed its law enforcement units to operate in detention centers and its military forces to use non-lethal weapons against migrants. The government also deployed armed troops to its border (Council on Foreign Relations, 2015). Furthermore, the Schengen arrangements which are commonly assumed as the starting point of linking security to migration were temporarily suspended by a number of EU Member States and national border controls were re-introduced by Germany, Austria, Sweden and Denmark. These are just some of the extraordinary measures that were taken by the EU and Member States to overwhelm the refugee crisis in short and medium term. Eventually, police, army and security forces were emerged as key actors in the migration field in whole Europe, and the Migrant Crisis demonstrated that nation states were willing to practice “self-help”, when they suppose that EU was not quick of doing so.

This section has shown how a progressive securitizing move occurred in the proceedings of Europe Migrant Crisis in 2015. Although relatively small number of irregular migrants looked for shelter in the EU countries compared with in neighboring countries like Turkey and Lebanon, the issue rapidly turned into a Europe-wide crisis and immediately securitized by the securitizing actors through a series of speech acts, which convinced the significant number of audience about the need for adopting immediate and extra-ordinary counter-migration measures. To put it differently; the securitization occurred as a result of a social-construction process, Migrant Crisis was framed around an issue of security, rather than humanitarian perspective and moved from the realm of “daily” politics to that of an exceptional issue posing an existential threat to Europe.¹¹ Adapting our findings to the

¹¹ It is noteworthy that, Ole Wæver indicates a “gray zone” between normal and extra-ordinary politics which requires further investigation and adds that there is also need for additional work on partial securitization issue. Wæver, O. “Securitisation: Taking Stock of a Research programme in Security Studies” (2003). *Unpublished manuscript*. Available at:

securitization concept of the Copenhagen School as defined as the following: "Based on a clear idea of the nature of security, securitization studies aims to gain an increasingly precise understanding of who securitizes (*Politicians at national and EU level*), on what issues (*Migration*), for whom (*Nation States, the EU and the European people*), why (*For survival*), with what results (*Actors reached a consensus for the adoption of practices beyond the normal political realm*) and, not least, under what conditions (*Securitization is much more successful under the crisis conditions*)" (Buzan *et.al.*, 32).

6. CONCLUSION

Security is a contentious concept used under several disciplines and its various definitions have been competing with each other in order to catch the essence of the word. The CS provides a distinct reading of security through a theory called "securitization". In this regard, the question of "whether and how migration - a non-traditional security sector- has been evoked and transformed as a high priority security issue at European level in 2015" could be solved by examining the processes of securitization. By all means, adopting a securitization framework evokes presenting subjectivity of security and its socio-political construction.

Linking migration with security issue has a relatively long history in Europe. But the arrival of over one million displaced people to the EU countries in a single year triggered certain policy orientations. In that sense, the securitization of migration policy, put differently, conceptualization of migration as a security issue became a prominent debate. Bringing the migration issue into the public space led the involvement of more political and security actors to the debate and finally opened the gate to securitize the migration issue in the EU, by challenging the status-quo and requiring new government decisions and resource allocations. Considering the five sectors determined by the securitization theory: the economic, the societal, the military, the political and the environmental sector; migration is presented as a cross-sectoral threat to the identity, economy and the political stability of Europe.

The answer to the first sub question (Did a securitizing move occur within the 2015 Europe Migrant Crisis?), it is investigated whether the political leaders in Europe articulated and designated of a threat since a securitization move cannot be realized without an initiative of securitizing actors. And it is discovered that several speech acts performed by the European leaders presented the threat as the migration itself. Especially, the portrayal of migrants as, euphemistically speaking, "undesirable" became more pronounced in public discourse by the migrant influx to the EU. The speech acts promoted the 'us vs. them' thinking, and provoked the survival instinct. In order to convince the audience to go beyond standard political measures, the urgency and the level of the threat was often exaggerated by those



securitizing actors. Therefore, it is easy to figure out that a securitizing move had occurred. However, the success of the move is determined by looking at whether the move was accepted by the target audience or not. Hence, a second sub-question was formulated as: Was the securitizing move accepted by the target audience, provided a move had occurred.

The analysis of the securitization of migration during the 2015 Europe Migrant Crisis so far suggests that; as those particular messages were transmitted to the audience successfully; the securitizing move was accepted by the target audience according to the results of the public polls. Confirming this, large percentage of the populations showed their willingness for a transformation in existing policies. Questioning the role of audience also helped us to understand how security is an affirmative and inter-subjective process between different actors.

Taken together, it is seen that the migration question of 2015 was successfully securitized in the EU. But although the execution of extraordinary measures is not indispensable for a successful act of securitization, it is further questioned whether emergency actions were also put into effect. The answer was not surprising. As the issue of migration is re-constructed and re-articulated by a strict security language persistently, the doors for counter-measures out of the usual political realms were opened with the purpose of “surviving” Europe, which otherwise would have met with greater resistance. During the 2015 Europe Migrant Crisis, security concerns justified suspending old rules, launching new procedures, and reallocating massive resources.

Based on the positive results of the sub-research questions, this study concluded that migration -a non-traditional security sector- has been evoked and transformed as a high priority security issue at European level in 2015 through a complete and successful securitization move.

Obviously, the Crisis facilitated the conditions for securitization, and beside that, securitization theory provided a sophisticated and systematic approach to analyze how extremely politicized issues could evolve into security issues. In addition, thanks to the CS approach it was seen that security is not neutral or objective, but rather it is a socially constructed concept by inter-subjective interactions. But it is also important to mention the limits and the deficiencies of the theory. First of all, one of the tough challenges for all researchers is lack of a clear methodology and a standardized format of the theory. Secondly, there is too much emphasis on speech acts but no analytical tool is described to show how to run the analysis. Furthermore, the exact relationship between the securitizing actor and the audience remain enigmatic, and the description of the audience is vague. Moreover, the theory is ambiguous in terms of addressing to extraordinary measures.

By way of reconciling securitization theory with its critics, further studies could analyze more on different aspects of speech acts, the qualification of inter-subjective relations and where the separation line goes between the ordinary and the extra-ordinary security measures.

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