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Migration and the Problematic Issue of State Security. The Need of Securitization of Migration at the Level of European States

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Abstract: In analyzing the problems of migration we must take into account factors such as the advancement of technology and communications, the easier access to much faster modes of transportation, the inequality between countries, and not least, the migrants already settled in different countries which are offering support to the new-comers, and all these lead to an increase of international migration. Other important factors include the aging population, the fluctuations of the labor market and the expansion of the medical services which have continuously fuelled the demand for migrants from the developed countries, while the low wages and the high unemployment rate encourage people to look for perspectives outside of the borders of their native country.
The political factor is the one that will decide what are the migrations' threats to national security and how the states from the international system should be treated. Due to the differences in political and global dynamics, international migration has become a bigger and more complex issue.
Taking into account the topics presented above, we can assert that the matter of migration has two major directions which coexist, primarily the one which assures the security of migration through different control measures of the frontier and combating illegal immigration. The first direction is very closely tied to the concept of common space of liberty, security and justice. The second one, as a component of the European social model, is focused of the social and economic dimension of migration.

Keywords: *international migration; state security; international cooperation; liberty; justice.*

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1. Foreword

The present article is theoretically addressing the problem of international migration in regards to its impact upon the security and stability of states.

We propose to analyze, on a theoretical level, the characteristics of securing migration at the level of European states, bringing clarifications towards certain issues such as what presupposes security at a conceptual level mean and how the need of controlling migration is constructed in the collective mindset, taking into account the results from the most recent rapport ("*Global Migration Indicators*", 2018) concerning the trend of global migration, conducted by the IOM – International Organization for Migration.

International migration was and still is a very dynamic process, which entails the relocation of an individual or group, willingly or otherwise, which has been influenced constantly by economic and social factors or security (protection). Migration implies the movement of a person or a group of people, either over an international frontier, or in a state, a movement of a population, which encompasses any type of migrating people, regardless of size, composition and its causes; it includes the migration of refugees, of the displaced people, the economic migrants and the people travelling for other purposes, including the family reunification (IOM, 2011; IOM, 2019).

Movement is a characteristic of the populations from the earliest times, this being recognized as a human right acknowledged worldwide through the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and not only. Article 13 of the Declaration supports this right: „Everyone has the right to travel freely and to make his residence upon the territory of any state" and „Everyone has the right to leave a country, including his native one, and to get back". (Tudorache, 2006).

2. State security and migration securitization

Migration is determined by different factors, from the ones tied to development opportunities through educational services or professional development, to the forced migration determined by aspects of a geopolitical nature, which are threatening the well-being or even the life of citizens taking part in armed conflicts, etc. In the last years, it was noticed a considerable increase in the number of migrants and resettlements due to conflicts, persecutions, degradation or the unexpected environmental

changes, but as well as due to a profound lack of human security and authentic development opportunities.

Literature had presented a series of revolt movements at the level of many Arab countries as being the generators of unprecedented migratory phenomena towards Europe. The Arab Spring (Noueihed, 2011), sustained by powerful tensions regarding the security and the standard of living in the countries in which it has manifested, has given rise to a new wave of migration from the very poor developed countries from Sub-Saharan Africa, and later on, from the Middle East and Northern Africa, towards Europe (Ghincea, 2016). In the given context we must analyze an aspect generated as a response to the need of control of the migration phenomena, respectively – the securitization of migration.

Even at a discursive level, migration has begun to be seen as requiring a securitization, the discourse gradually contributing to the construction of some movements, policies and strategies of state security. Securitization of migration requires special attention, even more due to the fact that migration as phenomena (especially from the Arab countries) has gradually become to be associated with the terrorist acts, a threat to public safety and health as well as to the social-cultural development of the host nations.

Securitization of migration is constructed on the discourse level as a necessity in stopping the threat posed by the phenomena, securitization both in a military sense and of public safety (being often associated with the risk of terrorist attacks) as well as a threat to the economic security (the availability of jobs for natives and the social care costs). (Ghincea, 2016).

Securitization is defined as form of social practice, and of communicative action, as a discursive act that changes the inter-subjective meaning of a situation/problem, along with the mode in which political deciders and the public relate or interact with it. (Buzan, Waever, De Wilde, 1997; Ghincea, 2016). The process of changing the meaning of a subject/information can lead to its perception by the public as being a security issue, therefore becoming a securitization process, as it converts apolitical subjects by rhetorically declaring them as existential threats that need to be solved by using extraordinary measures, therefore removing the subject from the domain of normal politics and bringing it into the domain of extraordinary. (Ghincea, 2016).

The focus on the discourse of the above definition has been critiqued by many theoretical directions, and one of those was the Paris school (Bigo, 2002). The concept is redefined by the followers of this school by focusing on the communities and the networks of professionals through

which their bureaucratic practices, (in) secure different subjects; this (in) securitization leads in fact to an institutional control of the domains belonging to public policy, in detriment of democratic institutions. (Ghincea, 2016). This leads to a control of social political and economic phenomena owned by security institutions that launches beliefs that the migrants are a public menace for the country where they will settle, they transform a natural process into an immediate threat to the well-being of the host population. This type of behavior can lead to the necessity of developing some extraordinary, special measures of maintaining balance, therefore the societies controlling such actions can require from the State much larger budgets in order to cover the crisis strategies which they need to develop, access to more advanced technologies, etc. Therefore it is created a theater of operations for the newly created state of crisis, an extraordinary state requiring extraordinary actions.

Another perspective of securitization is developed by Thierry Balzacq, according to which securitization is „an articulated ensemble of practices where metaphors, instruments of politics, image repertoires, analogies, stereotypes, emotions, etc., are contextually mobilized by a securitization actor who is working in order to mobilize a public auditor, to built a coherent network of implications (feelings, sensations, thoughts and institutions) regarding the critical vulnerability of the referential object, which are in agreement with the reason of the securitization actor for actions or elections, through the investments of the referential object with an aura of an unprecedented threatening complexity, thus a specific policy needs to be immediately adopted in order to be blocked." (Balzacq, 2015; Ghincea, 2016; Egres, 2018).

The dependence on the context of security leads to a process of securitization equally adapted to the public discourse and the relation between the one who issues the information and the receiver; securitization can be seen as a strategic practice, „as a part of a configuration of circumstances, including the context, the psycho-cultural dispositions of the audience and the power which both the speaker and listener will bring in the interaction." (Szalai & Gőbl, 2015; Ghincea, 2016).

We find in the current literature upon the migration some examples related to the effects of migration securitization, starting from the experiences level of European states. Szalai and Gőbl have shown how the symbolic instruments used on discursive level in the geopolitical sphere lead to the construction of some practices justified by the collective mind as being necessary to in order to ensure a good state security and a protection of the population in front of the wave of migrants, perceived as the

manifestation of an economic crisis and possibly social-cultural identity critical period for the host nations. When Hungary built the fence at the border with Serbia it has actually contributed in building the Self as being in danger, manifested as an extremely symbolic instrument if migration securitization, a physical artifact which symbolizes the separation and security from the Other. (Szalai & Gőbl, 2015; Ghincea, 2016).

3. Stages in developing migratory policies in Europe

Securitization at the level of the European Union has developed together with the development of Europe, with the end of the World War 2, when Europe has begun to build a series of policies regarding immigration and the movement of people between the borders of the national states (Ghincea, 2016). We shall explain, in short, the stages of migration policies development in Europe, for a better understanding of the security status of the European states, both on discursive and practical level, starting from the history of the migration policies of the Western Europe. (Huysmans, 2000; Ghincea, 2016)

A first stage is the period between 1940-1960, during which migration was perceived, both by the public as well as the deciders, as being a desirable and positive aspect, given to the necessity of reconstructing a Europe drained by the World War 2. Europe needed active and cheap work force to replace the losses caused by the war and thus were shaped pro-immigration policies which favored the immigration of the ethnic Europeans from others states from the continents, as well as of the population who left the old colonies. Migration and free circulation towards Western Europe was not viewed as a Security problem, but more as a form of success of western capitalism over communism (Ghincea, 2016).

The second stage takes place between the end of 60s and the 80s, being characterized as the commencement of the concern upon the migration, from the economic perspective of the European states. This was primarily caused by the oil crisis from 1973 and the incapacity of the European states to adapt to the new economic conditions. The system of social care and the institutions responsible with the employment began the construction of the migrant label as an economically problematic person. The consequence of these discursive constructions is the ban of work-focused immigration, allowing only the family reunification. Towards the end of the period, during the 80s, a process of Europeanization of the immigration policies takes place – it is established free circulation of the people in the territory of the Community and it is prepared the Schengen

Space. Europeanization and securitization are developing in parallel. (Bigo, 2009; Benam 2011; Ghincea, 2016)

The third stage begins during the 90s, as well as after the terrorist events from 11th of September 2001, moments which sparked the political discourse about migration as an attack on national security. The new discourse about migration rhetorically requires the control of the extra-European migration flow. Due to the necessity of migration securitization and for the cultivation of a clearly defined European identity, it appears the existential dichotomy European people vs. people from third states. The Europeans will be distinguished from those outside the European states by Community specific rights and free circulation on the territory of the member states, and on the other hand, the citizens of the third countries will be subjected to tighter controls at borders. After the terrorist events of September 2001, both United States and Europe begin to create the image of an illegal immigrant, a potential terrorist or even a criminal, a threat to any of the host countries (Ghincea, 2016). The process of securitization is in full development, being more and more institutionalized after the terrorist events from London and Madrid (Farny, 2016), and the migration phenomena had become, at the level of social-discursive construct, a threat on the survival of the state and the public safety (Ghincea, 2016).

4. The context of development of today's migration. Socio-economic benchmarks

At legislative level, there are many instruments which regulate and sustain the process of migration, both at the European level, as well as internationally and globally.

Globally, the General Assembly of the United Nations (ONU) has adopted in September 2015, the 2030 Agenda for sustainable development. Within this agenda, for the first time ever, international migration has been recognized as being an integral part of the worldwide sustainable development. The agenda encompasses 17 objectives of sustainable development, of which eleven contain objections and/or indicators which are directly addressed for an efficient approach of migration.

In order to render a more up-to-date situation about the status of international migration we will refer to the data published by the International Organization for Migration within the report Global Migration Indicators 2018.

The IOM report is presented as a synthesis of what is currently known about migration (IOM, 2018). Based upon national statistics,

obtained after population censuses or from population registries and representative investigations at national level, the report makes an analysis of the most recent trends about migration. At the same time the demographic contribution of migration is evaluated, the ratification status of the relevant conventions is examined and the recent evolutions regarding the migration at United Nations level are resumed. (United Nations, 2017)

Since collecting these data requires many resources both in time and instruments, the authors of the report have enunciated the limitations and challenges that such a rapport can present in terms of accuracy, completion or representation of data. A first challenge in meeting the characteristics of accuracy and completion is given by the fact that countries do not register efficiently, do not report and do not realize statistics at national level about the situation of migrants, and much less, they do not retain information such as migration type, whether it is about work migration, irregular migration, or returning to the country of origin; a second challenge lies in the fact that the majority of international statistics about migration are collected at national level, situation which can generate difficulties in comparison; the third limit is that the data about migration are reported in a certain period of time, in an interval of a few years, therefore some tendencies of this phenomena can be only analyzed for large periods of time, retrospectively. (Global Migration Indicators, 2018)

There have been tackled 17 thematic areas by means of which were analyzed each target group of the migration phenomena: the population of migrants - dimensions and flow; the migration of the work force; the mobility of students; returns; forced migration, travel and reintegration; irregular migrants; missing migrants; modern traffic and slavery; illegal traffic of migrants; returns to the native country – forced and voluntary; integration of migrants, health and well-being; migration of children and women; migration and the environment; governing migration; public opinion; potential of migration; the capability of migrated data. (IOM, 2018)

We are presenting some data of the centralized statistics from IOM report:

Population of migrants – dimensions and flow: According to the report of the International Organization for Migration from 2018, 258 million international migrants have been counted worldwide in 2017 – people living in another country that the origin one, out of which 124.8 million women, 36.1 million children, 25.4 million registered refugees, 150.3 million active migrants used as work force and 4.8 million international students. (UN DESA, 2018; UNHCR, 2018)

Labor migration: From the point of view of the labor force, according to the International Labor Organization (ILO) in 2013 there were estimated 150.3 million migrant workers worldwide. Approximately two thirds of all international migrants of that year were migrant workers. (ILO, 2015). The male population with working ability surpasses the female population, 55.7% of the migrant workers are men; the age group most commonly registered was between 15 - 24 years old. In 2013, after some analyses, ILO has identified that 33% of the migrant working population of that year have chosen Europe as migration region, with the largest ratio, followed by North America, where 24.7% of the migrant working population is located.

Student Mobility: the statistics for 2016 with regards to the migration of students/pupils indicate a considerable increase from 2000 (2 million students), to 4.8 million students in 2016. In the migration context, students/pupils are defined as those who have crossed a national or territorial border for education purposes and are now enrolled outside of their home country, according to UNESCO. In accordance to an empirical study (Bijwaard & Wang, 2016) regarding the flow of foreign students in the Netherlands in the period 1997-2007, when the students become unemployed they are more inclined to return to their native country. For the students in developed countries (including EU) who can find a job, their return is not affected, while the students from less developed countries are more likely to leave after finding a job. (Bijwaard & Wang, 2016, p. 52; Plopeanu, Homocianu, 2017, pp. 61-88)

Forced migration, dismissal and reintegration/relocation:

Up until the end of 2017, 68.5 million people have been resettled by force all around the world. The causes for these displacements have been: persecution, conflict, general violence or abuses of human rights. Compared to the number of people recorded a decade ago, the data from 2017 indicate a double number of these cases. The biggest increase has been recorded in 2012 and 2015, caused by the Syrian conflict. The total number is 25.4 million refugees (19.9 million under the UNCHR Mandate and 5.4 million Palestinian refugees assisted by the de UNRWA), 40 million people displaced internally (IDP) and 3.1 million asylum seekers. (UNHCR, 2017)

4.1. Characteristics of international migration in Western, Northern and Southern Europe

Inter-regional migration. The European Union is one of the regions with an increased migration, both at an inter-regional level, as well as internationally. Inter-regional migration is characterized by a particular dynamism, given the fact that movements between the European states are

constantly being registered. On 1st of January 2016, there have been registered 16 million people living in a state belonging to the European Union, but having the citizenship of another EU member state (Eurostat, 2017; IOM, 2018). Such a high level of migration is due to the EU interstate arrangements, which target the free movement of citizens within the internal borders of EU, without any additional verification - The Schengen Space which clears the borders between European states, encompasses 22 EU member states and 4 non-EU states, is offering freedom of circulation for 400 million citizens (European Commission n.d.a; IOM, 2018). In 2016, the highest number of citizens that have migrated to other EU member nations has been registered in Romania, with around 3 million migrants, followed by Poland, Italy, Portugal and the United Kingdom (Eurostat, 2017; IOM, 2018).

In 2018, 22.3 million people (4.4%) from all those 512.4 million people living in the EU on 1st of January, were citizens from outside of the EU. (Eurostat, 2019)

Problems about migration – important points in the European agenda in 2016 and 2017

Most migrants that have come to Europe through the Mediterranean Sea have travelled by boat from Libya into Italy or from Turkey to Greece by the Aegean Sea. In 2016, almost 390,000.00 people have arrived to Europe through the Mediterranean region, both by land as well as by sea (arrivals were identified in Bulgaria, Cyprus, Greece, Italy and Spain), over 360,000.00 people have arrived by sea (IOM, 2017).

In 2016, over 180,000.00 migrants have arrived to Italy by sea, with 16% more than in 2015. The route from the Central Mediterranean Sea from Libya towards Malta and Italy has been by far the most deadly way in the world for the illegal immigrants in 2016, with an estimated 4,500.00 deaths and reported missing immigrants – the highest number ever recorded in the region ("*About: Missing Migrants Project: Tracking Deaths Along Migratory Routes*", n.d).

The international cooperation is an essential component for ensuring an assured and controlled migration which implies, first of all, the respect of human rights and the human treatment of the migrants.

Rhetoric anti-migrants in the political discourse, in public policies and in media

The vast flow of migrants towards the European states had triggered, at the level of the society, and adverse reaction regarding the acceptability of the waves of population. According to a study conducted in May 2015, the perception about migrants in many European societies has had a negative tendency: migration of people outside the EU has sparked a

negative feeling for a majority of Europeans (56%) (European Commission, 2015). A poll conducted between December 2016 and February 2017 with interviewers from countries such as Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Spain and United Kingdom, has concluded that a majority of 56% of the populations have declared that any later migration from the majority of Muslim countries should be stopped (Raines, Goodwin, & Cutts, 2017). Led by the negative perception towards Muslim migrations in the European states, many Europeans are overestimating their numbers; this attitude is later leading to offensive behavior and language towards migrants. Starting from November 2016, the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights has indicated that violence, harassment, threats and xenophobic speech that targets the asylum seekers and the migrants remain dire, being done by State authorities, private companies, citizens or groups of vigilantes. (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2016)

Conclusions

Our daily life is getting more connected to the circuit and global phenomena. One of the phenomena that influence our social status in a more powerful way, at national, European or global level is the international migration. International migration, now more than ever, is becoming a complex occurrence which interfere the economic, social and security aspects. Security is a term increasingly associated in the analyses concerning migration, a trend sustained by the extremely large flows of migrants, especially towards European countries.

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