

## SECURITIZATION OF MIGRATION IN THE EUROPEAN UNION - BETWEEN DISCOURSE AND PRACTICAL ACTION

**Claudia Anamaria IOV<sup>1</sup>**  
**Maria Claudia BOGDAN<sup>2</sup>**

---

### ABSTRACT:

*LEGAL AND ILLEGAL MIGRATION IN EUROPE PRECEDING THE END OF THE COLD WAR IS THE HIGHLIGHT FOR RESEARCHERS, THE MEDIA, POLITICIANS, ECONOMISTS AND SOCIOLOGISTS, BOTH BY THE EFFECTS IT HAS ON A SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC LEVEL, BUT ALSO BY THE DIRECT ONES ON SOCIETAL SECURITY. THE MAIN OBJECTIVE OF THIS PAPER IS TO CAPTURE THE INTERDEPENDENCE CONNECTION BETWEEN MIGRATION AND SECURITY AT A EUROPEAN LEVEL AND TO EXAMINE THE WAY IN WHICH THE EU APPROACHES AND MANAGES THE ISSUE OF SECURITY IN TERMS OF LEGAL AND ILLEGAL MIGRATION, WHICH IS THE SOURCE OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIETAL SECURITY. THE FIRST PART OF THIS ARTICLE MAKES A REVIEW OF THE SPECIALIZED LITERATURE IN RELATION TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF MIGRATION-SECURITY RELATIONSHIP WITHIN EUROPE. THE SECOND PART ANALYZES EU'S INTEGRATED MEASURES IN APPROACHING SECURITY, FROM LEGAL ISSUES, TACKLING OF THE ISSUE IN THE UNION TREATIES AND POLITICAL DISCOURSES TO THE EFFECTS OF EU'S IDENTITY CONSTRUCT PROCESS. HOW DID MIGRATION BECOME A SECURITY ISSUE? TO WHAT EXTENT HAVE TRADITIONAL SECURITY APPROACHES/TOOLS BECOME USELESS FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF IMMIGRATION AND THE PROVISION OF SECURITY AT EUROPEAN BORDERS? TO WHAT EXTENT IS THE NEW SECURITY AGENDA OF THE EU AN INTEGRATED RESPONSE TO THE CURRENT MIGRATION FROM AND TOWARDS EUROPE? THESE ARE SOME OF THE QUESTIONS THAT WE WILL TRY TO ANSWER THROUGH OUR ANALYSIS.*

---

**KEY WORDS:** MIGRATION, SECURITY, EUROPEAN UNION, SECURITIZATION.

### INTRODUCTION

Events such as the fall of the Iron Curtain, the economic and political crisis that followed in Central and Eastern Europe, the “identity crisis” of the EU have made the old continent witness certain events which led to the appearance of a high degree of anxiety (justified or not) regarding the issue of uncontrolled migration, an anxiety that affects not only the political circles but also

---

<sup>1</sup> Claudia Anamaria Iov, PhD, 3<sup>rd</sup> Grade Scientific Researcher at Babeş-Bolyai University, Faculty of History and Philosophy, Department of International Studies and Contemporary History, e-mail: cladyayov@yahoo.com.

<sup>2</sup> Maria Claudia Bogdan, PhD, Teaching Expert at Babeş-Bolyai University, Faculty of History and Philosophy, Department of International Studies and Contemporary History, e-mail: mera\_claudia@yahoo.com.

various sectors of society, offering analysts the chance to speak of a “Fortress Europe”<sup>3</sup> once more.

The main objective of this paper is to capture the interdependence connection between migration and security at a European level and to examine the way in which the EU approaches and manages the issue of security in terms of legal and illegal migration, which is the source of political, economic and societal security. The focus is on the manner in which the national and regional dimensions of security were completed with the international and transnational dimensions, which include a series of new actors (profile NGOs, the media or specialized EU institutions like FRONTEX are added to the origin, transition and host states) and a wide range of monitoring and control tools. The European Union is heading towards building a common legal framework for the proper management of migration (especially to control the phenomenon of illegal migration), and some of the most recent stages of building this framework prove the fact that the management of migration should also include a trans-sectorial security approach.

### MAIN TEXT

The “Arab Spring” and the tensions that result from this event in several states south to the Mediterranean mark the beginning of a massive migration from underdeveloped states in North Africa or military instable ones from the Middle East towards Europe. Consequently, the European media has begun to pay more attention to the number of immigrants arriving on the Italian shores. In August, approximately 25,000 Tunisian immigrants have reached the Italian shores. As a result, a part of the public opinion and the media have defined it as an “invasion”<sup>4</sup>. It wouldn’t be the first time when migration became a concern for the European governments. In 2001, following the terrorist attacks in the U.S.A., the process of migration securitization became a constant concern of the American leaders.

In 2005-2006, the Cayucos crisis<sup>5</sup> also pointed out the fact that migration fluxes could be perceived as a threat to the European security. In this regard, tools, actions and policies have been elaborated, as it was believed that the protection and control of borders are essential for ensuring national and EU security. Thus, a shift from the risk of a nuclear attack during the Cold War, to multiple threats to security coming from terrorist groups and drug dealers or illegal migration networks is being felt. As a result, migration, borders and immigrants have started to be perceived and discursively constructed as an existential issue of security. This discursive construction of migration as a threat to the states’ national security has taken various shapes during the last two decades, with focus on certain security sectors, from the military to the political, culminating with the societal one<sup>6</sup>.

---

<sup>3</sup> Virginie Mamadouh, The Scaling of the ‘Invasion’, A Geopolitics of Immigration Narratives in France and The Netherlands, *Geopolitics*, 17:2, 2012, p.392 on-line: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2011.578268>, accessed 01/27/2017,

<sup>4</sup> Gemma Pinyol-Jiménez, „The Migration-Security Nexus In Short: Instruments And Actions In The European Union”, in *Amsterdam Law Forum*, Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 36-37, available at <http://amsterdamlawforum.org/article/viewFile/255/442>, accessed on 02.02.2017.

<sup>5</sup> The crisis of the “de los Cayucos” is a case of illegal immigration; 1% of the foreigners arriving in Spain, do exactly that, while over 62% of the immigrants arriving in Spain do it by plane. For more information, see INE 2008, <http://www.ine.es/jaxi/Tabla.htm?path=/t15/p418/a2008/hogares/p01/modulo1/10/&file=01001.px&L=0>.

<sup>6</sup> For details on the security sectors, see Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, Jaap de Wilde, *Security – a New Framework for analysis*, translated: George Jinglău, (Cluj-Napoca:CA Publishing, 2010).

In *Security, a new framework for analysis* Barry Buzan, Ole Weaver and Jaap de Wilde define societal security as a *security of identity*<sup>7</sup>, referring to *their communities and identities*<sup>8</sup>. The same Copenhagen School argues that security issues are built on the discursive act, hence we can speak of securitization only when there is an audience / public to accept this case as a matter of security. The concept of securitization within international relations has emerged as a theoretical reflection of the Copenhagen School and as a result, the analytical framework of securitization stands on the constructivist view on the world<sup>9</sup>, being firstly analyzed by Ole Weaver in the paper *Securitization and Desecuritization*<sup>10</sup>. In the paper „*Security. A New Framework for Analysis*”, Barry Buzan says that „*the process of securitization is what in language theory is called a speech act. It is not interesting as a sign referring to something more real: it is the utterance itself that is the act. By saying the word something is done*”<sup>11</sup>

A process of securitization requires a securitizing actor, a referential object (the state, for example), as well as an audience. Only when all these elements exist, can we speak of a securitization process. There are two legitimate questions regarding the emergence of migration securitization: (1) *What are the mechanisms involved in the securitization process?* And (2) *How do we account for the variation in the level of securitized migration across cases*<sup>12</sup>? At an EU level, migration can be securitized through two processes, the first at a discursive level (especially used by political actors, more pronounced during election campaigns) and the second aiming at the creation of security agencies, based on Jeff Huysmans’<sup>13</sup> analysis (FRONTEX is such an agency at an EU level, alongside the common European policies on migration).

American political scientists, Martin O. Heisler and Zig Layton-Henry consider migration an issue of security that is also responsible for the emergence and disappearance of the two emblems of ancient history, Greece and Rome<sup>14</sup>. Since then, this phenomenon has been directly affecting the development of the European society, politics, culture and economy, with direct effects on the reduction of disparities between the developed and underdeveloped areas. The immigrant fluxes (business/professional or not) and refugees from the Middle East, the Balkans, Northern Africa, countries dealing with a high degree of military insecurity, social tensions, economic underdevelopment or religious conflicts, heading towards Europe, looking for a decent and safe living, are a priority on the EU’s security agenda. This priority is justified by the significant number within the EU, the interval 1985-2015 registering an alarming growth of the

<sup>7</sup> Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, Jaap de Wilde, *Security – a New Framework for analysis*, translated: George Jinglău, (Cluj-Napoca:CA Publishing, 2010), 172.

<sup>8</sup> Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, Jaap de Wilde, *Security – a New Framework for analysis...*, 172

<sup>9</sup> Jef Huysmans, „The politics of insecurity: Fear migration and asylum in the EU” (London:Routledge, 2006), 26-28

<sup>10</sup> Ole Wæver, „*Securitization and desecuritization*” in *On Security*, Ronnie Lipschutz (New York:Columbia University Press 1998), chap. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, Jaap de Wilde, „*Security. A New Framework for Analysis*”, (London:Lynne Rienner Publishers,1998), 26.

<sup>12</sup> Philippe Bourbeau, *A Study of Movement and Order: The Securitization of Migration in Canada and France*, A dissertation submitted in the partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy in the Faculty of Graduate Studies (Political Science), The University of British Columbia (Vancouver), July 2008, p. 51, available at: file:///C:/Users/acer/Downloads/ubc\_2008\_fall\_bourbeau\_philippe.pdf.

<sup>13</sup> See Jeff Huysmans, „*The politics of insecurity: Fear migration and asylum in the EU*, London:,Routledge, 2006), Ole Wæver, Barry Buzan, Morten Kelstrup, and Pierre Lemaitre, *Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe*, London:Pinter Publishers, 1993).

<sup>14</sup> Ionel Nicu Sava, *Teoria și practica securității [The theory and practice of security]*,( Bucharest :University of Bucharest, 2012), 53.

phenomenon, exceeding 30 million people, and by the effects it creates on security, economy, society and culture. With respect to the importance and visibility of immigrants in the European society, Barry Buzan stated that „*the threat of migration is fundamentally a question of how relative numbers interact with the absorptive and adaptive capacities of society... The fear of being swamped by foreigners... is easy to mobilize on the political agenda as a security issue*”<sup>15</sup>.

In another train of thoughts, migration produces complex, trans-sectorial effects, both in the countries of origin and those of destination. The conclusion is that, if for the countries of origin, migration provides the people working abroad with the opportunity for economic growth, professional development and new skills acquirement, which is, first of all, the chance to a better life and financial support for the family members at home, for the countries of destination which are economically developed, immigrants represent a way of dealing with the strong lack of young, specialized manpower on the labour market, but also an integrated (smart) response to the enhanced ageing process of the European population. For example, in 2010, the EU states with the oldest population were Germany with 16.9 million and Italy with 12.2 million<sup>16</sup>. Without a policy encouraging birth rate within these states, the long-term support of economic growth will require frequent resort to external labour force, constantly promoting encouraging policies for economic migration.

Migration is perceived by the host countries as an issue of national and international security. On the one hand, as an issue of international security, migration affects the security of national borders, referring to the illegal crossing of the border, illegal migration networks, guides, organized crime, arms, drugs or human trafficking, all of which being threats that need to be eliminated. It should be noted that in order to increase the sense of “insecurity” within the host societies, the relationship between international migration and extremist and terrorist actions were easily transformed to a “zero priority” by certain public, political actors and agitators in their speeches. The securitization of borders and migration thus becomes in a full refugee crisis, the leitmotif of the public speeches of the Hungarian Prime Minister, Viktor Orban and representatives of the Party or FIDESZ, ...”*There is no alternative, and we have no option but to defend our borders*”<sup>17</sup>, as a reaction to the mandatory quotas approved in the Justice and Home Affairs Council, on September 22<sup>nd</sup> 2015. What is interesting is that border defense is invoked when you are a member state within a community that is recognized for removing borders and frontiers in the favour of a free movement area. Analyzing these statements, we notice that the existential security threat that he talks about is referred to both in terms of military and public safety, and in terms of economic security.

Another interesting aspect of the host societies is the strong perception of insecurity that results from the fact that migration is presented, especially by the media, as a threat to the state’s security, caused by the arrival of an increasing number of immigrants. In these circumstances, the

---

<sup>15</sup> Barry Buzan, „Societal Security, state security and internationalization”, in: Ole Wæver, Barry Buzan, Morten Kelstrup, and Pierre Lemaitre, *Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe*, (London Pinter Publishers, 1993), 45.

<sup>16</sup> Bogdan Alexandru Suditu, Gabriela Prelipcean, Daniel Celu Virdol, Oana Anuța Stângaciu, Studii de strategie și politici (SPOS) [Strategy and policy studies] 2012, Study no. 1, Perspectivele politicii de migrație în contextul demografic actual din România, [Prospects of the migration policy within the current demographic context in Romania], Bucharest, 2013, 71-72

<sup>17</sup> Gerald Warner, Hungary’s Viktor Orban, Sole Voice Of Sanity In The EU, Tells The Truth On Immigration, 08 September 2015, <http://www.breitbart.com/london/2015/09/08/hungarys-viktor-orban-sole-voice-of-sanity-in-the-eu-tells-the-truth-on-immigration>, accessed on 01.03.2017.

state can directly influence the migratory waves with the help of its legal tools, such as border control or by a restrictive or selective immigration law, as happened during N. Sarkozy's tenure.

On the other hand, as an internal security issue, migrants are usually perceived as a threat to the state's and the citizens' welfare, with regard to access to the labour market, social or medical services, to giving social aid from the state, and to maintaining a security climate in the society. Indeed, migration is often presented as a challenge to welfare, as "danger" for the society<sup>18</sup> and as a threat to the host societies' cultural and identity security.

In "*International Migration and the Politics of Identity and Security*"<sup>19</sup> Yannis Stivachtis states that the need to analyze identity closely connected to security and migration is conditioned by recent political developments. For example, in the United States, there are two main political events responsible for the bringing to the fore the relation migration-identity-security, the events of 9/11 and the subsequent fear of other terrorist attacks in the U.S. given the context on an increasing number of immigrants from Mexico to the U.S.A. In the European Union there are two major types of immigration, the first, from a continental level (whether it's the east – west or north-south migration), from the new member states or refugees from European countries that have been dealing with internal disorder (Bosnia, Kosovo, Serbia), and the second, from third countries, considered much more radical and having direct effects on the migration-identity-security relation.

In 2015, the same political leader, Viktor Orban warned the representatives of the European Union, that "*Those arriving have been raised in another religion and represent a radically different culture. Most of them are not Christians, but Muslims, ... Is it not worrying in itself that European Christianity is now barely able to keep Europe Christian?*"<sup>20</sup>. An artificial connection of interdependence regarding migration-identity-insecurity climate within the EU is attempted, fueling Euro-skepticism towards the successful process of creating veritable "United States of Europe". By promoting such xenophobic, radical discourses with an obvious purpose to mobilize voters, an attempt is being made to create an identity breach between "us" and "the others", by portraying Muslims as a burden to the social welfare systems, as religious fanatics, a threat to the integrity of Christian values, and even potential terrorists.

The fear of immigrants, the feeling of being invaded, of losing identity also comes from the French Interior Minister Claude Guéant, one of the former rightist president Nicolas Sarkozy's close allies, who, in March 2011 stated that "*the French people often fail to feel at home, our compatriots wish to choose their own lifestyle and no longer want to accept a lifestyle being imposed on them*"<sup>21</sup>. It is also the case of Marine Le Pen, the leader of the French far-right, who compared the presence of Muslims in France with a new type of "*occupation*"<sup>22</sup>. In the same train

<sup>18</sup> Gemma Pinyol-Jiménez, Work quote., 39.

<sup>19</sup> Yannis A. Stivachtis, „International Migration and the Politics of Identity and Security”, in: *Journal of Humanities & Social Sciences*, vol. 2, issue 1, 2008, 2-3, available at: <http://www.scientificjournals.org/journals2008/articles/1387.pdf>, accessed 25.02.2017.

<sup>20</sup> Gerald Warner, Hungary's Viktor Orban, Sole Voice Of Sanity In The EU, Tells The Truth On Immigration, 08 September 2015, <http://www.breitbart.com/london/2015/09/08/hungarys-viktor-orban-sole-voice-of-sanity-in-the-eu-tells-the-truth-on-immigration>, accessed on 01.03.2017.

<sup>21</sup> Matei Vişniec, „Imigrația în Franța: o istorie care se confundă cu modernizarea țării” [Immigration in France: a history confused with the country's modernization], 15 December 2015, <http://www.rfi.ro/special-paris-75594-imigra-ia-n-fran-o-istorie-care-se-confund-cu-modernizarea-rii>, accessed on 03.03.2017.

<sup>22</sup> Matei Vişniec, „Imigrația în Franța: o istorie care se confundă cu modernizarea țării” [Immigration in France: a history confused with the country's modernization], 15 December 2015, <http://www.rfi.ro/special-paris-75594-imigra-ia-n-fran-o-istorie-care-se-confund-cu-modernizarea-rii>, accessed on 03.03.2017.

of thoughts, when dealing with the economic crisis, the Spanish society keeps using expressions like: “The invasion of immigrants / the flood”, “we have become strangers in our own country” or “there will come a time when the number of immigrants will surpass that of the Spanish people”<sup>23</sup>.

In the line of the same discourses that securitize migration by presenting it as an existential threat, during a 2015 intervention in the full swing of the EU refugee crisis, the Hungarian leader, Viktor Orban identified the main responsible for the situation with which Europe was dealing, as the European Union, the delegates at Brussels, the bureaucrats who failed to anticipate and correctly manage this situation “*Everything which is now taking place before our eyes threatens to have explosive consequences for the whole of Europe. Europe’s response is madness. We must acknowledge that the European Union’s misguided immigration policy is responsible for this situation*”<sup>24</sup>. On the background of Brexit, the EU’s identity and unity crisis, this type of speech may have a destabilization effect, instead of creating solidarity, maintaining an insecurity and uncertainty climate within the Union, fueling the Euro-skepticists’ discourses with regard to the political future of the EU.

The second level of EU migration securitization analysis aims at creating security agencies, FRONTEX being such a EU agency, alongside common European policies on migration. The foundation stones of this common policy on migration were set in 1986, by the *Single European Act* and perfected by the *Treaty of Maastricht* in 1993, through the creation of a pillar dedicated to Justice and Home Affairs whose main task was the asylum policy, immigration and regulations regarding the crossing of common external borders. *The Stockholm Programme – an open and secure Europe serving and protecting the citizens* completes the picture of the common European policies on migration, proposing coherent, long-term lines of action for a sound management of the phenomenon, also highlighting the advantages of legal migration at a social, economic, political, cultural and identity level.

The President of the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker’s speech at the start of his tenure, also follows this line of ideas, announcing migration and the refugees’ issue to be one of the top 10 priorities of the European Commission’s political programme. ...The determinate fight against illegal migration, people who smuggle migrants and migrant traffickers, as well as the securitization of the external European borders must be combined with a common and robust policy on asylum and a new European policy on legal migration. Clearly, in order to achieve this, there is the need for greater coherence between political sectors, such as development cooperation, commerce, employment, foreign and home affairs<sup>25</sup>.

The concerted action of instruments and agencies like the Schengen Information System, Visa Information System and the European Border Police and Coast Guard perform the construction of migration as a security issue in the EU. Such an example is the response and integrated reaction of these actors with regard to the refugee crisis in 2015-2016 in Great Britain,

<sup>23</sup> Serguey Jenkin, „Prueba del multiculturalismo: experiencia de España en el contexto Europeo”, *Iberoamerica*, №3, 2011, 121, available at: [http://www.ilaran.ru/pdf/2011/Iberoamerica/IbA\\_2011\\_3/Jenkin.pdf](http://www.ilaran.ru/pdf/2011/Iberoamerica/IbA_2011_3/Jenkin.pdf), accesat on 06.01.2017.

<sup>24</sup> Gerald Warner, Hungary’s Viktor Orban, Sole Voice Of Sanity In The EU, Tells The Truth On Immigration, 08 September 2015, <http://www.breitbart.com/london/2015/09/08/hungarys-viktor-orban-sole-voice-of-sanity-in-the-eu-tells-the-truth-on-immigration>, accessed on 01.03.2017.

<sup>25</sup> Communication from the Commission To the European Parliament, Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of Regions – A European Agenda for Migration, Brussels, 13.5.2015 COM(2015) 240 final, p.8, on-line [https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/docs/communication\\_on\\_the\\_european\\_agenda\\_on\\_migration\\_ro.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/docs/communication_on_the_european_agenda_on_migration_ro.pdf) accessed on 23.02.2017.

including the use of military ships of certain Member States in managing the situation (exceptional response and reaction measure to the scale of events).

The High Representative for Foreign Policy, Federica Mogherini, said that Europeans must address “*the root causes of migration starting with the crises extending to our borders, mainly in Libya*”. “*This is the reasons why we intensify cooperation with the origin and transit states, in order to provide protection in these conflict areas, to facilitate relocation and eliminate traffic routes*”<sup>26</sup>. In this speech, Mogherini makes clear references to the new European Agenda for Migration adopted by the European Commission on the 13<sup>th</sup> of May 2015, in which EU proposes immediate measures needed to meet current challenges of migration, combining the internal (the responsibility of Member states) with the external dimension (managed in cooperation with the states outside the EU, transit states – ex: Turkey, and origin states of the immigrants).

One of the measures adopted at an EU level, which also caused aggressive discursive reactions to the European bureaucracy was the setting of mandatory quotas of refugees, established on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of September 2015, during the JHA. The plan of the European Commission aimed at relocating 120,000 refugees from Greece, Italy and Hungary in other EU states, a sort of “sharing is caring” in terms of management of the refugee issue. Taking exceptional measures at a EU level (in the financial, military, political field) in order to ensure a proper management of the refugee crisis, proves the existence of a migration securitization process, and in the peak moments of the refugee crisis, migration has become an existential threat that had to be fought against with all means available.

## CONCLUSION

We can conclude that amid the refugee crisis, the two levels of analysis of the phenomenon of migration securitization proved their utility/purpose and limitations in providing an integrated, complex response to ensure support from the audience/public.

Of all the EU resources and instruments, combining internal with external policies, the New European Agency for Migration is the only one which comes with a *global approach* based on trust and solidarity between the states and institutions of the European Union. This moderate approach focused on long-term strategies, an integrated approach on the issue of migration tries to meet the process of emphasis on European political integration, a viable model for “unity in diversity”.

---

<sup>26</sup> Catalina Mihai, The EC prepares a European Agenda on migration that provides the securitization of external borders, 04.03.2015, Mediafax, <http://www.mediafax.ro/politic/ce-pregateste-o-agenda-europeana-in-materie-de-migratie-care-prevede-securizarea-granitelor-externe-13933151>, accessed on 12/02/2017.

## REFERENCES

1. **Bourbeau**, Philippe, „A Study of Movement and Order: The Securitization of Migration in Canada and France“, A dissertation submitted in the partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy in the Faculty of Graduate Studies (Political Science), The University of British Columbia (Vancouver), July 2008, available at: [file:///C:/Users/acer/Downloads/ubc\\_2008\\_fall\\_bourbeau\\_philippe.pdf](file:///C:/Users/acer/Downloads/ubc_2008_fall_bourbeau_philippe.pdf);
2. **Buzan**, Barry, **Wæver**, Ole, **de Wilde**, Jaap, *Security – a New Framework for analysis*, translated: George Jinglău, Cluj-Napoca:CA Publishing, 2010;
3. **Buzan**, Barry, „Societal Security, state security and internationalization”, in: **Wæver**, Ole, **Buzan**, Barry, **Kelstrup**, Morten and **Lemaitre**, Pierre, *Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe*, London Pinter Publishers, 1993;
4. **Buzan**, Barry, **Wæver**, Ole, **de Wilde**, Jaap, *Security. A New Framework for Analysis*, London:Lynne Rienner Publishers,1998;
5. Communication from the Commission To the European Parliament, Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of Regions – A European Agenda for Migration, Brussels , 13.5.2015 COM(2015) 240 final, p.8, on-line [https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/docs/communication\\_on\\_the\\_european\\_agenda\\_on\\_migration\\_ro.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/docs/communication_on_the_european_agenda_on_migration_ro.pdf);
6. **Huysmans**,Jef *The politics of insecurity: Fear migration and asylum in the EU*, London:Routledge, 2006;
7. **Jenkin**, Serguey,„Prueba del multiculturalismo: experiencia de España en el contexto Europeo”, *Iberoamerica*, №3, 2011, available at: [http://www.ilaran.ru/pdf/2011/Iberoamerica/IbA\\_2011\\_3/Jenkin.pdf](http://www.ilaran.ru/pdf/2011/Iberoamerica/IbA_2011_3/Jenkin.pdf);
8. **Mamadouh**, Virginie, The Scaling of the ‘Invasion’, A Geopolitics of Immigration Narratives in France and The Netherlands, *Geopolitics*, 17:2, 2012, on-line: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2011.578268>;
9. **Mihai**, Catalina, The EC prepares a European Agenda on migration that provides the securitization of external borders, 04.03.2015, Mediafax, <http://www.mediafax.ro/politic/ce-pregateste-o-agenda-europeana-in-materie-de-migratie-care-prevede-securizarea-granitelor-externe-13933151>;
10. **Pinyol-Jiménez**. Gemma, „The Migration-Security Nexus In Short: Instruments And Actions In The European Union”, in *Amsterdam Law Forum*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 2012 available at <http://amsterdamlawforum.org/article/viewFile/255/442>;
11. **Sava**, Ionel Nicu, *Teoria și practica securității [The theory and practice of security]*, Bucharest :University of Bucharest, 2012;
12. **Stivachtis**, Yannis A. „International Migration and the Politics of Identity and Security”, in: *Journal of Humanities & Social Sciences*, vol. 2, issue 1, 2008, available at: <http://www.scientificjournals.org/journals2008/articles/1387.pdf>;
13. **Suditu**,Bogdan Alexandru, **Prelipcean**, Gabriela, **Vîrdol**, Daniel Celu, **Stângaciu**, Oana Ancuța, Studii de strategie și politici (SPOS) [Strategy and policy studies] 2012, Study no. 1, Perspectivele politicii de migrație în contextul demografic actual din România, [Prospects of the migration policy within the current demographic context in Romania], Bucharest, 2013;
14. **Vișniec**, Matei, „Imigrația în Franța: o istorie care se confundă cu modernizarea țării” [Immigration in France: a history confused with the country’s modernization], 15 December 2015, <http://www.rfi.ro/special-paris-75594-imigra-ia-n-fran-o-istorie-care-se-confund-cu-modernizarea-rii>;
15. **Warner**, Gerald, „Hungary’s Viktor Orban, Sole Voice Of Sanity In The EU, Tells The Truth On Immigration“, 08 September 2015, <http://www.breitbart.com/london/2015/09/08/hungarys-viktor-orban-sole-voice-of-sanity-in-the-eu-tells-the-truth-on-immigration>;
16. **Wæver**, Ole,„Securitization and desecuritization” in *On Security*, **Lipschutz**, Ronnie, New York:Columbia University Press 1998;