

# **Securitization of Multiculturalism and Immigration: Case of the UK**

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Submitted to the  
Institute of Graduate Studies and Research  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts  
in  
International Relations

Eastern Mediterranean University  
August 2018  
Gazimağusa, North Cyprus

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## ABSTRACT

This research explores securitization of multiculturalism and immigration in the context of the United Kingdom with a view to compare the stance of the two major parties, namely the Conservative Party and the Labour Party. This was done through a Corpus Analysis of the speeches of party leaders in the period between 2000 and 2017. The research shows that there are clear patterns that distinguish the attitude of the two major parties from each other about multiculturalism and immigration. While the Labour Party has rarely tried to securitize immigration and multicultural policies, the Conservative Party has been keener to do so, and has indeed made such an attempt that led to a hostile environment toward immigrants living in the UK.

The research contributes to the literature on multiculturalism and identifies securitizing patterns in the discourse of the party leaders in the UK. This thesis also contributes to the literature on immigration and integration by exposing the patterns used by these politicians. In this sense, the research shows how politics of fear, especially in the discourse of the Conservative Party, plays a major role in anti-immigrant, anti-multiculturalism policies. This probability of threats leads to the public's tendency to accept assimilationist policies without proper fact checking in relation to the suggested threats, which reflect departure from pre-existing democratic values in Britain.

**Keywords:** immigration, integration, multiculturalism, securitization theory, the UK, Conservative Party, Labour Party

## ÖZ

Bu araştırma Birleşik Krallık'taki en önemli iki büyük parti olan İşçi Partisi ve Muhafazakar Parti'nin çokkültürlülük ve göçmenler ile ilgili duruşunu güvenlik konusu haline getirme veya bir başka adıyla 'güvenlikleştirme' açısından keşfetmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Araştırma, parti liderlerinin 2000-2017 yılları arasında kamusal alanda yaptıkları konuşmaları Corpus analizi yaparak incelenmiştir. Araştırma sonuçları iki parti arasında çokkültürlülük ve göç konularında belirgin farklılıkların olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. İşçi Partisi çokkültürlülük ve göçmenler konusunu güvenlikleştirmeye çok ender yeltenmiş ancak Muhafazakar Parti bu konuda daha istekli davranmış ve son dönemlerde attığı bazı adımlar göçmenlere Bileşik Krallık'ta 'düşmanca bir çevre' yaratılmasına yol açmıştır.

Araştırma Çokkültürlülük konusundaki alanyazına katkılarda bulunma amacına ulaşmaya çalışmış ve parti liderlerinin söylemlerini inceleyerek söylemlerindeki güvenlikleştirme kalıplarını ortaya çıkarmıştır. Bu tez ayrıca göç ve entegrasyon konusundaki alanyazına siyasetçilerin kullandığı kalıpları gün yüzüne çıkararak katkı kaymaktadır. Araştırmada 'koru politikası' üzerinden özellikle Muhafazakar Parti'ye ait söylemlerin çokkültürlülük ve göçmen karşıtı politikaları nasıl desteklediği gösterilmiş ve bu Birleşik Krallık'ta yerleşik demokratik değerlerden nasıl uzaklaşıldığını yansıtmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** göç, entegrasyon, çokkültürlülük, güvenlikleştirme kuramı, Birleşik Krallık, Muhafazakar Parti, İşçi Partisi

To My Parents and Brother

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENT**

I would like to express my deep gratitude to Assist. Prof. Dr. Berna Numan, my research supervisor, for her patient guidance, enthusiastic encouragement and useful critiques of this research work. Her willingness to dedicate her time and carefully keep progress on the work has been very much appreciated.

I am particularly grateful for the assistance given by Hamidreza Monibi, for his help in doing the methodological data analysis. Without his passionate participation and input, the main part of the research analysis could not have been successfully conducted.

I would also like to thank the staff of the Department of Political Science and International Relations for providing me with all necessary assistance as well as support and encouragement throughout the process of researching and writing this thesis.

Finally, I must express my deep gratitude to my family for providing me with unconditional support and encouragement throughout my years of study and through the whole writing process. This accomplishment would not have been possible without them.

Thank you

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

EU	European Union
HRA	Human Rights Act
ID	Identification
IGO	Inter-Governmental Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
ISIL	Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
MCP	Policies of Multiculturalism
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
UK	United Kingdom
U.S.	United States



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# Chapter 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background of the Study

The processes of immigration in modern world have made significant changes in the ethnic characteristics of the population in the European Union (EU). The existing diversity of cultures and nations in the EU are primarily associated with increased immigration flows after the end of World War II. Immigration is claimed to have caused the emergence of complex social, economic and political problems. Huge flows of immigrants forced the authorities and the societies of EU member states to develop new approaches to immigration policies.

In the last five decades, multiculturalism has been the leading policy regarding the integration of immigrants in almost all member states of the European Union. This policy has had both positive and negative effects on the host countries and the minorities alike. However, political leaders of the EU member states, especially in the last few years, have evaluated these policies to be extremely negative in terms of their economic, security and social implications in the host country. At the end of 2010 and the beginning of 2011, the leading politicians in Europe expressed a determined desire to end ‘multiculturalism’<sup>1</sup>. Disappointment was also expressed by

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<sup>1</sup> “Angela Merkel: German Multiculturalism Has ‘utterly Failed’ | World News | The Guardian,” accessed July 31, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/oct/17/angela-merkel-german-multiculturalism-failed>; “Nicolas Sarkozy Declares Multiculturalism Had Failed - Telegraph,”

both left and right wing parties as well as many prominent scholars in these countries<sup>2</sup>. A prominent criticism in relation to multicultural policies is that it severs a homogeneous single national identity that helps the society deal with problems in times of crisis. On the other hand, the advocates of multicultural policies argue that this criticism is based on a misunderstanding of processes and outcomes of multicultural policies<sup>3</sup>. From this point of view, multicultural policies contribute to the formation and strengthening of the institution of a civil (political) state, while preserving ethnic and cultural differentiation within the society.

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accessed July 31, 2018, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/8317497/Nicolas-Sarkozy-declares-multiculturalism-had-failed.html>; “PM’s Speech at Munich Security Conference,” GOV.UK, accessed July 31, 2018, <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pms-speech-at-munich-security-conference>.

<sup>2</sup> Rogers Brubaker, “The Return of Assimilation? Changing Perspectives on Immigration and Its Sequels in France, Germany, and the United States,” in *Toward Assimilation and Citizenship: Immigrants in Liberal Nation-States* (Springer, 2014), 39–58; Glen S. Coulthard, “Subjects of Empire: Indigenous Peoples and the ‘Politics of Recognition’ in Canada,” *Contemporary Political Theory* 6, no. 4 (November 1, 2007): 437–60, <https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.cpt.9300307>; Han Entzinger, “The Rise and Fall of Multiculturalism: The Case of the Netherlands,” in *Toward Assimilation and Citizenship: Immigrants in Liberal Nation-States, Migration, Minorities and Citizenship* (Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2014), 59–86, [https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230554795\\_3](https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230554795_3); Christian Joppke and Ewa Morawska, *Toward Assimilation and Citizenship* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2014), <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230554795>; Ruud Koopmans, “Trade-Offs between Equality and Difference: Immigrant Integration, Multiculturalism and the Welfare State in Cross-National Perspective,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36, no. 1 (2010): 1–26; Susan Moller Okin, *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* (Princeton University Press, 1999); Jeremy Waldron, “Minority Cultures and the Cosmopolitan Alternative,” *University of Michigan Journal of Law Reform* 25 (1992–1991): 751–94.

<sup>3</sup> Irene Bloemraad and Matthew Wright, “‘Utter Failure’ or Unity out of Diversity? Debating and Evaluating Policies of Multiculturalism,” *International Migration Review* 48 (2014): S292–334; Will Kymlicka, Steven Vertovec, and Susanne Wessendorf, *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices* (Routledge London, 2010); Keith Banting and Will Kymlicka, “Is There Really a Retreat from Multiculturalism Policies? New Evidence from the Multiculturalism Policy Index,” *Comparative European Politics* 11, no. 5 (2013): 577–598, <https://doi.org/10.1057/cep.2013.12>; Frank Lovett, “Cultural Accommodation and Domination,” *Political Theory* 38, no. 2 (April 2010): 243–67, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0090591709354870>; Tariq Modood, “A Defence of Multiculturalism,” *Soundings* 29, no. 29 (March 1, 2005): 62–71, <https://doi.org/10.3898/136266205820466869>; Philip Pettit, *Republicanism: A Theory of Freedom and Government* (OUP Oxford, 1997); Jeff Spinner-Halev, “Feminism, Multiculturalism, Oppression, and the State,” *Ethics* 112, no. 1 (October 2001): 84–113, <https://doi.org/10.1086/322741>; Charles Taylor, “The Politics of Recognition,” *New Contexts of Canadian Criticism* 98 (1997): 25–73.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

This research focuses on the nature of the retreat from multicultural policies as well as possible securitizing trends in the discourse of political party leaders in the UK. This study aims to examine the interrelation between the discourse of party leaders and the demise of multicultural policies. It focuses on how the speech acts used by the leaders of the major parties affect multicultural policies through securitization of minorities and immigrants and how in time this affects the general attitude towards migrants in a way that marginalizing laws and regulations become more acceptable in the society.

This study highlights how discursive changes and policy shifts as a result of securitization of certain issues could in return lead to major changes in international relations. Data collected for this research will be analysed within the context of the United Kingdom and its latest move to exit the European Union. In other words, the research will demonstrate how securitization of the issue of immigration and integration of immigrants predate and act as a major factor leading to the United Kingdom's departure from the EU.

The United Kingdom's decision to leave the European Union, in short Brexit, has had very important implications for immigration policies in the UK and the movement of EU nationals within the borders of the United Kingdom. Brexit showed that issues other than rational economic considerations may be used in individual voting behavior. It demonstrated how domestic considerations dominate international

relations and how in fact, factors like identity and immigration play an important role in such decisions<sup>4</sup>.

Immigration has often been used as a scapegoat for UK's problems by politicians however baseless these arguments may have been. The campaign for Brexit was no exception<sup>5</sup>. Following the Brexit referendum, immigration to the UK has dropped drastically<sup>6</sup> and British companies have been having difficulties recruiting skilled workers<sup>7</sup>. Immigration played a central role in the arguments in favor of Brexit<sup>8</sup>.

The impact of Brexit is not confined to immigrants and immigration. It also mutually influences the United Kingdom and the European Union economically<sup>9</sup>. Unlike the previous situation where European Union's treaties were applicable to United Kingdom's international obligations, the United Kingdom will now have to negotiate new economic agreements with the EU and other major economies<sup>10</sup>. The Brexit is therefore considered to be a central point in international relations as it will have implications far beyond the mere divorce of the United Kingdom and the European Union. In fact, it has been argued, that the impact will be felt internationally as it will

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<sup>4</sup> "Brexit: An International Relations Perspective," University of Plymouth, accessed August 28, 2018, <https://www.plymouth.ac.uk/alumni-friends/invenite/brexit-an-international-relations-perspective>.

<sup>5</sup> "The Love-Hate Relationship between Brexit and Immigration," *The Market Mogul* (blog), March 8, 2018, <https://themarketmogul.com/brexit-immigration-policies/>.

<sup>6</sup> "The Love-Hate Relationship between Brexit and Immigration."

<sup>7</sup> Dominic Casciani, "Brexit: What's Happening to Migration?," *BBC News*, November 30, 2017, sec. UK, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-42113427>.

<sup>8</sup> "Brexit and the Future of Immigration in the UK and EU," *Financier Worldwide*, accessed August 28, 2018, <https://www.financierworldwide.com/brexit-and-the-future-of-immigration-in-the-uk-and-eu/>.

<sup>9</sup> Eoin Drea, Angelos Angelou, and Roland Freudenstein, "Brexit in Focus: Six Ways It Will Fundamentally Change the Eu," *European View* 14, no. 2 (December 2015): 317–317, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12290-015-0370-6>.

<sup>10</sup> Алляров Р.а, "ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКИЙ ПРОГНОЗ БРИТАНИИ ПОСЛЕ BREXIT," *Скиф. Вопросы Студенческой Науки*, no. 6 (22) (2018), <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/ekonomicheskij-prognoz-britanii-posle-brexit>.



jeopardize the economic and social relations between states<sup>11</sup>. Brexit may sever the relations between the political entities within the United Kingdom as Scotland voted in the opposite direction to England and may decide to leave the United Kingdom if its interests are not taken into consideration during negotiations related to Brexit<sup>12</sup>. It will, at the international level, have a drastic effect on the relations between the republic of Ireland and the United Kingdom as well as it threatens the Good Friday Agreement of 1998<sup>13</sup>. However, the nature and the extent of these influences are yet to be seen in 2019 if and when the UK officially exits the EU.

The abovementioned characteristics make the United Kingdom one of the most important cases to be studied in relation to the topic of this thesis. To this end, the thesis shall answer the following questions:

- Has there been any differences in the position of party leaders in the UK
- Has there been any pattern of securitization among party leaders in the UK
- Has the retreat from multiculturalism been merely rhetorical or has it happened in fact?
- Has there been an increase in hostile acts against minorities in this country?

Before discussing the main arguments regarding the retreat from multicultural policies it is necessary to define and understand what multiculturalism means. It is

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<sup>11</sup> JHHW, "Brexit: No Happy Endings; The EJIL Annual Foreword; Vital Statistics; ICON Conference; In This Issue," *European Journal of International Law* 26, no. 1 (February 1, 2015): 1–7, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ejil/chv017>.

<sup>12</sup> JHHW.

<sup>13</sup> Maps and vacancies, "Brexit."

only then that we can discuss the demise of multiculturalism as a tool aimed at the integration of immigrants. Immigrants as one of the most integral aspects of multiculturalism have been the matter of extensive discussions in the last few decades. Therefore, this thesis examines the statements of party leaders in the UK regarding immigration to determine whether any tangible retreat from multiculturalism has been made. These actors were chosen because they are influential in changing public opinion and they work within the context of political institutions in the country.

Having defined multiculturalism and its policy implications the thesis will then examine the degree and nature of the assumed retreat from multiculturalism in the context of the United Kingdom.

The hypotheses tested in this thesis are that regardless of party affiliation party leaders in the UK have shown a great degree of negativity in their rhetoric towards multiculturalism in general and immigrants in particular. The rhetorical retreat from multiculturalism, although supposedly harmless, has had an effect on the public opinion regarding multiculturalism in the country under review and can escalate into tangible factual policies.

Despite the continuing debate, a group of scholars propose we live in a post-multicultural world, in which there is a shift in the focus on the rights of minority groups<sup>14</sup>. This argument falls outside the scope of this thesis.

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<sup>14</sup> Kymlicka Will, "Multiculturalism: Success, Failure, and the Future," *Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute*, 2012; Banting and Kymlicka, "Is There Really a Retreat from Multiculturalism

### **1.3 Method of Research**

For the purpose of this research Corpus Analysis was chosen as the method of analysis. The AntConc concordance tool made this type of analysis possible by revealing the patterns in which the words and word strings were embedded. The speeches of the leaders of the two major political parties in the UK, namely Labour Party and the Conservative Party who had the highest share of statements in the time frame between 2000 and 2017 were qualitatively analyzed. The results of this analysis were then compared with each other in order to determine whether there were differences in the approach taken by each party. The results were then compared with the laws adopted by the parliament of the UK to see if the speeches temporally precede these laws.

### **1.4 The Limitations of the Study**

The research is limited in its mere focus on two parties as well as the inevitable consequences of a single case research. This limitation makes the results applicable only to certain political and social structures or specific context. The second limitation of this study is that it is focused on a limited time frame. The research is also limited in its method of research in that it merely makes content analysis of the speeches given by political party leaders, while isolating them from the broader context of societal pressures that may have affected the rhetoric of party leaders. The thesis doesn't introduce an alternative to multiculturalism as this falls out of its scope. Despite all these limitations the study provides a useful understanding of the

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Policies? New Evidence from the Multiculturalism Policy Index"; Christian Joppke, "Is Multiculturalism Dead," *Crisis and Persistence in the Constitutional State*. Malden, MA: Polity, 2017; Brubaker, "The Return of Assimilation? Changing Perspectives on Immigration and Its Sequels in France, Germany, and the United States"; Kymlicka, Vertovec, and Wessendorf, *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices*.

relationship between the main elements of the hypotheses by highlighting the link between speech acts and policy formulation.

## **1.5 The Structure of the Thesis**

The thesis includes seven chapters. Chapter One briefly introduces the hypotheses, research questions, and the methodology used in this research. The understanding of immigration and integration in Europe is examined in Chapter Two. It explains how the EU member states have approached the issue of integration of immigrants into their societies. Chapter Three introduces theoretical framework and operationalization of multiculturalism as well as application of its policies in the EU member states. The chapter focuses on philosophical and practical debates regarding multiculturalism and elaborates on their application in the European Union. Securitization theory and its application to the study of immigration and multiculturalism is presented in Chapter Four. This chapter provides a comprehensive understanding of securitization and elaborates on the relevance of securitization theory to the study of multiculturalism. Chapter Five explains the case of the UK and the application of securitization to this case by examining the discourse of the leaders of the two major political parties, namely the Conservative Party and the Labour party. The data related to the major parties are demonstrated and compared with each other in Chapter Six. Finally, Chapter Seven concludes the thesis by summarizing the results of the analysis.

## **Chapter 2**

# **UNDERSTANDING IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION IN THE EUROPEAN UNION**

### **2.1 Introduction**

Integration of immigrants has constantly been put at the center of public attention in the last few years. However, terminological confusion and lack of a comprehensive approach towards integration and implementation of integration policies has significantly hindered public discussion on this topic. In this chapter immigration and integration are conceptualized, and the integration policies adopted by EU member states are discussed.

This chapter focuses on the response of EU member states to the inflow of immigrants at national and supranational levels. Both, immigration policies that regulate the entrance of immigrants to these countries and the policies related to the integration of immigrants are considered in this chapter.

Furthermore, this chapter analyses the causes and consequences of immigration to provide an understanding of the political, economic and social changes in the countries of the EU. It will be shown that in addition to the historical and national background of receiving countries, factors such as social security policies (welfare state) and labor market are important in the study of immigration and integration.

### 2.1.1 Social, Political and Economic Integration of Immigrants

The refugee crisis is at the core of the increasing debates among the EU member states. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) reported that 1,003,124 people arrived in the EU in 2015, whereas a year earlier only 280 thousand people had made this journey<sup>15</sup>. In 2017 the EU member states accepted a total number of 538,000 refugees to their territories<sup>16</sup>.

The main cause of this wave of immigration is regional conflicts with civilian casualties in Syria, Libya, Iraq and Afghanistan. Poverty, human rights violations and insecurity are also counted as the causes of the mass movement of people from countries such as Eritrea, Pakistan, Morocco, Iran, and Somalia<sup>17</sup>. Under these circumstances, the member states of the EU have either welcomed the newcomers as an act of humanity and solidarity or have tried to prevent an uncontrolled flow of refugees, by erecting barriers on their way.

However, it is argued that the mass movement of people across state borders is not only in the interest of immigrant groups, but also in the interest of the receiving society<sup>18</sup>. Currently, Europe is suffering a demographic crisis, whereas under the condition of the aging of national population there is a natural decrease in population

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<sup>15</sup> Andrew Geddes and Peter Scholten, *The Politics of Migration et Immigration in Europe*, 2nd edition (Los Angeles and London and New Delhi and Singapore and Washington, DC and Melbourne: Sage, 2016), 1.

<sup>16</sup> “EU Migrant Crisis: Facts and Figures | News | European Parliament,” June 30, 2017, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/headlines/society/20170629STO78630/eu-migrant-crisis-facts-and-figures>.

<sup>17</sup> Stefan Lehne Yahya Marwan Muasher, Marc Pierini, Jan Techau, Pierre Vimont, Maha, “The Roots of Europe’s Refugee Crisis,” Carnegie Europe, accessed July 31, 2018, <https://carnegieeurope.eu/2015/10/01/roots-of-europe-s-refugee-crisis-pub-61465>.

<sup>18</sup> Rainer Münz, “Migration, Labour Markets, and Integration of Migrants,” in *Adaptation Scolaire : Travel Medicine : The Migration Ecology of Birds : International Migration : The European Economy in an American Mirror*, ed. Khalid Koser et al., vol. 20072575, Routledge Studies in the Modern World Economy (Elsevier Oxford University Press Routledge, 2007), 90–108.

growth. This creates gaps in the work places of the European countries which can be reduced by the recruited immigrant forces especially in the sector of low skilled labor<sup>19</sup>.

Despite the strong connection between the immigration and integration, these phenomena should be studied independently. Whereas immigration represents the movement of persons across the border of the national state; integration represents the process of settlement and incorporation of the newcomers into the country of destination and the consequences it has on the host societies<sup>20</sup>.

Countries in the western hemisphere have had a long history of mass movements of population into and out of their territories. Recently, the countries in North America and Europe are home to more than “one fifth of the world’s migrant population”<sup>21</sup>. Immigration has therefore become a normal phenomenon experienced on an everyday basis in European societies. Historically, this has always created divisions within these societies between those who in some way win out of these mass movements and those who lose because of them<sup>22</sup>.

Even though immigration has been at the center of attention in European societies for a long time, it was only in the early 90s when the categorization and classification of immigration were seriously taken into consideration. It was at that time when the term “regular and irregular, legal and illegal” became a part of daily use in the

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<sup>19</sup> Münz.

<sup>20</sup> Rinus Penninx, Dimitrina Spencer, and Nicholas Van Hear, “Migration and Integration in Europe: The State of Research,” *Swindon, UK: Economic and Social Research Council*, 2008.

<sup>21</sup> Münz, “Migration, Labour Markets, and Integration of Migrants.”

<sup>22</sup> Gary P. Freeman, “Immigrant Incorporation in Western Democracies 1,” *International Migration Review* 38, no. 3 (2004): 945–69.

policies and laws of the receiving countries<sup>23</sup>. The status of immigrants in the borders of receiving states has a huge impact on the relationship between the host societies and immigrant groups.

Early 1990s also represents the shift in the composition of immigration. Prior to this date, most of the immigration was done into the ‘old’ Europe, namely Northern and Western European countries. The new wave of immigration, however, is directed to ‘new’ Europe, countries from Southern and Eastern Europe. The newer members of the EU became a popular destination for immigrants, especially from the African continent<sup>24</sup>. However, the majority of these immigrants only pass through these countries to reach richer Western European countries (‘old’ Europe).

International immigration is an important aspect of international relations. Because of immigration, a social political interaction is established and maintained between the receiving countries and the countries of origin. In the face of refugee crisis, the general response of the EU member states has been promoting free movement of people inside the EU and strictly regulating the entrance into the European Union for non-EU nationals. This has effectively led to extending EU border control beyond its external borders; a phenomenon known as ‘extraterritorial’ immigration control, a very prominent example of which is the agreement between Turkey and the EU to contain the flows of Syrian refugees to Europe in 2016<sup>25</sup>. Thus, the shift in

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<sup>23</sup> Alice Bloch, Bill Jordan and Franck Düvell, *Irregular Migration: The Dilemmas of Transnational Mobility* (2003), 32 *Journal of Social Policy* 623.

<sup>24</sup> Simo Mannila et al., *Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities: European Country Cases and Debates* (National Institute for Health and Welfare (THL), 2010).

<sup>25</sup> Theodore Baird, “Functional Actorness? Border Security in the EU and Turkey,” *International Journal of Public Administration* 38, no. 12 (October 15, 2015): 849–59, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01900692.2015.1015548>.



integration changes the understanding of the internal and external borders in the relations between EU and non-EU member states.

Structural factors such as the inequalities in distribution of wealth and income in addition to local conflicts, environmental issues and rise of population are key factors behind the mass movements of people<sup>26</sup>. Immigration policies do not offer solutions to the problem of immigration. Instead, they are a reaction to more global and fundamental problems causing immigration.

A special attention has to be made to the perception of citizens, organizations and institutions in the countries of destination. The label assigned to the individual immigrant, such as skilled labor or refugee, matters much less than how citizens see the newcomers. Among the EU member states as well as within the different parts of these countries, citizens may perceive immigrants as cost or benefit, as challenge or opportunity<sup>27</sup>.

## **2.2 Immigration and Immigrants in the European Union**

International Immigration can simply be defined as the “mass movement of people across state borders that leads to permanent settlement”<sup>28</sup>. The very movement of people is perceived by the receiving state as an act of immigration. Despite the straightforward definition of immigration, it’s a complex phenomenon that can vary

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<sup>26</sup> Richard Black et al., “The Effect of Environmental Change on Human Migration,” *Global Environmental Change* 21 (2011): S3–11.

<sup>27</sup> George J. Borjas, “Lessons from Immigration Economics,” *Independent Review* 22, no. 3 (2018): 329–40.

<sup>28</sup> Andrew Geddes and Peter Scholten, *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe* (Sage, 2016).

significantly<sup>29</sup>. Massey and other scholars emphasize the fragmentation in the phenomenon of immigration and in the knowledge accumulated by the scholars. According to them, the fragmentation of the phenomenon is caused by the multi-functionality of the term that can't be explained by the one specific theory<sup>30</sup>.

Politics plays a crucial role in defining what immigration means. An example of how movements between politically independent entities may not be considered immigration can be found within the context of the European Union. The free movement of people within the European Union is not considered immigration by the supranational institution because it represents the freedom of movement for EU citizens. However, at the national level, the movement of people from one member-state to another is still considered as an act of immigration, because the newcomers occupy positions in the national market, healthcare system and education. This example shows the nuances of the interrelation between national and international politics.

Four main categories of immigrants are often paid special attention to by the receiving country including international students, labor immigrants, family members of the accommodated immigrant and the asylum seekers. The host society prepares and implements immigrant relevant policies based on these categories.

Immigration flow is highly dependent on regulations related to immigration in the receiving country. For example, it is easier for the asylum seeker to get access to one

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<sup>29</sup> Janet Dobson, *International Migration and the United Kingdom: Recent Patterns and Trends* (London: Research, Development and Statistics Directorate, Home Office, 2001).

<sup>30</sup> Douglas S. Massey, *Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal* (1993).

of the EU member states, than it is for the voluntary immigrant or the international student. All the signatory countries of the 1951 Geneva Convention are obliged to protect the rights of asylum seekers, to which all the EU member states are part of<sup>31</sup>.

In addition to policy application, it is important to understand how immigrants are presented in different nation states. For example, in some countries, immigrants are considered as ethnic minorities (Britain), whereas in others they are considered as aliens (Germany) or not differentiated from the major society at all (France), in order to avoid possible conflicts between the groups<sup>32</sup>.

Nowadays it is difficult to find a clear distinction between the immigrant and ethnic minority in the more general ‘us’ vs. ‘them’ discourse. The successful integration of immigrants in the long term erases the boundaries between majority and minority groups<sup>33</sup>.

### **2.2.1 Historical Background of Immigration and Immigrants in Europe**

This section of the chapter presents the historical summary of International Immigration to and inside Europe. This part reviews the historical background of immigration in Europe from the second part of the twentieth century. Three particular points in time are important in understanding the history and evolution of International Immigration toward and within Europe. These periods include: the immigration flow from 1950 until the oil crisis in 1973; from the period of 1973 to

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<sup>31</sup> Geddes and Scholten, *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe*.

<sup>32</sup> Geddes and Scholten.

<sup>33</sup> Steven Vertovec, “Super-Diversity and Its Implications,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30, no. 6 (2007): 1024–1054.

the end of the Cold War in the late 80s; and from the end of the Cold war until present<sup>34</sup>.

The first period of immigration that starts after the end of the Second World War until the Global Oil Crisis is characterized by several features. First, the scarcity of the labor in European countries as well as the rapid industrial recovery could provide the favorable conditions for immigrants from the neighboring European countries and from abroad. Guest workers, as labor immigrants were called at that time, were also complemented by the mass flow of the people from the former colonies of European states<sup>35</sup>. The mass return of the people of European origin from the territories of the former colonies is also significant while considering the general trend of international immigration. However, this period is also characterized by the paralyzed mobility in and out of some regions, due to the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union, between the global west and east.

The second period of international immigration includes the period from the 1973 Oil Crisis to the period of the end of the Cold War in the late 80s. This period represents a less favorable environment for international immigration. The demand for foreign workers was rapidly reduced and the entrance to the European countries became more difficult<sup>36</sup>. Despite the less favorable condition for immigrants in second period of international immigration, this period is characterized with the transformation of the immigrant's profile rather than the scale of immigration. As it

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<sup>34</sup> Blanca Garcés-Mascareñas and Rinus Penninx, *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe: Contexts, Levels and Actors*, 1st ed. 2016 (Cham: Springer International Publishing Imprint Springer, 2016).

<sup>35</sup> Stephen Castles, "Migration and Community Formation under Conditions of Globalization," *International Migration Review* 36, no. 4 (2002): 1143–68.

<sup>36</sup> Penninx, Spencer, and Van Hear, "Migration and Integration in Europe: The State of Research."

was discussed in the section above, there are four categories of immigrants that include the labor immigrant, international student, asylum seeker and the family member of the accommodated immigrant. So if the first period of immigration was characterized by mass flow of the guest workers, the second period is characterized with the flow of the family members of immigrants and the asylum seekers<sup>37</sup>. By realizing that immigrant population is growing, European countries started to develop immigration policies in this period<sup>38</sup>.

The third period of immigration includes the period between the end of the Cold War and the present time. This period consists of many events that dramatically affected the immigration trend. First of all, the fall of Iron Curtain and the Berlin wall represent the removal of the barriers between the Eastern and Western European countries, which led to the intra-European migration<sup>39</sup>. However, the international immigration to Europe was further restricted. Another important event that had a dramatic effect on the immigration toward and within the EU member states is the Economic Crisis that had started in 2008. Economic Crisis, particularly has intensified the flow of people within the EU from the countries with vulnerable economies toward the core countries of the EU. Mass flow of irregular immigrants from African continent and Asia is another legacy of the Economic crisis<sup>40</sup>. In general, the third period of immigration is characterized with the less valuable conditions for non-EU immigrants, due to the economic downfall, security problems and problems with integration regimes.

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<sup>37</sup> Münz, "Migration, Labour Markets, and Integration of Migrants."

<sup>38</sup> Penninx, Spencer, and Van Hear, "Migration and Integration in Europe: The State of Research."

<sup>39</sup> Münz, "Migration, Labour Markets, and Integration of Migrants."

<sup>40</sup> Münz.

### **2.2.2 Causes of Immigration in the European Union**

International migration has many different causes the most obvious of which shall be discussed in the following pages.

Firstly, the mass movement of people from one country to another relates to political repression and conflicts within the country of immigrant's origin. As it was mentioned above, the refugee crisis of 2015 represents the mass escape of people from war zones and governmental persecution<sup>41</sup>.

Secondly, according to Kurt Grunwald, the main motivation for the people to immigrate is always related to economic problems. He claims that, even when the main cause of immigration seems social or political, the real cause is economic, since it is an economic downfall that triggers the political and social turbulence in the state<sup>42</sup>. In addition to that, factors as unemployment, corruption and poverty play a significant role in the movement of people from one country to another.

Other main causes of international immigration are the dictates of demography, the immigrants' network in the outside world and the environmental situation in the country of immigrants' origin. High population growth under the condition of poor economic performance and unemployment lead people to seek a better life outside the country. Network refers to the communication between the potential immigrant and the one(s) who is already accommodated in another state. The scarcity of basic

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<sup>41</sup> Yahya, "The Roots of Europe's Refugee Crisis."

<sup>42</sup> Kurt Grunwald, "The Motivation of International Immigration," *The South African Journal of Economics* 24, no. 4 (1956): 316–318.

human needs such as water and food is a significant reason behind international immigration, caused by the environmental degradation<sup>43</sup>.

However, the same reasons may create an obstacle for the immigrants to move from the unsafe environment. The lack of financial support as well as fear and social pressure may affect the person's mobility, which creates danger for his life and the life of his family.

### **2.2.3 Policies on Immigration in the European Union**

Having studied different forms of Immigration as well as actors involved in policy generation the following pages discuss the policies of immigration.

Government officials, as part of their campaign, regularly assure citizens of their policy proposals on the immigration problem. However, usually, the policies of immigration play the post-reactionary role rather than problem-solving. The difficulty to predict the future number of immigrants in addition to the slow decision making mechanism negatively affect policy implementation<sup>44</sup>. For example, the refugee crisis, at least to the extent that Europe was involved in it, was an unexpected phenomenon.

Leading politicians look for immediate gains rather than long term policy solutions due to the desire to stay in power<sup>45</sup>. For example, the huge investment made in the border defense to stop the flow of immigrants, instead of improved policies of

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<sup>43</sup> Nicole B. Simpson, "Demographic and Economic Determinants of Migration," *IZA World of Labor*, June 27, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.15185/izawol.373>.

<sup>44</sup> Giuseppe Sciortino, "Toward a Political Sociology of Entry Policies: Conceptual Problems and Theoretical Proposals," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 26, no. 2 (2000): 213–228.

<sup>45</sup> Geddes and Scholten, *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe*.

accommodation that could save the lives of many people and contribute to the development of the country, represent a quick policy action at the expense of a sustainable policy solution.

Despite the fact that EU single market promote the open and free movement of goods and services, the EU member states are reluctant to support the free movement of people, especially of those who have non-European origin. Member states prefer to leave the question of international immigration in the hands of sovereign states. They argue that it is the right of the national state to regulate the entrance of foreign nationals to their territory. The phenomenon of the open EU market and closed member states represent the “paradoxical trend of free mobility”<sup>46</sup>.

The policies of immigration predominantly focus on six particular spheres that include the immigrant's profile, naturalization process, labour market, the welfare state, antidiscrimination practices and political rights. Firstly, the state officials categorize the newcomers as labour immigrants, asylum seekers, and immigrants for the purpose of studies or family reunion. During this process specific attention is paid to the legal and illegal status of the immigrants. This process reveals the position of the immigrant in the society and requires specific policies for each category.

Secondly, the process of naturalization and the acquisition of citizenship are highly regulated by the state officials. The welfare state, as well as market economy, is the third major concern that has to be considered by the receiving state. Healthcare

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<sup>46</sup> Penninx, Spencer, and Van Hear, “Migration and Integration in Europe: The State of Research,” 3.



system, education, and housing are some of the most powerful incentives that attract immigrants, and thus have to be regulated by the government. Next, the political rights and duties of the immigrants should be taken into account by policymakers. Anti-discriminatory laws and policies are required in order to deal with racism and xenophobia in the country. Finally, the policies that are applied by the government for the protection and preservation of cultural differences and traditions of immigrants are given special focus in immigration policies<sup>47</sup>.

A significant role is played by the different sectors in the society who either benefit or lose from immigration in the application of policies of immigration<sup>48</sup>. The policy winners and losers may include such institutions as IGO's and NGO's, business corporations, labour unions and individual employers. The struggle between the pro-immigrant groups and anti-immigrant groups are decisive, because they are the ones who influence public opinion and consequently those who are in power.

### **2.3 The Study of Integration in the European Union**

There is no doubt that policies and practices of immigrant integration became one of the most debated topics among European states and at the EU level. As in the case of immigration, the term integration is difficult to define as it is central in many studies and debates and has strong consequences on both, the receiving society and immigrants.

According to Garcés-Mascreñas and Penninx, “ the term integration refers to the process of settlement, interaction with the host society, and social change that

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<sup>47</sup> Geddes and Scholten, *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe*.

<sup>48</sup> G. P. Freeman, “Modes of Immigration Politics in Liberal Democratic States,” *The International Migration Review* 29, no. 4 (1995): 881–913.

follows immigration”<sup>49</sup>. Other scholars define integration as a “collection of policies towards immigrants and Post-migration minorities”<sup>50</sup>. For them the integration regimes are necessary to ensure that people of non-national origin get access to the three dimensions of integration: legal-political, socio-economic and cultural-religious. Similar definition was proposed by Freeman, in which he finds integration as a way in which the newcomers may access membership in different dimensions of receiving society<sup>51</sup>. Groenendijk, at the same time defines integration as an “active participation of the immigrant in the social, economic and public life of society”<sup>52</sup>, however he rejects the idea that either cultural and religious elements or perceptions and loyalties should be taken into consideration.

### **2.3.1 Historical Background of Integration in Europe**

The concept of ‘integration’ was first introduced by the American scholars William Warner, and Leo Srole in 1945. Since the end of the Second World War the process of integration had been defined as a one-way process, in which immigrants were supposed to integrate into the major national society. However, the waves of criticism toward the linear perspective of integration have influenced the development of the concept and have led to the evolution of the integration approach from the one way to two ways process.

Some of the most vivid critical voices were expressed in the works of Lindo and Safi. Both of the works criticize the linear approach to integration. According to

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<sup>49</sup> Garcés-Masareñas and Penninx, *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe: Contexts, Levels and Actors*, 11.

<sup>50</sup> Karen Phalet and Marc Swyngedouw, “Measuring Immigrant Integration: The Case of Belgium,” *Studi Emigrazione*, 2003, 773–804.

<sup>51</sup> Freeman, “Immigrant Incorporation in Western Democracies 1.”

<sup>52</sup> Kees Groenendijk, “Legal Concepts of Integration in EU Migration Law,” *European Journal of Migration and Law* 6, no. 2 (2004): 111–126.

them, this approach limits the diverse picture of the society in multicultural states and hides the problems related to the inequality, dependency and discrimination among the society. In order to achieve the successful integration of immigrants more actors and efforts should be involved into the process.

Other legacies of the end of the Second World War were high level of solidarity and tolerance, success in industrialization, and secure environment in the European countries. The terrifying memory of the past and the economic success of the present have shifted the nationalist practices of integration toward the pluralist accommodation of minorities and immigrant groups<sup>53</sup>. The series of human rights movements in the 1960s have destroyed the notion of old hierarchies based on the homogeneous domination of the majority groups and caused the shift in integration toward pluralistic accommodation of newcomers<sup>54</sup>. The evolving process of integration policies will be further discussed in the part of the Vertical Governance of Integration.

The policy domains and the policymaking process of the immigrant integration will be further analyzed in the following pages while considering the three dimensions of integration. The shift in policymaking processes is considered on both, the national and supranational levels.

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<sup>53</sup> Christian Joppke and Ewa Morawska, *Toward Assimilation and Citizenship: Immigrants in Liberal Nation-States* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK Imprint Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

<sup>54</sup> Penninx, Spencer, and Van Hear, "Migration and Integration in Europe: The State of Research."

### **2.3.2 Three Dimensions of Integration**

By following the definition above, it is obvious that actors involved in the processes of integration are interacting with each other in many different fields. Thus, the understanding of integration as the linear approach has to be replaced with the picture of diverse population with different dimensions of integration<sup>55</sup>.

The legal-political, socio-economic and cultural-religious are the three main dimensions of the immigrant's integration that include the role of the state, market and the nation.

The legal-political dimension of integration is responsible for the political rights and statuses of immigrants. This dimension evaluates the immigrant's incorporation into political community of the receiving society. Immigrant groups are incorporated into the political community either fully or partially. In case of full integration, immigrants receive full citizenship as a national citizen does. In contrast to that, an incomplete version of citizenship only includes the social and economic rights for the immigrant. The status of the immigrant, i.e. regular or irregular is one of the most important factors behind the full or partial integration of immigrant into the host society.

The socio-economic dimension, on the other hand, preoccupies itself with the accommodation of immigrants in housing, education and healthcare spheres. This dimension evaluates the position of the immigrant in social circle and the EU market. It also studies the access of immigrant to national facilities of the host state, the

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<sup>55</sup> Penninx, Spencer, and Van Hear.

process of immigrant's participation and the outcomes. The comparative study of the performance of national citizen and immigrant in the social and economic fields is a useful input for the formation of integration policies.

Finally, the cultural-religious dimension represents the perceptions and practices of the majority and minority groups. The cultural and religious differences of the immigrants may create different reaction among host societies. On the one hand, the native citizens may demand the assimilation of the minority group into the life style of the majority group in both cultural and religious senses. On another hand, the receiving society may support the preservation and protection of the cultural differences of the immigrant groups. The third possible reaction may represent a hybrid of both extremes where the cultural and religious differences of immigrants are protected only to certain degree.

### **2.3.3 Understanding the Integration Policies/Regimes**

Several treaties give prominence to EU in relation to the question of resettlement of newcomers. The most influential treaties are the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 and the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997<sup>56</sup>. Despite the attempt of the supranational institution to turn the policies of integration into common policies among the member states, they are still predominantly in the hands of sovereign states. But before turning to the discussion about the horizontal and vertical governance of integration, it is important to understand the formation, frames and measurement of the integration policies.

Policies are created for the purpose of facilitation and guidance of integration processes. Policies of integration are part of the general political system, in which

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<sup>56</sup> Mannila et al., *Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities: European Country Cases and Debates*.

integration of immigrants is defined as a problem that requires the policy measurement and policy solution.

The policy frames are responsible for both the definition of the problem and definition of the solution. Political and social actors stand behind the frames that are used to describe immigration. Thus, an immigrant under different frames might be perceived as the benefit or the cost, as wanted and unwanted and, as a temporary visitor or the member of the society with the same rights and duties as a national citizen.

Reaction toward the specific frames defines the potential policy solution. For example, under the condition when an immigrant is perceived as a valuable member of the society, the integration policy will be more welcoming and protective in character. However, if an immigrant is perceived as an unnecessary cost for the society, the policy of integration will be more restrictive and unfriendly toward the newcomers.

It's important to look at the policy frames under three dimensions of integration. As it was mentioned above the level of immigrant integration depends on the historical context and the values of receiving society. For the society that value equality and diversity, the policy solution will be formed in the socio-economic and cultural-religious dimensions. For the society that perceives a newcomer as a new member of the society, the policy solution will be formed in legal-political dimension with rights and duties as native citizen.

In order to fully understand the integration policies, political frames have to be complimented with analysis of the policy measures. Policy measures identify the level of immigrant integration in one of the three dimensions of integration. However, the measurement of the integration policies is difficult to be obtained because of the lack of official records, accuracy in time and place. The way to measure the policy of integration is to organize the extensive fieldwork and interviews with the key actors who participated in the immigrant integration processes<sup>57</sup>.

When the policies of integration are formed with the help of the frames and measures, it is important to understand the second step of the analysis, which is the policy organization and implementation. Policy organization is responsible for defining whether the policies are implemented under the strict political rule or whether there are differences between the policy rhetoric and policy practice. In addition to that, policy organization is responsible for the coordination and location of the immigrant integration within the receiving state. Next part of the chapter will present the implementation of integration policies in the EU member states in both horizontal and vertical vectors of governance.

### **2.3.3.1 Horizontal Governance of Integration**

The implementation of integration policies in the European countries can be observed at the horizontal and vertical levels. Horizontal level includes a broad list of key actors such as the local, central and regional governments as well as trade

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<sup>57</sup> Garcés-Mascareñas and Penninx, *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe: Contexts, Levels and Actors*.

unions, non-governmental organizations and individuals<sup>58</sup>. At this level the outcomes of the policy implementation can be better observed through comparison studies either in the same nation state or between the EU countries.

Horizontal governance of integration policies among the EU member states is based on the various policy implementations, rules and practices that may fit one country and not another. Sometimes, under the similar integration policies there are completely different policy outcomes. The integration regimes may vary within and between the European states. Due to the specific factors as well as point in time any country may shift, for example, from the policies of assimilation to the policies of multiculturalism and vice versa<sup>59</sup>.

One of the most prominent studies in regards to integration policies was performed by Brubaker in his famous work “Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany”<sup>60</sup>, whereas he significantly contributes to the understanding of the concept of citizenship among France and Germany.

By following the same comparative pattern, Koopmans has contributed to the literature of integration regimes by performing the outcomes of the multicultural

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<sup>58</sup> Penninx, Spencer, and Van Hear, “Migration and Integration in Europe: The State of Research.”

<sup>59</sup> Ana-Maria Zamfir et al., “Immigration and Integration Regimes in EU.” *Journal of Community Positive Practices* 14, no. 1 (2014).

<sup>60</sup> Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*, 1990.



integration policies on the socio-economic dimension of the immigrant integration in eight EU member states<sup>61</sup>.

Another significant comparative studies, in regards to the integration policies, have been adopted by Castles, Miller, and Ammendola. This study has revealed three main models of integration policies: the differential exclusion model, models of assimilation and multiculturalism. According to collaborative work of Castles et al., history of the European states as well as national particularities correlated with implementation of one or another models of integration regimes. For example, the differential exclusion model of integration used to be implemented in the historically “guest workers” countries such as Germany and Austria. Whereas the assimilationist model was frequently implemented in the former imperial powers such as France and Great Britain. Finally multicultural model of integration represent countries with long immigration history examples of which are Canada, Australia and Sweden<sup>62</sup>.

Despite the rich literature on the comparative studies in regards to integration policies, there is a significant gap in the systemic comparative research that will bring about the common knowledge. The shortcomings of this work are primarily related to the administrative data that many researches are using. The main problem

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<sup>61</sup> Koopmans, “Trade-Offs between Equality and Difference: Immigrant Integration, Multiculturalism and the Welfare State in Cross-National Perspective.”

<sup>62</sup> Stephen Castles, Mark J. Miller, and Giuseppe Ammendola, “The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World,” *American Foreign Policy Interests* 27, no. 6 (2005): 537–542.

with this data is its narrow scope of the purpose of the study that came from the definition with specified task and preoccupation<sup>63</sup>.

In addition to the historical background of the receiving country, and the way it settles the institutions as a response to the immigration flow, factors such as politicization of the term integration by governmental officials and the influence of the EU are important in understanding the state of integration in different member states of the EU.

### **2.3.3.2 Vertical Governance of Integration**

Recently the studies of immigrant integration have shifted their attention from the national toward the supranational level of governance. It is impossible to analyze the immigration policies of Europe without the role of the EU<sup>64</sup>. Despite the increased integration of European states and the role of the EU, it is difficult to explain its influence on the policies of integration.

The difficulty to explain the role of the EU on European integration policies is because of the unequal share of commonality in the sectors related to immigration. There are sections in the migratory policies that are regulated by supranational institutions. They address issues such as asylum seekers and irregular immigration. Policies that are responsible for the entrance of immigrant, as well as integration of immigration, are in the disposal of the nation states<sup>65</sup>. The unclear share of the common rights and obligation among the EU member states leads to unclear effects on the receiving societies and immigrants.

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<sup>63</sup> Penninx, Spencer, and Van Hear, "Migration and Integration in Europe: The State of Research."

<sup>64</sup> Penninx, Spencer, and Van Hear.

<sup>65</sup> Groenendijk, "Legal Concepts of Integration in EU Migration Law."

The role of the EU in immigration policies can be easily underestimated or overestimated. Before moving to the detail about the role and effects of the EU on integration policies, it's important to understand what the European Union is.

The European Union is a regional institution that consists of twenty-seven nation states that have moved toward integration in the economic, social, and political spheres. One of the greatest achievements of the union is common EU market and common currency (in majority of member states). However, while there is a high level of integration in some fields, the members still remain reluctant to integrate in other fields. Integration of immigrants is one of the issues that create a high national sensitivity among the member states, which make the integration in this field unforeseeable.

Several treaties deem EU's role critical in the issue of immigrant resettlement. The most influential treaties are the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, and Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997<sup>66</sup>. However, the greatest achievement in the implementation of the common EU policies on immigration was made at the Tampere European Council (EC) in 1999. It was in Tampere that political leaders of the EC supported the lawful integration of non-national immigrants with rights and obligations similar to the national citizens<sup>67</sup>. The Tampere council has become a starting point in understanding of integration policies as a three-way process. The evolution of integration policies and the role of the supranational institution will be discussed in the section below.

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<sup>66</sup> Mannila et al., *Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities: European Country Cases and Debates*.

<sup>67</sup> Groenendijk, "Legal Concepts of Integration in EU Migration Law."

The term integration received a broader definition from early 2003 when the European Commission played a role in this respect. The focus on anti-racial discrimination was in the center of new policy orientation that provides additional protection to non-national immigrant groups. This modification in integration now represents a two-way process of incorporation where both the newcomers and receiving society play active roles<sup>68</sup>. Since that time the policies of integration have incorporated economic, social, cultural, religious and political rights for the immigrants.

A year later, the European approach to the integration of immigrants included the Common Basic Principles for integration as well as enforcement and evaluation of the integration policies to its scope<sup>69</sup>. Here again the term integration was defined as a two way process in which both immigrants and the native citizens are involved into a reciprocal communication.

The term integration has continued to evolve in the consequent years. It was in 2005 when the scope of integration delineated the list of key actors. According to the newer version, the role of the IGOs and NGOs, civil society groups and communities are necessary for the successful integration of newcomers. The important role of the

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<sup>68</sup> Groenendijk.

<sup>69</sup> "European Web Site on Integration - European Commission," European Web Site on Integration, accessed July 31, 2018, <https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/librarydoc/common-basic-principles-for-immigrant-integration-policy-in-the-eu>.

regional, local and national authorities was further emphasized by the Stockholm Programme in 2010<sup>70</sup>

However, it was only in 2011 when the radical change in the structure of European approach to integration took place. Since that period the policies of integration have been based on the perception that the country of immigrants' origin is a third key actor in the Integration of Immigrants. The incorporation of the third actor changes the scope of European integration from the two-way process to the three way process.

The evolution of Integration policies from a single phase to a three level approach helps us understand the role of the receiving state in the process of integration. It has also shown that there is a broader list of actors on the local, national, and international levels that significantly influence the directions of the immigrant's integration.

## **2.4 Conclusion**

The European immigration system has a long history that has gone through many different shifts and turns based on what was at the center of attention for European states. In this chapter the different dynamics of these shifts at the European as well as the national level were discussed and the different phases of change at each level were identified. It was suggested that Immigrants often go through three levels of integration namely legal-political, socio-economic and cultural-religious. Two

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<sup>70</sup> “The Stockholm Programme - An Open and Secure Europe Serving and Protecting the Citizens - Together Against Trafficking in Human Beings - European Commission,” Together Against Trafficking in Human Beings, accessed July 31, 2018, /anti-trafficking/eu-policy/stockholm-programme-open-and-secure-europe-serving-and-protecting-citizens-0\_en.

different ways of integration were also identified. Horizontal integration that includes local, central, and regional governments and vertical integration goes beyond national governance to include supranational level of governance.

## Chapter 3

# MULTICULTURALISM

### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to provide a comprehensive conceptualization of multiculturalism, its origin, evolution and its presumed fall from theoretical and practical perspectives. In the era of globalization, the problem of equal coexistence of different cultures has become crucial, since the processes, caused by relatively open borders and the free movement of labor dictates new rules of conduct for social interaction between individuals. The idea of solving ethnic conflicts by forming a multicultural environment, which has become popular as ‘multiculturalism’, gained massive popularity among the EU member states despite its explicit ambiguity. The difficulty of defining the term has created a clash in opinion and actions among scholars, politicians and the public. Although the opponents and defenders of multiculturalism are equally dispersed, it seems that we now live in a post-multicultural era<sup>71</sup>. However, before coming to a conclusion about the fate of multiculturalism, it is vital to understand what multiculturalism means, whether it has indeed failed or whether its failure is highly exaggerated and misinterpreted by the critics.

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<sup>71</sup> Christian Joppke, *Is Multiculturalism Dead?: Crisis and Persistence in the Constitutional State* (John Wiley & Sons, 2017).

### 3.2 Historical Context and Evolution of Multiculturalism

The term ‘multiculturalism’ can be traced back to the western democratic tradition of the second part of the twentieth century. However, the phenomena that it describes have been known since the era of imperialism when the different nations and cultures coexisted with each other under the domination of one ruling power<sup>72</sup>. The societies that are currently known as multicultural were formerly called multinational and the phenomena itself was viewed as a phenomenon of cultural pluralism<sup>73</sup>.

The rise of multiculturalism, as we know it today, is mainly associated with early 1970s when the recognition and accommodation of ethnic diversity was spreading across western democratic countries. This was followed by the period of decolonization and the African-American civil rights movement. Multiculturalism, therefore, initiated a new era of equal coexistence that would overcome illiberal and undemocratic hierarchies associated with repression and discrimination of minorities by the majority group<sup>74</sup>.

The racial and illiberal behavior of homogenous groups in Western democracies that had prevailed during the period of imperialism and the two world wars caused public reaction in the form of human rights movements. As a crucial part of this movement, multiculturalism became an indispensable tool in the construction of a healthy democracy oriented toward the recognition and accommodation of ethnic diversity. The policies of multiculturalism, that advocate the preservation of cultural identity

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<sup>72</sup> Will Kymlicka, ‘Multiculturalism: Success, Failure, and the Future’ [2012] Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.

<sup>73</sup> Nathan Glazer, *We Are All Multiculturalists Now* (Harvard University Press, 1998).

<sup>74</sup> Kymlicka (n 63).



and the differentialist rights, are basically oriented toward the rights of historic minorities, indigenous people and immigrant groups<sup>75</sup>.

The idea of multiculturalism in contemporary political discourse and in political philosophy emphasizes the equal coexistence of cultural differences<sup>76</sup>. According to Glaser, multiculturalism is a system of various developmental processes in which many cultures can flourish and avoid assimilation to a single national culture<sup>77</sup>. Another important contributor, associates multiculturalism with a “legal and political accommodation of ethnic diversity”<sup>78</sup>, whereas Brubaker describes multiculturalism as the “differentialist turn that has brought a general movement of thought and opinion”<sup>79</sup>. In order to avoid confusion, in the western political discourse, multicultural rhetoric operates based on the concepts of inclusion, involvement, recognition, cultural pluralism, differentialist turn and accommodation of diversity.

Regardless of the successes of human rights movements, discrimination toward ethnicity, race and religion still exist in many societies. These inequalities are visible at economic, social and political levels. So, the primary role of multiculturalism is to replace the old hierarchies, overcome discrimination and reduce inequalities<sup>80</sup>. It also aims to achieve recognition and preservation of all cultural identities and facilitate the way in which immigrants and ethnic minority groups could fully represent themselves. Multiculturalism has manifested itself in many different fields, including

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<sup>75</sup> Will.

<sup>76</sup> Jürgen Habermas, *Inclusion of the Other: Studies in Political Theory* (John Wiley & Sons, 2018).

<sup>77</sup> Glazer, *We Are All Multiculturalists Now*.

<sup>78</sup> Kymlicka (n 63).

<sup>79</sup> Brubaker, “The Return of Assimilation? Changing Perspectives on Immigration and Its Sequels in France, Germany, and the United States,” 40.

<sup>80</sup> Kymlicka (n 63).

the shift from individualistic rights toward collectivist rights, the greater autonomy of historic minorities and indigenous people, anti-assimilationist movement of African-Americans, the rise of gay movements and "difference" feminism based on public affirmation, and the general opposition toward assimilation into a single nation<sup>81</sup>.

Followed by many dramatic events the period from the late 1990s to the present time has been associated with a strong and united critique in regards to multicultural policies<sup>82</sup>. During this period, there has been a shift in the composition of the critics that now include governmental officials, media, the public and scholars who openly announced the retreat from multiculturalism or even the death of its policies<sup>83</sup>. However, before drawing any conclusion about the fate of multiculturalism it's important to examine the term from different angles. Different meanings of multiculturalism arise in accordance with different contexts. Nevertheless, the literature has identified multiculturalism as a demographic fact, political philosophy, public discourse, and the public policy of diverse cultural coexistence<sup>84</sup>. In this chapter, we will consider multiculturalism as a political philosophy and a public policy.

### **3.3 Political Philosophy of Multiculturalism**

Philosophically, multiculturalism is a broad concept. The idea of multiculturalism and the emergence of global civil society today are the most likely ways to overcome the contradictions between the universality of world development, as expressed by

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<sup>81</sup> Joppke and Morawska, *Toward Assimilation and Citizenship: Immigrants in Liberal Nation-States*.

<sup>82</sup> Kymlicka, Vertovec, and Wessendorf, *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices*.

<sup>83</sup> Kymlicka (n 63).

<sup>84</sup> Bloemraad and Wright, "'Utter Failure' or Unity out of Diversity? Debating and Evaluating Policies of Multiculturalism."

the concept of liberalism, and features inherent in the development of different cultures and civilizations. First and foremost, multiculturalism contests a centralized view on development and aims to remove old hierarchies and legalize various forms of cultural diversity. In this sense, cultural diversity shows different forms of cultural manifestation, which are still not equally valued. Due to the lack of a stable definition of a multicultural character, there is no universally recognized typology in the philosophical sense. The idea of multiculturalism has its supporters and opponents and the arguments on both sides shall be discussed in the following pages. An effort shall be made to understand the very essence of the idea of multiculturalism by relying on the writings of the most prominent representatives of modern multicultural theory.

### **3.3.1 Justification for Multiculturalism**

In the following pages the different justifications for multiculturalism are discussed based on four different philosophical perspectives; namely the communitarian perspective, the liberal egalitarian perspective, the republican tradition and the postcolonial perspective.

#### **3.3.1.1 Communitarian**

The first justification of multiculturalism is derived from the debate between communitarians and liberals. Liberals emphasize the rights of individuals and translate social well-being as the well-being of individuals. Contrary to the liberal stance, communitarians claim that social well-being is inextricably linked to collective rights. This position is prevalent in the political and philosophical thought of Charles Taylor.

Charles Taylor is a supporter of the republican tradition and prioritizes civil or political freedom over the freedom of individual. Taylor proposes that human

behaviour is naturally dialogical. In his work “Politics of recognition”, Taylor emphasizes that individuals define their identity only through the interaction with significant ones as well as through their recognition. He writes that “We define our identity always in dialogue with, sometimes in struggle against, the things our significant others want to see in us”<sup>85</sup>. According to Taylor, a liberal society can only be free if there is a high level of social cohesion based on which individuals engage in democratic activities. In turn, this cohesion (republican communitarianism) requires special commitment of citizens to their community<sup>86</sup>.

So, for communitarians, it’s crucial to count the role of communities, since it’s them who occupies the intermediate position between the relationship of the state and individuals<sup>87</sup>. In contrast to the analogy of the individuals as the right – duty-bearers, one should speak about the ethnic communities as the right – duty-bearers, in order to solve the real problems in the world, restore justice and compensate those who have suffered from the oppression and domination before.

### **3.3.1.2 Liberal Egalitarian**

Another justification for multiculturalism can be found in liberalism itself, namely in the works of a prominent liberal defender of multiculturalism, Will Kymlicka, combined the main values of liberalism with values of communitarianism<sup>88</sup>. Among many, there are two stages of discourse within which changes occurred in the understanding of the theory and practice of multiculturalism.

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<sup>85</sup> Taylor, “The Politics of Recognition,” 32–33.

<sup>86</sup> Taylor, “The Politics of Recognition.”

<sup>87</sup> Chandran Kukathas, “Are There Any Cultural Rights?,” *Political Theory* 20, no. 1 (February 1, 1992): 105–39, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0090591792020001006>.

<sup>88</sup> Will Kymlicka, *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction*, 2nd ed (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

The first stage included the discussions of the 1970s. Prioritization of individual freedoms was dominant at this stage. Liberals insisted on the freedom of choice for individuals to choose their own conception of good, and welcomed the liberation of the individual from any assigned or inherited status. The liberal conception of multiculturalism gives priority to the individual over the community<sup>89</sup>.

The second stage of the evolution of the liberal concept of multiculturalism was initiated in the 1980s. Here, the main question was ‘the possible scale of multiculturalism within the framework of liberal theory’. Kymlicka, answered this question in details by stating that “each of us in own way proves that there are vital interests related to culture and identity that are fully compatible with the liberal principles of freedom and equality and which justify the granting of special rights to the minority”<sup>90</sup>.

According to Kymlicka, liberals on both the left and right theoretical spectrums do not embrace the idea of minority rights; rather they are promoting the rights of individuals through the traditional human rights doctrine. However, the traditional human rights doctrines are not fully capable of solving the main problems of minority groups. In his own words:

“The right to free speech does not tell us what an appropriate language policy is; the right to vote does not tell us how political boundaries should be drawn, or how power should be distributed between levels of government; the right to mobility does not tell us what an appropriate immigration and naturalization policy is”<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Kymlicka.

<sup>90</sup> Kymlicka, 338–43.

<sup>91</sup> Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*, Oxford Political Theory (Oxford : New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1995), 5.

Solutions to these problems are still in the hands of the majority groups that leave minority groups vulnerable and preserve ethno cultural conflict. For this reason, the traditional human rights have to go hand in hand with the theory of minority rights.

### **3.3.1.3 Republican Tradition**

Arguments regarding freedom from domination, made by Phillip Pettit and Frank Lovett among others, provide a third justification for multiculturalism. While following the republican tradition, Pettit embraced both the idea of freedom from interference, as it was prioritized by liberals, as well as freedom from domination<sup>92</sup>. Lovett, also emphasized freedom from domination as an important element in human prosperity<sup>93</sup>. Pettit distinguishes between interference and domination as ‘different evils’ which are not existentially co-dependent (one can exist without the other)<sup>94</sup>. If domination is interpreted as master-servant relationships, even under the condition of non-interference the latter is not free. So even without direct interference, one group of people are subjugated and dependent on the other group that is capable of interfering in making choices for the other in cases where the subjugated group would normally be eligible to make decisions<sup>95</sup>.

Lovett, however, emphasizes the importance of special policies that include cultural accommodation while minimizing domination among the groups<sup>96</sup>. This idea is derived from the literature on multiculturalism and the long lasting debate between supporters and opponents of multiculturalism.

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<sup>92</sup> Philip Pettit, *Republicanism: A Theory of Freedom and Government* (Oxford University Press, USA 2000)

<sup>93</sup> Lovett, “Cultural Accommodation and Domination.”

<sup>94</sup> Pettit, *Republicanism*.

<sup>95</sup> Pettit.

<sup>96</sup> Lovett, “Cultural Accommodation and Domination.”

It has been argued that some social practices are naturally based on domination, for example slavery or patriarchal social practices. This master-servant relationship is the cornerstone of the criticisms related to multicultural accommodation. Lovett, as an advocate of freedom from domination, proposes that these practices should not only be accommodated, but should also be immediately eliminated<sup>97</sup>. Nevertheless, it argues that in some cases the accommodation of social practices is important, in order to reduce the domination itself.

Usually, a number of social practices, with both positive and negative social values, are implemented. Restricting the use of a practice with positive social value can therefore increase the threat to move toward a practice with negative social value, based on domination. Muslim immigrants in the EU member states are a good example. Some of the practices of this religious group are based on patriarchal domination based on which women are discouraged from participating in education and job spheres. However, there are also practices that represent positive social values based on voluntarily practices, such as wearing head scarves. European democracies, by encouraging secular values, may restrict the use of these religious symbols in public. By doing so, these countries may provoke reactions from religious groups and strengthen their commitment to social practices that have their root in patriarchal domination.

Thus, Lovett distinguishes between two types of social practices, those that involve domination and those that do not<sup>98</sup>. Practices that include domination should not be

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<sup>97</sup> Lovett.

<sup>98</sup> Lovett.

accepted and accommodated; whereas practices that are not based on domination and do not restrict the opportunities of the group members, should be tolerated and accommodated.

#### **3.3.1.4 Postcolonial Perspective**

There is a clear link between multiculturalism and postcolonial studies. They are both aimed at studying the historical manifestations of colonialism and overcoming their consequences in the modern world. The works of postcolonial theorists has highly contributed to the justification of multiculturalism. Contrary to the above mentioned perspectives, the post-colonial approach is focused on historical injustice and claims of minority groups an example of which is claims regarding the sovereignty of indigenous people.

Postcolonial theory aims to question and to replace the traditional Eurocentric academic approach, by understanding “the socio-political-cultural contexts that are productive of both the author and the ideas that make up his/her text”<sup>99</sup>. Under these circumstances the very idea of the state’s legitimacy to have authority over the minority groups is questionable.

Historical oppression of particular groups requires them to be given autonomy over their own matters as well as non-intervention from the state, even when conditions of domination and discrimination exist within the group. For the groups that lack autonomy, group-differentiated rights or status of the “provisionally privileged”

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<sup>99</sup> Jenny Edkins and Nick Vaughan-Williams, *Critical Theorists and International Relations* (1st edn, Routledge 2009)



should be applied<sup>100</sup>. It has thus been argued that there should be differences between the rights for oppressed groups and the groups that were not under oppression.

Postcolonial multiculturalists look at majority-minority relations from a different angle that goes well beyond the scope of liberal multiculturalists. The main idea of postcolonial theory is to consider the historical evolution of relations between different groups which has caused the oppression and marginalization of certain groups and the prominence of Eurocentric ways of life<sup>101</sup>. The scholars of post colonialism particularly focus on Western state's relations with indigenous people and national minorities. By moving beyond liberal multiculturalism, the postcolonial perspective has highly contributed to justifying multiculturalism and its application to the relations between different groups.

### **3.3.2 Critique of Multiculturalism**

The following pages will be dedicated to the philosophical perspectives that have been used to criticize the idea of multiculturalism. This include the cosmopolitan perspective, the liberal perspective, the feminist perspective and the post-colonial perspective.

#### **3.3.2.1 Cosmopolitan Perspective**

The cosmopolitan view is one of the most outspoken critiques of multiculturalism. Cosmopolitanism is an important direction in the study of globalized versions of contemporary political, social and cultural processes. As a viewpoint oriented toward social integration it does not support strong group ties and different paths to becoming naturalized citizens. Since the main task of cosmopolitanism is to achieve

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<sup>100</sup> Spinner- Halev, "Feminism, Multiculturalism, Oppression, and the State."

<sup>101</sup> Gregor McLennan, "Can There Be a 'Critical' Multiculturalism?," *Ethnicities* 1, no. 3 (September 2001): 389–408, <https://doi.org/10.1177/146879680100100306>.

social cohesion, policies of multiculturalism are not welcomed within the framework of cosmopolitanism.

The main contributor to the critical literature of multiculturalism is an advocate of the cosmopolitan view, Jeremy Waldron. Waldron primarily questions the importance of multiculturalism<sup>102</sup>. It claims that the significance of the theory and policies of multiculturalism are too exaggerated. Cultures have been interacting with one another and mixing their identities for many decades. In the context of globalization one cannot speak of cultural identity and differentialist rights, rather one has to speak about cultural hybridity.

The first part of Waldron's work is an obvious depiction of the debate between the liberals and communitarians<sup>103</sup>. As it was discussed earlier, liberal theorists emphasize the importance of individual autonomy, whereas communitarians underline the significance of social ties within different groups. The point in cosmopolitanism is to free a person from any cultural dogmas and lead him/her to adapt cosmopolitan culture instead. As Waldron has mentioned, "cosmopolitan is a creature of modernity, conscious of living in a mixed-up world and having a mixed-up self"<sup>104</sup>. Thus, cosmopolitans are challenging the claims of communitarian theorists, by questioning not only the significance of the theory but the scope and scale of the theorists' social entity<sup>105</sup>.

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<sup>102</sup> Waldron, "Minority Cultures and the Cosmopolitan Alternative."

<sup>103</sup> Waldron.

<sup>104</sup> Waldron.

<sup>105</sup> Waldron.

From the cosmopolitan point of view, communitarianism can be blinding and dangerous, since, by preserving the cultural differences in their pure form, they prevent these cultures from transformation and improvement. On the other hand, cosmopolitanism rejects the idea that the rights for individuals should be derived from one particular culture, rather it should come from different sources with different cultural backgrounds. For example, the Bible, fairy tales of Hans Christian Andersen and the inventions from all around the world could contribute to the development of the different cultures. According to cosmopolitans, these sources cannot be the part of only one identical culture that should be preserved, as it was required by multiculturalism. Instead, the formation of cultural practices is the product of cultural hybridity.

Nonetheless, despite the significant points made by cosmopolitan theorists, from the point of view of liberal egalitarians, such as Will Kymlicka, the mission of multiculturalism is to emancipate cultural minorities and give them more rights over their destiny rather than erase the boundaries between them<sup>106</sup>.

### **3.3.2.2 Liberal Criticism**

A major criticism toward multiculturalism also comes from the advocates of liberal political theory. As already mentioned, the defenders of multiculturalism accused liberalism of being incapable of dealing with group rights as it prioritizes individuality of people. It has been argued that by focusing on individual interests, liberalism neglects the interests of community, thus it cannot be trusted with issues related to ethnic communities<sup>107</sup>. Communitarian scholars, for instance, criticize the

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<sup>106</sup> Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship*.

<sup>107</sup> Kukathas, "Are There Any Cultural Rights?"

main liberal assumptions including its preference for individuality over collectivity and universality of the moral unity of liberalism. For communitarians, it is impossible to consider individuals outside the context of community, since it is community who occupy the intermediate position in the relationship between the state and individuals. Liberal egalitarian, Will Kymlicka, also proposes that the focus of liberalism be shifted from the rights and interests of individuals toward the rights and interests of minority cultures, in order to show the compatibility of multiculturalism with liberal equality<sup>108</sup>.

However according to the liberal scholar, Chandran Kukathas, it is too early to think of abandoning liberalism<sup>109</sup>. Despite the fact that the focus of liberalism is mainly on the rights and interests of individuals, it also considers the interests of minority communities.

Kukathas, counts a number of reasons why multiculturalism should be reconsidered and why liberalism should be maintained<sup>110</sup>. First, he insists that liberalism has never claimed that isolated individuals are the only subjects matter in the world. Individuals are indeed part of groups. However, groups can't be considered in isolation from the individuals who shape them as well as their interests at certain time and space. Due to this logic – one can't think about the interest of group in abstract, rather it is the interest of individuals that has to be morally prioritized.

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<sup>108</sup> Kymlicka, *Contemporary Political Philosophy*.

<sup>109</sup> Kukathas, "Are There Any Cultural Rights?"

<sup>110</sup> Kukathas.

Another important issue has to be taken into consideration in relation to the elites of a certain group. When policies of multiculturalism are implemented elites might abuse the rights given to the groups for their own benefits, sometimes at the expense of the minorities within those groups<sup>111</sup>.

Furthermore, Kukathas highlights the fact that despite the difficulties minorities face in relation to preserving their values and practices, there is no guarantee that multiculturalism will lead to fundamental change; by taking into consideration the power of globalization in removing all barriers, tangible and intangible<sup>112</sup>.

Finally, there is a danger in giving minority groups certain powers, since different cultures have different conceptions of what is right and wrong. These concepts may undermine the main values of liberal theory, such as freedom, equality and justice.

### **3.3.2.3 Feminist Critique of Multiculturalism**

Multiculturalism has also been highly criticised by a number of feminist scholars, including Coleman, Okin, Shachar, Spinner- Halev, etc <sup>113</sup>. These scholars were among the first critics who warned against possible dangers posed by protection, preservation and accommodation of minority groups. The tension between multiculturalism and feminism is mainly based on the dilemma of whether group differentiated rights or gender equality should be prioritized. Multiculturalism, feminist critics propose, while mainly focusing on the rights of the minorities

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<sup>111</sup> Kukathas.

<sup>112</sup> Kukathas.

<sup>113</sup> Doriane Lambelet Coleman, "Individualizing Justice through Multiculturalism: The Liberals' Dilemma," *Columbia Law Review* 96, no. 5 (1996): 1093–1167, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1123402>; Okin, *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?*; Ayelet Shachar, "On Citizenship and Multicultural Vulnerability," *Political Theory* 28, no. 1 (2000): 64–89; Spinner- Halev, "Feminism, Multiculturalism, Oppression, and the State."

*between* groups, undermines the rights of individuals *within* those groups. It has been argued that by delegating authority to the leaders of minority groups states may be putting the most vulnerable members of community under pressure. The most vulnerable group members mostly include sexual minorities, women and children. The heads of minority groups expect certain sets of norms and behaviour from their members that, if not followed, increase oppression and discrimination in these groups. Many prominent feminist scholars have contributed to the debate between multiculturalism and feminism, but the works of Coleman and Okin are among the most influential.

Coleman, examines the debate between multiculturalism and feminism from the legal perspective<sup>114</sup>. It discusses real life examples of criminal cases in which multicultural values have been counted as an excuse for abuse of the marginalized within groups; examples of such cases could be found under headlines such as “In California, a Japanese-American mother drowns her two young children [...]; In New York, a Chinese-American woman is bludgeoned to death by her husband [...]; A Somali immigrant living in Georgia allegedly cuts off her two-year old niece's clitoris”<sup>115</sup>. In all these cases, cultural values and practices were considered as an excuse for criminal acts. By following this logic, the moral aspect of the cultural standard of criminals should be included into state jurisdiction. Although this strategy is not officially recognized, it is well known among legal circles as “cultural defense”<sup>116</sup>. Coleman, aimed to clarify whether plurality of cultures or the dominance of a major

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<sup>114</sup> Coleman, “Individualizing Justice through Multiculturalism.”

<sup>115</sup> Coleman.

<sup>116</sup> Coleman.

culture should be the basis of legal institutions in a state<sup>117</sup>. On the one hand, there is multiculturalism that aims to preserve cultural rights and values, sometimes at the expense of discrimination and repression of vulnerable members of the community. On the other hand, there is a major culture, which, despite its ethnocentric character, aims to protect individuals by following policies of nondiscrimination and human rights norms.

Coleman utterly criticized the stance of multiculturalism and cultural defense as a basis for jurisdiction. Under this system the most vulnerable members of minority groups, which usually includes women and children, are denied protection by criminal law, since justice is put in the hand of the patriarch of the family or community. The solution, Coleman proposed, was taking the middle ground by putting the emphasis on law (and not moral conduct) that represents the interests of both the criminals and victims. Thus, the interests of defendants who use cultural defense should be balanced with the interests of victim in obtaining protection by criminal law<sup>118</sup>.

Okin followed the same logic by focusing on the most controversial practices and traditions within minority groups in liberal democracies. It underlined public ignorance in the issues of polygamy that negatively affects both women and children of certain minority/ immigrant groups. It argued that accommodation of polygamy in particular and multicultural protection of cultural diversity in general is one of the elements that fuels the debate between multiculturalism and feminism.

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<sup>117</sup> Coleman.

<sup>118</sup> Coleman.

Multiculturalism, by emphasizing group rights, mainly focuses on the differences *between* groups and ignores the differences *within* groups. Additionally, multiculturalism pays little attention to the protection of the private sphere, particularly to the individuals' capacities and their sense of belonging<sup>119</sup>.

Minorities, whether religious or cultural, are usually concerned with private issues such as “marriage, divorce, child custody, control of family property, and inheritance”<sup>120</sup>. The defense of these practices has effects on the life of female group member way more than male group members. In addition to polygamy, Okin, also criticized the cultural practices and traditions that relate to clitoridectomy, children marriages, and forced marriages. It described the continuation of these practices and traditions as a desire and interests of men<sup>121</sup>.

Both articles showed undeniable evidence and made convincing arguments over how multiculturalism's policies of accommodation and preservation of cultural diversity facilitates intragroup oppression and domination.

Despite this deficiency, Kymlicka argues that the preservation of cultural diversity and gender equality can supplement each other<sup>122</sup>. It proposes that special rights should be granted to certain groups to prevent them from extinction. By putting minority culture on an equal ground with the majority culture, special rights increase the self-respect and freedom of all group members. However, the compatibility of

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<sup>119</sup> Okin, *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?*

<sup>120</sup> Okin, 13.

<sup>121</sup> Okin, *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?*

<sup>122</sup> Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship*.



traditional human rights with rights of minorities have to be insisted on. Multiculturalism, as a part of the general human right movement, both rewards and constrains the minorities by advocating principles of individual liberty, democracy and social justice<sup>123</sup>.

#### **3.3.2.4 Postcolonial Critique of Multiculturalism**

Surprisingly, the final criticism comes from one of the strongest defenders of multiculturalism, namely from post-colonial thinkers. According to some post-colonial scholars, multiculturalism and policy of recognition proposed by C. Taylor are not only constraining the minority groups to preserve their way of living, but instead, reinforcing the master-slave relationship, especially when it comes to indigenous people. It should be reminded that according to Taylor, the policies of recognition would better enable Indigenous people to “realize their status as distinct and self-determining actors”<sup>124</sup>.

The main contributor to the post-colonial criticism of multiculturalism is Glen Coulthard. By focusing on the politics of recognition proposed by Taylor (1997), Coulthard claimed that “instead of ushering in an era of peaceful coexistence grounded on the Hegelian ideal of mutuality, the politics of recognition in its contemporary form promises to reproduce the very configurations of colonial power that Indigenous people’ demands for recognition have historically sought to

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<sup>123</sup> Kymlicka.

<sup>124</sup> Taylor, “The Politics of Recognition.”

transcend”<sup>125</sup>. There are several points that lead authors to this conclusion. These reasons are worth being discussed.

Coulthard, defines colonial relationship as relationship where power is set into hierarchical social structure between the colonizers and colonized community. Politics of recognition, therefore, serve the interests of colonial power, by strengthening their power of dominance. Coulthard, by following the arguments of Fanon, has emphasized that the recognition of the colonial past in and of itself develops “psycho-affective attachment” of the colonized community toward their masters. This attachment leads to the maintenance of the master-slave relations in political, economic and social spheres<sup>126</sup>. The policies of multiculturalism, therefore, are the main mechanisms which help to spread the idea of policies of recognition on the states level.

Coulthard, also criticized the “recognition” theorists for their inability to refer to the economic and social features of oppression and instead focusing on the cultural realm of domination in the master-slave relationship<sup>127</sup>. As an alternative, Coulthard, offers to look at the work of “redistribution” scholars, who have addressed the injustices in economic sphere, rather than simply addressing cultural injustices.

Finally, Coulthard emphasizes the importance of struggle and fight, as the only way to free indigenous people. Self – affirmation rather than the recognition from the

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<sup>125</sup> Coulthard, “Subjects of Empire,” 5.

<sup>126</sup> Coulthard, “Subjects of Empire.”

<sup>127</sup> Coulthard.

oppressor is the real way toward self-determination and true emancipation of the colonized.

The main defenders of multiculturalism including and Kymlicka, agree with the point of Coulthard that self-affirmation is crucial for the emancipation of oppressed groups<sup>128</sup>. However, they suggest that self-affirmation can be compatible with recognition by the state; with policies of the state to preserve different cultural identities and protect their rights. The combination of both is the way to overcome historical injustices and social inequalities in the majority-minority relations.

### **3.4 Policies of Multiculturalism**

In this section, the policies of multiculturalism as well as perspectives towards these policies are explained.

#### **3.4.1 De facto and Official Multiculturalism**

Policies of multiculturalism can be divided into two distinct groups known as ‘*de facto*’ and ‘official’ multiculturalism. While *de facto* multiculturalism continues to gain popularity in Western democratic countries, official multiculturalism has been subject of criticism from many politicians and academics. *De facto* multiculturalism simply represents the logic of the liberal state whereas the government takes a neutral position in cultural matters. In contrast to that, official multiculturalism emphasizes the active role of the state in protection and recognition of different ethnic groups and immigrants. According to multicultural theorists such as Charles Taylor, Will Kymlicka, Keith Banting and Tariq Modood equality is not enough for a just

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<sup>128</sup> Taylor (n 3); Kymlicka (n 63).

society<sup>129</sup>. Special rights have to be granted to minority groups by the government (e.g. Sunday day offs or the closing laws)<sup>130</sup>. While de facto multiculturalism can be found in many liberal countries, official multiculturalism was adopted only in Australia, Canada, the Netherlands, and Sweden. The different approaches to official multiculturalism represent different perceptions of the citizens in those countries. While the governments of Canada and Australia, in line with official multiculturalism, promote the positive understanding and recognition of diversity at the national level, most European governments, under the same policy, target only the immigrant groups and attempt to transform them into ethnic minorities. Thus, the attachment to official multiculturalism in Canada and Australia is much stronger than in their European counterparts<sup>131</sup>.

Implementing policies of multiculturalism can also prove difficult. Whether it is a *de facto* multiculturalism or official, within one country or across the countries, the policies of multiculturalism undertake different perspectives, directions and goals<sup>132</sup>.

### **3.4.2 Main Spheres of the Policy's Application**

Multiculturalism and its policies mainly function in eight particular spheres, including public recognition, education, social services, public materials, law, religious accommodation, food and media. It would be better to consider each of the policies separately. Public recognition includes the support and facilitation of

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<sup>129</sup> Taylor, "The Politics of Recognition"; Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship*; Kymlicka, *Contemporary Political Philosophy*; Banting and Kymlicka, "Is There Really a Retreat from Multiculturalism Policies? New Evidence from the Multiculturalism Policy Index"; Modood, "A Defence of Multiculturalism."

<sup>130</sup> Bloemraad and Wright, "'Utter Failure' or Unity out of Diversity? Debating and Evaluating Policies of Multiculturalism."

<sup>131</sup> Joppke and Morawska, *Toward Assimilation and Citizenship: Immigrants in Liberal Nation-States*.

<sup>132</sup> Kymlicka, Vertovec, and Wessendorf, *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices*.

organization and activities of ethnic minority groups. Consideration of gender specific activities, clothes, academic curricula and language support come under the rubric of multiculturalism in educational sphere. The cultural values and practices that fall under social services affect sectors such as healthcare, police, court and other public spheres. Public materials simplify delivering of information and goods to minority groups, e.g translation of information into multiple languages. Law under multiculturalism basically considers the exemptions from general law for particular groups. One of the prominent examples is allowance for Sikhs to wear their traditional headwear instead of motorcycle helmets<sup>133</sup>. Permission to build places for praying, following religious ceremonies and having time off for worship are elements of religious accommodation. The right to consume specific types of food in accordance with one's religious and traditional preferences, such as halal or vegetarian food, are included into the food sphere in the multiculturalism rubric. Finally, broadcasting non-discriminatory visuals and provision for the minority groups to have their own access to the public through media are included under the media and broadcasting rubric of multiculturalism<sup>134</sup>.

### **3.4.3 Measurement of Multicultural Policies**

In order to measure the evolution of multicultural policies, the Policy Index of Multiculturalism, also known as MCP index, has been created by Keith Banting and Will Kymlicka. MCP index provides comparative research by measuring eight policies of multiculturalism among 21 Western democracies in the 1980, 2000 and 2001 time periods<sup>135</sup>.

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<sup>133</sup> Lovett, "Cultural Accommodation and Domination."

<sup>134</sup> Kymlicka, Vertovec, and Wessendorf, *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices*.

<sup>135</sup> Kymlicka (n 63); Bloemraad and Wright (n 3).

### 3.5 Multicultural Debate

As it was noted above, since the end of the twentieth century, multiculturalism, as the principle of cultural coexistence and ethnic diversity, has been recognized as one of the basic values of a democratic society. Nevertheless, doubts about the effectiveness of the policy of multiculturalism have always existed. Such doubts are expressed not only by the scholars and public figures, but also by leading politicians. At the same time, if earlier criticisms regarding the effectiveness of multiculturalism were mainly observed among marginal political parties and social movements, nowadays, the negative perceptions regarding this term are expressed by those political and public figures whose adherence to democratic values are not questionable<sup>136</sup>.

The rise and fall of multiculturalism has provoked a debate between the opponents and defenders of multiculturalism. The Critics of multiculturalism perceive this policy as an artificial construct that undermines national unity and threatens the very national sovereignty of the state. Thus, the shift toward the more ethno-national policy is necessary to promote the preservation of national sovereignty as one of the foundations of a democratic society. On the other side, the supporters of multiculturalism recognize the policy of multiculturalism as the unconditional value of a democratic society and the doubt in its efficiency as the threat of the restoration of the undemocratic ethno-national policies.

The evolution of the debate has produced a third side to the discussion, according to which both opponents and defenders of the term believe that we live in the post-multicultural era or the time of multicultural retreat. However now, the arguments

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<sup>136</sup> Joppke and Morawska (n 44); Kymlicka (n 63).

arise over the practical retreat of multiculturalism and the retreat at the rhetorical level. Debates have also been going on over post-multicultural policies, particularly, whether the new policies represent a complete shift from the policies of multiculturalism or simply represent new bottles with old wine. While the opponents of multiculturalism see the undeniable retreat and even death of multiculturalism, the defenders of multiculturalism insist on the exaggeration of these arguments and on the fact that, despite the rhetoric unpopularity of the term, the policies of multiculturalism are alive and well. In order to understand the status of multicultural policies today, we should look at the rise and fall of multiculturalism in general and the perspectives of the opponents and defenders of multiculturalism in particular.

### **3.5.1 Critics**

The concept of multiculturalism emerged in response to the problem of management of cultural diversity in nation states as a means of integrating minorities into society on an equal basis. On the one hand, multiculturalism is associated with cultural identities, equal dignity, respect, and opportunities, which is the basis of a democratic society and on the other hand, multiculturalism undermines national unity and threatens national sovereignty of the state<sup>137</sup>. However, when one considers the negative outcomes of multiculturalism it should be clarified which multiculturalism is being questioned. While *de facto* multiculturalism, which supports the liberal values and neutrality of the state, is widely accepted, there is a widespread move away from official multiculturalism<sup>138</sup>.

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<sup>137</sup> Modood, "A Defence of Multiculturalism."

<sup>138</sup> Joppke and Morawska, *Toward Assimilation and Citizenship: Immigrants in Liberal Nation-States*.

In the European debate, official multiculturalism was accused of causing ethnic ghettos and social isolation of immigrants, stereotyping, prejudiced attitudes and discrimination against ethnic groups, increasing political radicalization (especially among Muslim youths), and preserving illiberal cultural practices among immigrant groups.

The public criticism of the inconsistency of the policy of multiculturalism was reinforced by official statements of political leaders of the EU member states that bore headlines stating "the failure of multiculturalism". In late 2010 and early 2011, a series of statements criticizing multiculturalism were voiced by European leaders including the German Chancellor Angela Merkel, British Prime Minister David Cameron, and French President Nicolas Sarkozy. A few of such statements can be seen in the following sentences:

- “This [multicultural] approach has failed, utterly failed!”<sup>139</sup>.
- “Frankly, we need a lot less of the passive tolerance of recent years and a much more active, muscular liberalism”<sup>140</sup>.
- “The answer is obvious: it is a failure”<sup>141</sup>.

All of these politicians used the word "failure", assessing multiculturalism as a special political strategy made up by state officials. They referred to the policy of multiculturalism as a wrongfully chosen principle aimed at organizing the interaction between different ethnic, racial and religious communities.

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<sup>139</sup> “Angela Merkel: German Multiculturalism Has ‘utterly Failed’ | World News | The Guardian.”

<sup>140</sup> “PM’s Speech at Munich Security Conference.”

<sup>141</sup> “Nicolas Sarkozy Declares Multiculturalism Had Failed - Telegraph.”



With an emphasis on group rights, critics say, multiculturalism presents itself as a form of cultural determinism, which deprives the individual of freedom of choice. By empowering groups, the state delegates them the power to limit the freedom of their members. Thus, multiculturalism indirectly limits the freedom of the minorities' members, enclosing them in cultural and geographic ghettos, instead of giving them equality of opportunity. This becomes evident when some cultural groups view individual freedom as a threat to their cultural identity and to the boundaries they have established for their own protection. Multiculturalism does not destroy cultural barriers, but on the contrary, strengthens them, generates stereotypes, thus causing suspicion and hostility between minority groups and members of the majority. Hostility is also fueled by positive discrimination, which gives privileges to minorities, thus creating new forms of inequality<sup>142</sup>.

According to Brubaker, despite the domination of differentialist turn for about 40 years, the public discourse and policies of multiculturalism have exhausted themselves. If, before, the rod for criticism was coming from the right political spectrum, nowadays, criticism is coming from the left, which was previously sympathetic to the claims of cultural differences<sup>143</sup>. Brubaker also emphasized the reverse trend of the policy aimed to accommodate minority groups. The multicultural policies that had previously replaced the policies of assimilation are under the risk of being replaced by similar assimilation policies, such as "neo-republican or neo-assimilationist discourse"<sup>144</sup>. As examples of the return trend, Brubaker provides a

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<sup>142</sup> Joppke and Morawska, *Toward Assimilation and Citizenship: Immigrants in Liberal Nation-States*.

<sup>143</sup> Brubaker, "The Return of Assimilation? Changing Perspectives on Immigration and Its Sequels in France, Germany, and the United States."

<sup>144</sup> Brubaker, 41.

list of western countries that includes the US, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden among others<sup>145</sup>. Even though all cases, which represent the shift to assimilation, are worth to be mentioned, the Netherland's case represents the most 'unsuccessful' story about multicultural policies and the most dramatic shift toward assimilationist-type policies.

Vertovec and Wessendorf were able to outline the core criticisms, since the beginning of the new century, related to the retreat from multiculturalism<sup>146</sup>. According to them, political events and the statements of political officials are the key elements that have caused a flurry of negativity on the part of the mass and social media, which are the main catalysts of public opinion. "Immigrants, Muslims and multiculturalism were at the heart of these"<sup>147</sup>. However, despite the focus on migration and Islam, there is a list of other core critiques related to the accommodation of diversity. Firstly, the concept of multiculturalism has been criticized to be a static and narrow ideology, with a limited set of functions. Secondly, the policies of multiculturalism restrict the freedom of expression regarding the problems of this doctrine, essentially leading to 'political correctness'. As it was mentioned by former British Prime Minister David Cameron, multiculturalism creates the 'fear of causing offence or being branded a racist'<sup>148</sup>. Another critique is followed by the claim that multiculturalism creates the social gap between the minority and majority groups, by rejecting common values of the nation

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<sup>145</sup> Brubaker, "The Return of Assimilation? Changing Perspectives on Immigration and Its Sequels in France, Germany, and the United States."

<sup>146</sup> Kymlicka, Vertovec, and Wessendorf, *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices*.

<sup>147</sup> Kymlicka, Vertovec, and Wessendorf.

<sup>148</sup> Kymlicka, Vertovec, and Wessendorf.

and preferring cultural differences instead. Fourth, a significant problem of multiculturalism is the symbolic nature of multicultural policies, which is more interested in the promotion of one's own culture rather than focusing on the real economic, social and political problems related to ethnic minority groups<sup>149</sup>. The level of unemployment and dependence on the social welfare by immigrants and minority groups is another significant problem caused by multiculturalism. One of the biggest criticisms is related to the rise and spread of terrorism for which multiculturalism provides suitable conditions and as a consequence creates the environment of fear and distrust among citizens<sup>150</sup>.

Finally, criticisms have been made on how multiculturalism can lead to violations of human rights within a particular cultural group. According to the opponents, since multiculturalism protects cultural and traditional differences, it also supports immoral cultural practices as "unequal treatment of women, forced marriages, honor killings and female genital mutilation"<sup>151</sup>. According to feminist scholars, the danger of cultural domination over the individual limits the autonomy of the individual and becomes not less dangerous than the domination of the majority over the minority. Cultural identity may be an obstacle for those who don't want to be associated with their own cultural traditions and norms that hinder the freedom of self-determination. Okin argues that "Those who make liberal arguments for the rights of groups, then, must take special care to look at inequalities within those groups. It is especially

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<sup>149</sup> Kymlicka (n 63).

<sup>150</sup> Joppke, *Is Multiculturalism Dead?: Crisis and Persistence in the Constitutional State*; Kymlicka, Vertovec, and Wessendorf, *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices*.

<sup>151</sup> Kymlicka, Vertovec, and Wessendorf, *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices*.

important to consider inequalities between the sexes, since they are likely to be less public, and thus less easily discernible”<sup>152</sup>.

An important contributor to the literature on multiculturalism that stands on the side of opponents is Christian Joppke. According to him, the “wholesale retreat from multiculturalism” was caused by three main reasons: (1) the absence of public support for the policies of multiculturalism; (2) failure to accommodate the diversity and reduce the social gap between the majority and minority groups; (3) the persistence of the state in imposing new policies on its dissidents<sup>153</sup>. The public backlash against multiculturalism has mainly occurred at the rhetorical level, when the media and political officials started to change public opinion by criticizing multiculturalism in its inefficiency and creation of existing problems at economic, social, and security levels. Next, multiculturalism has led to further social and economic marginalization and segregation of the minorities from the majority in society. Minority and immigrant groups in western democracies are associated with the high rate of unemployment, high numbers of crime, poor education and living conditions<sup>154</sup>. The third reason behind the wholesale retreat from multiculturalism relates to the shift in the policies in many European societies. It was already mentioned by Brubaker that return to assimilation is a current reality. Nowadays, many countries are implementing new integration policies such as compulsory language courses, tests on the history and values of the dominant culture. These

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<sup>152</sup> Okin, *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?*, 23.

<sup>153</sup> Joppke, *Is Multiculturalism Dead?: Crisis and Persistence in the Constitutional State*.

<sup>154</sup> Koopmans, “Trade-Offs between Equality and Difference: Immigrant Integration, Multiculturalism and the Welfare State in Cross-National Perspective.”

policies represent the shift in focus from the differences toward commonalities, from cultural diversity toward civic integration<sup>155</sup>.

### **3.5.1.1 The Case of the Netherlands**

The case of the Netherlands clearly represents the picture drawn above by the opponents of multiculturalism. With the help of Han Entzinger, we will be able to depict the rise and fall of multiculturalism in case of the Netherlands.

It is necessary to remember that the principles of multiculturalism, which are centered on the equivalence of cultures, recognition of cultural (religious/ethnic) identity, as well as positive perception of diversity in society, were all in line with the ideas of tolerance and brotherhood of nations in a Europe that had defeated Nazism.

Since the end of the 1960s, the Netherlands became a pioneer of multiculturalism in Europe. This country was one of the first to allocate funds to support minority groups and immigrants. The Dutch government helped them by financing different religious schools, providing public assistance, and supporting healthcare and housing. Propaganda over the positivity of cultural diversity was conducted. The Netherlands was constantly checking for the conditions and perceptions of immigrants through surveys and public polls. The level of tolerance in this country served as a model for the rest of Europe.

Multiculturalism in the Netherlands' collapsed in early 1980s. By this time it became obvious that in contrast to the original plans of the Dutch government, immigrants

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<sup>155</sup> Brubaker, "The Return of Assimilation? Changing Perspectives on Immigration and Its Sequels in France, Germany, and the United States."

are not a temporary phenomenon, but a permanent one<sup>156</sup>. The Dutch believed that by allocating resources, they would be able to support minorities and immigrants to retain their cultural identities, which in turn will encourage these groups to leave and go back home when time comes. However, representatives of the former colonies who has now received quality education and work experience, were not aspired to return to their homeland. The contract workers, who were also supposed to go back to their countries of origin started to bring their families instead. Integration of the ‘new’ members of society, the number of which had steadily increased, became a serious problem for the receiving state.

Further, the rapid industrialization of the Dutch economy reduced the demand for unskilled workers, which consequently led unemployment rate to rise among immigrant groups. As a chain reaction, the high rate of unemployment led to an increase in crime rate. Situation got worse after a number of terrorist attacks “including the hijacking of two trains by Moluccan youngsters created a sense of urgency”<sup>157</sup>. It is at this time when the Scientific Council for Government Policy claimed that the incorporation of immigrants was necessary. The recommendation from the Council led to the formation of the “Dutch ethnic minorities’ policy” that focused on human emancipation, equal rights and equal opportunities<sup>158</sup>. However, the increasing number of ethnic minorities due to family reunion and high rate of birth started to challenge the “Dutch ethnic minorities’ policy”. This was because the target groups became larger and much more diverse.

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<sup>156</sup> Entzinger, “The Rise and Fall of Multiculturalism.”

<sup>157</sup> Entzinger.

<sup>158</sup> Entzinger.

The Scientific Council for Government Policy was, again, alarmed about the danger of escalating conflict between the majority and minority groups. Opposition to governmental policies regarding ethnic minorities had risen from both right and left wing parties. According to the conservative liberal Frits Bolkestein, Islam and Western values were irreconcilable. Therefore, it was argued, that the different cultures had to adapt to the pattern of the dominant culture<sup>159</sup>. This claim was supported by the ‘silent majority’ of Dutch people who were afraid to speak about it, because of political correctness. The rise of the populist movements and their popularity influenced the government to reconsider its policies in regards to ethnic minorities. Thus the integration policy (*Contourennota*) replaced the minorities’ policy. The focus was now directed toward integrating immigrants rather than on promoting multiculturalism<sup>160</sup>.

Finally the article “Multicultural Tragedy” written by a member of the Labour Party Paul Scheffer in the early 2000s raises another debate<sup>161</sup>. Here, the representative of the left wing party warns the population about the dramatic flow of immigrants, Muslim population and segregation. The growth of the population that is not loyal to the Dutch culture undermines Netherlands’ social cohesion. This observation, that would previously be considered unacceptable or even racist, gained a huge support from the public. This debate became a cornerstone in the shift of Dutch immigration discourse and shift in the Dutch policies toward policies of assimilation.

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<sup>159</sup> Entzinger.

<sup>160</sup> Entzinger.

<sup>161</sup> Entzinger.

### 3.5.2 Defenders

Despite the increasing criticism aimed at policies of multiculturalism, it is very important to consider the claims of the supporters of these policies. As it was mentioned earlier, the doctrine of multiculturalism emerged as part of the general human rights movement and a response to old hierarchies, discrimination, and inequalities among majority and minority groups. Yet, multicultural policies have been widely criticized and their “utter” failure has been announced. Since the main arguments of the critics have been discussed above, the answers of the defenders of multiculturalism will be presented in the following pages.

The defenders of multiculturalism, including Irene Bloemrad, Kenneth Banting, Tariq Modood, Will Kymlicka, Steven Vertovec and Susan Wessendorf, among others, found that there is a massive mischaracterization of the nature of multiculturalism, misinterpretation of its policies, and exaggeration of its death. Instead, these scholars argue that multiculturalism is an indispensable part of the broader human rights movement that aims to facilitate democratic values such as equality, recognition and tolerance<sup>162</sup>.

Firstly, the defenders of multiculturalism criticize the narrow interpretation of multicultural policies. They claim that the understanding of this term is frequently reduced to the mere celebration of static cultural differences. This interpretation has been widely accepted as 3S model of multiculturalism. According to this term, multiculturalism mainly focuses on the promotion of the minority groups’ cultural

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<sup>162</sup> Bloemraad and Wright (n 3); Banting and Kymlicka (n 3); Modood (n 3); Kymlicka (n 63); Steven Vertovec and Susanne Wessendorf (eds), *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices* (Routledge 2010).



cuisine (e.g. Chinese, Turkish restaurants) clothes (e.g. Indian, Arabic dance clothes) and music<sup>163</sup>. This narrow understanding of the term neglects the role of multiculturalism in economic and political spheres as well as its role in the construction of a democratic society.

The inaccurate interpretation of the nature and policies of multiculturalism explains the widespread discontent among the public and the rising call for new policies. As it was noted by Anthony Giddens, the understanding of multiculturalism is very much “crass, ignorant and mis-conceived” and that multiculturalism simply doesn’t represent the features described by the critics<sup>164</sup>.

By looking at multiculturalism as a democratic tool and not as simple symbolic practices, the scope and aims of multicultural policies have broadened. Whether one refers to national minorities or immigrant groups, the policies of multiculturalism have been expanded to the social, economic and political spheres of these groups. As it was mentioned, multiculturalism and its policies have been applied to eight particular spheres, including public recognition, education, social services, public materials, law, religious accommodation, food and media. Multiculturalism has a special focus on social recognition, economic equality and political participation of minority groups.

The claim that multiculturalism restricts the rights of individuals within groups, by empowering the ‘traditional elites’ in minority groups, is problematic.

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<sup>163</sup> Kymlicka (n 63).

<sup>164</sup> Kymlicka, Vertovec, and Wessendorf, *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices*.

Multiculturalism, as part of the broader human rights movement and liberal democratic values, does not support discrimination against the rights of individuals within minority groups. Neither does it promote illiberal practices in general. The protection of the rights of individuals and collectives are guaranteed by liberal democratic constitutions and human rights norms. No state is exempted from those rules; consequently, no group is exempted from following the liberal and democratic path. Thus, multiculturalism is a Janus-faced concept that provides both benefits and constrains for ethnic minority groups. Benefits are provided in terms of policies of recognition, antidiscrimination and accommodation, and constraints are put in place in terms of inability to follow illiberal practices both outside and inside groups.

The Defenders have also questioned the claim that multiculturalism is a static phenomenon. Multiculturalism is a transformative phenomenon that requires both minority and majority groups to actively interact with each other. The policies and activities of multiculturalism have been constantly changing in shaping the identity of people in one way or another during the four decades that it has been dominant.

Furthermore, the defenders of multiculturalism question the role assumed for multiculturalism in education, housing and employment by critics. Some critics disregard multiculturalism's role in these spheres by reducing multicultural activities to mere celebration of diversity while other critics claim that multiculturalism has failed in all important spheres<sup>165</sup>. The defenders of multiculturalism question whether the responsibility for low education, poor living conditions and high unemployment

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<sup>165</sup> Koopmans, "Trade-Offs between Equality and Difference: Immigrant Integration, Multiculturalism and the Welfare State in Cross-National Perspective."

rate should be put on multicultural policies. So far, there is no strong evidence that multicultural policies have negatively affected the above mentioned spheres<sup>166</sup>.

According to defenders the wholesale retreat from the policies was driven by fear and negative perceptions of the public due to a strongly negative campaign by media and public officials. These actors are explicitly criticizing/securitizing the term and its policies in order to convince the public of its failure and call for a new policy. Political officials may follow different interests, but one of the most obvious is to camouflage the real political, economic and security problems that might be caused by inefficient governmental regulations. Political figures may also follow this path in order to gain popularity and be reelected or to promote their own policies. As was noted by Karen Schönwälder “by creating an imaginary picture of a multicultural past,” politicians “can present their own policies as innovative.”<sup>167</sup>.

Thus, the defenders propose that claims regarding the death of multiculturalism are highly exaggerated. Despite increasing criticism toward the policies of multiculturalism, it is too early to announce its death. The MCPs indicator that aimed to provide comparative research of multicultural policies among 21 Western democracies in the 1980, 2000 and 2010, revealed not only the preservation of multicultural policies but also a strong trend toward its expansion.

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<sup>166</sup> Kymlicka, Vertovec, and Wessendorf, *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices*.

<sup>167</sup> Karen Schönwälder, “Germany: Integration Policy and Pluralism in a Self-Conscious Country of Immigration,” *The Multiculturalism Backlash*, January 4, 2010, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203867549-12>.

So, the retreat from multiculturalism can be more a matter of talk rather than real policy change. The “naïve and problematic” multiculturalism became unfashionable in many political circles, and the term is frequently being replaced by other words such as interculturalism, diversity, pluralism<sup>168</sup>. However, the changes in words don’t mean change in actual policies. This explains the claim that we are currently witnessing the “avoidance of the term *multiculturalism* rather than moving away from the principles of multiculturalism altogether”<sup>169</sup>.

Although policies associated with multiculturalism are still pretty much alive their reputation in general and their application to immigrant groups in particular has been strongly damaged. The rise of populist parties and the call for assimilationist policies throughout Europe have been motivated by an already existing negative public opinion that is rooted in fear and negative perceptions of the ‘other’. In reality the power of words, rather than actions, has negatively affected the image of ethnic minorities, and immigrant groups. As Vertovec and Wessendorf put it “the backlash discourse has not necessarily been racist in itself, but for those with racist views it provides ample wind to their sails”<sup>170</sup>.

### **3.6 Conclusion**

The literature on multiculturalism was comprehensively addressed in this chapter. Both the philosophical and the practical aspects of multiculturalism were explained and the opinion of the defenders and critics of this concept were discussed. Two stances have traditionally been mentioned in relation to multiculturalism. The first

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<sup>168</sup> Joppke, *Is Multiculturalism Dead?: Crisis and Persistence in the Constitutional State*.

<sup>169</sup> Kymlicka (n 63) 14.

<sup>170</sup> Kymlicka, Vertovec, and Wessendorf, *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices*.

trend suggests that the time of multiculturalism has come to an end and it has effectively died out. The second trend proposes that multiculturalism is well and alive and despite the dispersed calls for its end it has survived the test of time even if it is not used in rhetoric as much as it used to. While reviewing the literature, I came across a third trend that falls somewhere in between the two aforementioned trends. The advocates of this trend suggest that although multiculturalism may have been retreated from in rhetoric it is still implemented in fact and has even expanded in scope. Despite multiculturalism's existence it has lost its reputation because of the attacks on its nature and application by government officials which creates a dangerous environment for minorities and immigrants.

## Chapter 4

### SECURITIZATION THEORY

#### 4.1 Securitization and the Social Construction of Security

Security, in and of itself, is a field that has always been a matter of controversy. Defining security is a difficult task as it means different things to different entities<sup>171</sup>. The field of security studies has traditionally been concerned with military centered definitions of security. This was to a great extent due to the dynamics that ruled world politics from the Second World War to the end of the Cold War.

The overemphasis on war and state/military centered definitions of security that were the logical outcome of the security dilemma between two military superpowers who were equipped with a substantial number of nuclear bombs seemed illogical after the fall of the Soviet Union.

The end of the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States of America led to calls for change among security scholars. It was at this time that the focus shifted from the military and state centered aspects of security to more civilian aspects including the economic and societal sectors<sup>172</sup>. Securitization is one of the attempts that were made to broaden and deepen the concept of security to include

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<sup>171</sup> Karin M. Fierke, *Critical Approaches to International Security* (John Wiley & Sons, 2015).

<sup>172</sup> Peter Hough, *International Security Studies: Theory and Practice* (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 2015).

sectors and actors that were formerly excluded from the definition<sup>173</sup>. Some have considered this broadening of the concept of security counterproductive as it diverges the attention of security scholars from what, they assume, matters most<sup>174</sup>.

Securitization theory and its relation to the topic of this thesis will be discussed in the following pages.

## **4.2 Securitization as an Alternative to Traditional Theories of Security**

Although an ideal type can be identified within the plethora of theories now known as securitization theory, in reality a great number of theories can be branded as such. The ideal type identifies the elements that are common to all theories related to securitization. This includes a distinction between actors, audiences and a referent object, as well as the belief that security is a socially constructed phenomenon that is shaped through the interaction between abovementioned entities<sup>175</sup>.

Securitization was first defined by a group of scholars whose work was later called the Copenhagen School of security studies. The most prominent scholars in this school were Ole Waever (who originally formulated the idea) and Barry Buzan who helped develop the concept in a collaborative work published in a book titled

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<sup>173</sup> L. Hansen, "The Little Mermaid's Silent Security Dilemma and the Absence of Gender in the Copenhagen School," *Millennium-Journal of International Studies* 29, no. 2 (2000): 285+, <https://doi.org/10.1177/03058298000290020501>.

<sup>174</sup> Stephen M. Walt, "The Renaissance of Security Studies," *International Studies Quarterly* 35, no. 2 (1991): 211, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2600471>.

<sup>175</sup> T. Balzacq, "The 'Essence' of Securitization: Theory, Ideal Type, and a Sociological Science of Security," *International Relations* 29, no. 1 (2015): 103–113, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0047117814526606b>.

‘Security: A new framework for analysis’. This publication later became the point of reference for other scholars in discussing securitization theory.

Securitization theory, from the perspective of the Copenhagen school, was defined as a speech act that introduced an issue as a matter of security and claimed that the issue needed urgent attention. Two sides exist in this process, namely the securitizing actor and the audience. The securitizing actor utters the speech act while the audience who has been exposed to the speech act either agrees or disagrees with the claim that has been made. If the audience agrees with this claim then securitization is considered successful but if the audience disagrees with the claim the securitizing speech act remains a security act and does not lead to the desired result<sup>176</sup>.

The word security need not be used for the speech act to be considered a securitizing speech act. In fact, as Thorleifsson shows the word security is hardly ever used. Instead, the creation of a self against other dichotomy suffices<sup>177</sup>.

Securitization theory is, therefore, considered a social constructivist theory that explains how different issues become security issues through a process of linguistic construction of perceptions. This linguistic nature was later criticized by other waves of securitization scholars who found the focus on linguistic speech acts too limiting.

The second wave of securitization scholars tried to bypass this assumed flaw by re-interpreting the theory as a practice oriented theory that considers mechanisms other

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<sup>176</sup> Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, and Jaap Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998).

<sup>177</sup> Cathrine Thorleifsson, “Disposable Strangers: Far-Right Securitisation of Forced Migration in Hungary,” *Social Anthropology* 25, no. 3 (2017): 318–334, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1469-8676.12420>.



than security speech acts in the process of social construction of security. They proposed that the linguistic nature of Copenhagen school's securitization theory is too limiting and does not consider non-linguistic gestures that lead to the construction of security<sup>178</sup>. The scholars associated with this second wave proposed that the practices of states and the laws and regulations that they advocate construct the perceptions regarding issues by effectively taking an issue out of ordinary politics and positioning it in extraordinary politics. The extraterritorial nature of the European border control that is aimed at keeping asylum seekers and irregular migrants from entering the European Union territory is of such nature.

Balzacq (2008), for example, proposes that European policy instruments aimed at providing European citizens with security are simultaneously securitizing instruments towards immigrants as they create a divide between the European 'self' that needs to be protected and the non-European 'other' from which European borders need to be protected<sup>179</sup>. The advancements in technological surveillance<sup>180</sup>, the institutional basin in which securitization occurs and the multilayered practices that distinguish between the illegal and the legal immigrant<sup>181</sup> have also been counted as means to securitize issues.

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<sup>178</sup> T. Balzacq, "The Three Faces of Securitization: Political Agency, Audience and Context," *European Journal of International Relations* 11, no. 2 (2005): 171–201, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066105052960>.

<sup>179</sup> Thierry Balzacq, "The Policy Tools of Securitization: Information Exchange, EU Foreign and Interior Policies\*," *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 46, no. 1 (2008): 75–100, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5965.2007.00768.x>.

<sup>180</sup> Sophia Hoffmann, "Humanitarian Security in Jordan's Azraq Camp," *Security Dialogue* 48, no. 2 (2017): 97–112, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010616683311>.

<sup>181</sup> Didier Bigo, "Security and Immigration: Toward a Critique of the Governmentality of Unease," *Alternatives* 27, no. 1\_suppl (2002): 63–92.

Four different categories of securitization theories have been identified by Balzacq and Guzzini who have made a very comprehensive study of this theory; namely the speech act based category, the practice oriented category, the normative trend, and a fourth category that introduces securitization as a subset of politics of risk<sup>182</sup>.

Despite the great contributions made by the second wave of securitization scholars the theory of securitization is still often associated with its original formulation by Ole Waever in that the majority of work in the field has been aimed at identifying security speech acts and their possible implications. However, the number of studies that focus on non-linguistic aspects of securitization seems to be on the rise as well.

The majority of work done on securitization have found a combination of linguistic (speech acts) based elements as well as non-linguistic (practice/institution) oriented elements in the process of securitization<sup>183</sup>. Chouliaraki and Georgiou, identifies this combination of discourse and practice perfectly well. The study shows that the combination of social media content (linguistic) and surveillance practices (non-linguistic) lead to the securitization of immigration<sup>184</sup>.

Three elements shape the core of securitization in the Copenhagen school. The ‘speech actor’ is the one who utters a speech act or a number of speech acts to introduce an issue as a matter of security that needs to be dealt with through

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<sup>182</sup> Thierry Balzacq et al., “What Kind of Theory – If Any – Is Securitization?,” *International Relations* 29, no. 1 (2015): 96, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0047117814526606>.

<sup>183</sup> Claudia Anamaria Iov and Maria Claudia Bogdan, “Securitization of Migration in the European Union Between Discourse and Practical Action,” *Research & Science Today* 1, no. 13 (2017).

<sup>184</sup> Lilie Chouliaraki and Myria Georgiou, “Hospitality: The Communicative Architecture of Humanitarian Securitization at Europe’s Borders,” *Journal of Communication* 67, no. 2 (2017): 159–180, <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12291>.

extraordinary measures immediately. Although the term is usually used in the singular, securitization may be the result of the speech acts of multiple actors. In fact, a number of studies have examined the acts of multiple actors not only in cases where the actors make harmonious speech acts but also in contexts when antagonistic speech acts are uttered. Karyotis and Patrikios, for example, examined the opposing speech acts of the political elite who tried to partially desecuritize immigration in Greece and the religious institution elite (the clergies) who opposed such desecuritization on religious as well as cultural grounds. The study showed how an influential institution like the church can neutralize attempts by the political elite to securitize or desecuritize an issue by uttering opposing speech acts<sup>185</sup>.

The ‘audience’ is the entity to whom the speech act is addressed. It is the consent of the audience to the proposed security nature of the issue and the necessity for extraordinary measures that determines the success of the security speech act. The audience is, however, the least theorized element of securitization theory. The Copenhagen school does not clearly show the role audience plays in the process of securitization. Whether the audience is just a passive receptor of security speech acts or an active participant in the process of securitization is not clear<sup>186</sup>.

The speech act uttered by the actor establishes the claim that a ‘referent object’ is under existential threat. The ‘referent object’ is any entity whose existence is claimed

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<sup>185</sup> G. Karyotis and S. Patrikios, “Religion, Securitization and Anti-Immigration Attitudes: The Case of Greece,” *Journal of Peace Research* 47, no. 1 (2010): 43–57, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343309350021>.

<sup>186</sup> Adam Côté, “Agents without Agency: Assessing the Role of the Audience in Securitization Theory,” *Security Dialogue* 47, no. 6 (2016): 541–558, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010616672150>.

to be threatened by a certain phenomenon<sup>187</sup>. These different elements are not always easy to distinguish. They sometimes shift their position in relation to each other. Rychnovska clearly shows how the members of the United Nations Security Council can be securitizing actors by uttering certain speech acts and the audience of those speech acts in relation to different issues<sup>188</sup>.

The speech act that is uttered by the actor(s) is what connects the three elements of securitization. Ole Wæver's original formulation of securitization was based on speech act theory as defined by J. L. Austin. Austin defined speech acts as those utterances that are actions at the same time. Examples of such utterances are the announcement of two people as husband and wife by someone who has, by law, been given the power to do so; or naming of a ship by an official that has that authority<sup>189</sup>. Securitization is, therefore based on the idea that by uttering security or anything that suggests security the securitizing actor does the act of constructing security<sup>190</sup>. This social construction is, however, dependent on the co-constitution of meaning by the actor(s) and the audience<sup>191</sup>. Language, therefore, acts less like a mirror that reflects what is out there but constructs reality<sup>192</sup>.

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<sup>187</sup> Buzan, Wæver, and Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*.

<sup>188</sup> Dagmar Rychnovská, "Securitization and the Power of Threat Framing," *Perspectives: Central European Review of International Affairs* 22, no. 2 (2014).

<sup>189</sup> J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, vol. 1955, The William James Lectures, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962).

<sup>190</sup> Stephen McGlinchey, Rosie Walters, and Christian Scheinpflug, *International Relations Theory*, 2017, <http://www.e-ir.info/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/International-Relations-Theory-E-IR.pdf>.

<sup>191</sup> Ole Wæver, "The Theory Act: Responsibility and Exactitude as Seen from Securitization," *International Relations* 29, no. 1 (2015): 121–27.

<sup>192</sup> Fábio Albergaria de Queiroz and Thiago Bacelar Cardoso, "The Legitimacy of War under the Perspective of the Speech-Act Theory The Cases of the First and Second Gulf Wars (1991/2003) in a Comparative Analysis," *Journal of Politics and Law* 8, no. 2 (2015): 54; J. Huysmans, "What's in an Act? On Security Speech Acts and Little Security Nothings," *Security Dialogue* 42, no. 4–5 (2011): 371–383, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010611418713>.

The security speech act introduces an issue as an existential threat towards a referent object but the existential threat does not have to be real. An illusion of a probable threat can lead to the securitization of an issue as long as it is a commonly shared illusion among the actor(s) and the audience<sup>193</sup>.

As mentioned in the previous paragraphs, securitization transforms issues from normal to exceptional. This means that the securitizing speech act is based on the claim that ordinary measures cannot solve the assumed problem and dealing with the issue requires exceptional extraordinary measures<sup>194</sup>. However, the actual implementation of extraordinary measures is not a requirement for the success of securitization<sup>195</sup>.

Securitization can, however, be reversed just as they can become so deeply embedded in practices and perceptions that anything amounts to securitization. The process that leads to the normalization of a securitized issue is called ‘desecuritization’<sup>196</sup>. The process that leads to the deepening of security perceptions in a society, on the other hand, is called deep securitization<sup>197</sup>.

### **4.3 Securitization of Minorities**

The securitization of minorities, which is the topic of this research, has been the subject of a number of studies. Maurizio, for example, identifies the ‘ontological

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<sup>193</sup> Heikki Patomäki, “Absenting the Absence of Future Dangers and Structural Transformations in Securitization Theory,” *International Relations* 29, no. 1 (2015): 128–136, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0047117814526606e>.

<sup>194</sup> Huysmans, “What’s in an Act? On Security Speech Acts and Little Security Nothings.”

<sup>195</sup> Buzan, Wæver, and Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*.

<sup>196</sup> P. Roe, “Securitization and Minority Rights: Conditions of Desecuritization,” *Security Dialogue* 35, no. 3 (2004): 279–294, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010604047527>.

<sup>197</sup> Uriel Abulof, “Deep Securitization and Israel’s ‘Demographic Demon,’” *International Political Sociology* 8, no. 4 (2014): 396–415.

insecurity' that lies behind the securitization of the Kurdish minority in Turkey. The combination of this ontological security, the desire of the ruling party to gain absolute majority, and the ideological differences between the ruling party and the main Kurdish party (secular socialist against Islamic liberal) lead to the securitization of this minority<sup>198</sup>. Ontological security is defined as identity changes that lead to anxiety caused by fear of change<sup>199</sup>. Greaves, on the other hand, examines how indigenous people of Norway did not securitize their existence due to their lack of exposure to the consequences of global warming and their integration to the Norwegian society; unlike the Canadian Inuit who were less integrated in the Canadian society and were highly influenced by the effects of global warming<sup>200</sup>. His study shows how interests drive the decision to securitize or not to securitize issues.

#### **4.4 Securitization of Immigration**

A number of studies have been made on the securitization of migration. Some have tried to identify linguistic and non-linguistic ways that have been used to securitize immigrants and refugees<sup>201</sup>, some have studied the underlying racial reasons behind the securitization of migration<sup>202</sup>, and the post-colonial practices that are prevalent in

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<sup>198</sup> Maurizio Geri, "The Securitization of the Kurdish Minority in Turkey: Ontological Insecurity and Elite's Power Struggle as Reasons of the Recent Re-Securitization," *Digest of Middle East Studies* 26, no. 1 (2017): 187–202, <https://doi.org/10.1111/dome.12099>.

<sup>199</sup> Christopher S. Browning and Pertti Joenniemi, "Ontological Security, Self-Articulation and the Securitization of Identity," *Cooperation and Conflict* 52, no. 1 (2017): 31–47.

<sup>200</sup> Wilfrid Greaves, "Arctic (in) Security and Indigenous Peoples: Comparing Inuit in Canada and Sámi in Norway," *Security Dialogue* 47, no. 6 (2016): 461–80.

<sup>201</sup> Gwendolyn Sasse, "Securitization or Securing Rights? Exploring the Conceptual Foundations of Policies towards Minorities and Migrants in Europe\*," *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 43, no. 4 (n.d.): 673–93, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5965.2005.00591.x>; Andreja Vezovnik, "Otherness and Victimhood in the Tabloid Press: The Case of the 'Refugee Crisis' in 'Slovenske Novice,'" *Dve Domovini/Two Homelands* 45 (2017): 121–35; Ayse Ceyhan and Anastassia Tsoukala, "The Securitization of Migration in Western Societies: Ambivalent Discourses and Policies," *Alternatives* 27, no. 1\_suppl (2002): 21–39.

<sup>202</sup> David Moffette and Shaira Vadasaria, "Uninhibited Violence: Race and the Securitization of Immigration," *Critical Studies on Security* 4, no. 3 (2016): 291–305, <https://doi.org/10.1080/21624887.2016.1256365>.

securitizing immigration from former colonies<sup>203</sup>. Humphrey identified three different ways countries in the global north have been securitizing immigration. It proposed that securitization of immigration is done either through externalizing practices, claiming that harsher immigration laws are not just in favor of national security but the security of the immigrants themselves, or using citizen surveillance to marginalize immigrants through stabilized practices<sup>204</sup>. Abrahamsen provides an example of practices that may indirectly securitize the immigrants using the mechanisms introduced by Humphrey. It shows how Tony Blair's claims regarding the necessity to tackle underdevelopment in Africa due to the status quo's implications for the security of Britain while directly securitizing underdevelopment, indirectly securitized migration as well<sup>205</sup>.

However, securitization theory does not only apply to the Global North. Scholars have made enquiries into the applicability of securitization theory to non-Western societies. Ilgit and Klotz, studied securitization theory in the context of South Africa. The study showed that the South African government securitized immigration by keeping quiet in the face of a long held popular anti-immigrant discourse while actively opposing the creation of a collective African identity and emphasizing on the division between the self and the immigrant other<sup>206</sup>.

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<sup>203</sup> Robert Dover, "Towards a Common EU Immigration Policy: A Securitization Too Far," *European Integration* 30, no. 1 (2008): 113–30.

<sup>204</sup> Michael Humphrey, "Securitization of Migration: An Australian Case Study of Global Trends," *Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios Sobre Cuerpos, Emociones y Sociedad* 6, no. 15 (2014).

<sup>205</sup> Rita Abrahamsen, "Blair's Africa: The Politics of Securitization and Fear," *Alternatives* 30, no. 1 (2005): 55–80, <https://doi.org/10.1177/030437540503000103>.

<sup>206</sup> Asli Ilgit and Audie Klotz, "How Far Does 'societal Security' Travel? Securitization in South African Immigration Policies," *Security Dialogue* 45, no. 2 (2014): 137–155, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010613519161>.

Securitization of specific migrant groups has been the subject of a number of studies. Bryan and Denov, for example, shows how by treating child refugees like rational adults while stereotyping and criminalizing them simultaneously leads to their being securitized<sup>207</sup>, while the marginalization of Muslim refugees by creating a dichotomous relationship between the Muslim other and the Hungarian self that was combined with framing the immigrants as an economic burden to the Hungarian society was comprehensively discussed by Thorleifsson<sup>208</sup>.

Securitization of migrants and other minority groups, Sasse proposes, can be understood only in relation to the nexus between the rights of these groups and the security of the state and its citizens<sup>209</sup>. Decision makers often weigh each of these two against each other and decide accordingly.

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<sup>207</sup> Catherine Bryan and Myriam Denov, "Separated Refugee Children in Canada: The Construction of Risk Identity," *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* 9, no. 3 (2011): 242–266, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2011.592806>.

<sup>208</sup> Thorleifsson, "Disposable Strangers: Far-Right Securitisation of Forced Migration in Hungary."

<sup>209</sup> Sasse, "Securitization or Securing Rights?"



## Chapter 5

### UK AS A CASE STUDY

#### 5.1 Immigration Policies in the UK

For the purpose of this thesis, only the contemporary accounts of migration to the UK, since 1945, will be studied. Immigration between the time period from 1964 to 1997 has allegedly been negligible at the rate of 17000 per year<sup>210</sup>. However, the first mass movement of immigrants to the United Kingdom seems to have occurred in a period of time after the adoption of the 1948 ‘Nationality Act’. It was at this time that the citizens of British colonial states were legally considered eligible to live in the UK and receive British citizenship mainly due to attempts to reconstruct the war torn country<sup>211</sup>. It was due to the relaxing of immigration laws by the Labour governments that the rate of migration to the UK experienced a leap between 1998 and 2011<sup>212</sup>. In 1998 alone, the rate of migration had experienced a huge shift from 48,000 to 140,000. Some have proposed that this loosening of migration policies was motivated by the political agenda of creating a more multicultural society<sup>213</sup>. Since the beginning of the Conservative government in the UK in 2011, however,

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<sup>210</sup> Lord Andrew Green, “The History of Immigration to the UK,” Migration Watch UK, accessed July 29, 2018, <http://www.migrationwatchuk.com/briefing-paper/document/437>.

<sup>211</sup> “BBC - Family History Research Timeline: Migration,” accessed July 29, 2018, [http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/familyhistory/bloodlines/migration.shtml?entry=british\\_nationality\\_act&theme=migration](http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/familyhistory/bloodlines/migration.shtml?entry=british_nationality_act&theme=migration).

<sup>212</sup> Green, “The History of Immigration to the UK.”

<sup>213</sup> Lord Andrew Green, “Immigration Under Labour,” Migration Watch UK, accessed July 29, 2018, <http://www.migrationwatchuk.com/briefing-paper/document/355>.

immigration policies have shifted towards tighter regulation of immigration in the UK<sup>214</sup>.

Due to the great number of amendments and regulations related to immigrants and asylum seekers in the UK, the study of which is impossible in a short section like this, this review only examines the major Acts regarding the issue. The history of Immigration in Britain can be traced back to Jan, 1 1948, and the adoption of ‘Nationality Act’ that provided the possibility for citizens of former colonies to apply for British citizenship<sup>215</sup>. Economic causes (shortage of workers) were partly behind the adoption of this piece of legislation<sup>216</sup>. The year marks one of the most iconic immigration waves to the UK, namely the arrival of Caribbean migrants to Britain aboard the troopship MV Empire Windrush<sup>217</sup>. The generation of migrants who travelled to the UK from the Caribbean from that time on are known as the Windrush generation. The term became popular because of a scandal that revealed maltreatment of a great number of these migrants in the UK<sup>218</sup>. This was followed by the ‘Common Wealth Immigrants Act’ in January 1, 1962. At this point the citizens of common wealth countries (United Kingdom and the colonies) who used to easily move in and out of the country were obliged to go through immigration control<sup>219</sup>. Ten years later, in January 1, 1972 ‘Immigration Act’ was passed. The new law

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<sup>214</sup> Green, “The History of Immigration to the UK.”

<sup>215</sup> “Immigration Laws in British History Timeline.” Timetoast, accessed July 28, 2018, <https://www.timetoast.com/timelines/immigration-laws-in-british-history>.

<sup>216</sup> Green, “The History of Immigration to the UK.”

<sup>217</sup> The National Archives, “The National Archives | Research and Learning | Treasures from The National Archives | Windrush Settlers,” Text, accessed July 29, 2018, [http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/museum/item.asp?item\\_id=50](http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/museum/item.asp?item_id=50).

<sup>218</sup> “What Is the Windrush Generation Scandal, When Did the Children Come to the UK and Are the Families Getting Compensation?,” The Sun, June 22, 2018, <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/6064892/windrush-generation-scandal-when-children-arrive-uk-landing-cards-corbyn-rudd-compensation/>.

<sup>219</sup> “Immigration Laws in British History Timeline.”

limited immigration to people whose ancestry had some connection to the United Kingdom or had a work permit<sup>220</sup>. However, the United Kingdom joined the European Union in 1973 and the citizens of European Union states gained the right to access the work market in the UK<sup>221</sup>. The ‘British Nationality Act’ was passed in January 1, 1983<sup>222</sup>. Three different types of citizenship were identified by this law, including ‘British citizenship’, ‘British Overseas Territories’ citizenship and ‘British Overseas’ citizenship<sup>223</sup>. In January 1, 1988 another piece of regulation was passed under ‘Immigration Act’<sup>224</sup>. This act made it more difficult for immigrants from common wealth countries to enter Britain and ripped them of the advantages provided to them by the ‘British Nationality Act of 1983’<sup>225</sup>. The ‘Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act’ was passed in January 1, 1993<sup>226</sup>. This law limited the rights to appeal decisions regarding to asylum seekers as well as short stay visas and ripped a group of asylum seekers and visitors of access to welfare benefits<sup>227</sup>. In May 6, 1996 the ‘Asylum and Immigration Act’ was passed<sup>228</sup>. This legislation limited the right of asylum seekers to appeal against the decision to return them to a safe European Union Country<sup>229</sup>. In January 1, 1999 the ‘Immigration and Asylum Act’ was adopted<sup>230</sup>. This piece of legislation transformed the appeal system for asylum seekers from a multi-level appeals system to a single appeal and established legal

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<sup>220</sup> “Immigration Laws in British History Timeline.”

<sup>221</sup> Green, “The History of Immigration to the UK.”

<sup>222</sup> “Immigration Laws in British History Timeline.”

<sup>223</sup> “Policy and Legislative Changes Affecting Migration to the UK: Timeline,” gov.uk, accessed July 28, 2018, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/policy-and-legislative-changes-affecting-migration-to-the-uk-timeline>.

<sup>224</sup> “Immigration Laws in British History Timeline.”

<sup>225</sup> “Policy and Legislative Changes Affecting Migration to the UK.”

<sup>226</sup> “Immigration Laws in British History Timeline.”

<sup>227</sup> “Policy and Legislative Changes Affecting Migration to the UK.”

<sup>228</sup> “Immigration Laws in British History Timeline.”

<sup>229</sup> “Policy and Legislative Changes Affecting Migration to the UK.”

<sup>230</sup> “Immigration Laws in British History Timeline.”

procedures to deal with those who overstayed their term in the country<sup>231</sup>. In January 1, 2000 the ‘Immigration (Leave to enter and remain) Order was issued<sup>232</sup>. The ‘Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act’ was adopted in January 1, 2002<sup>233</sup>. This law established the requirement for people who had applied for UK citizenship to take an oath in an official ceremony, and show a level of proficiency in the English language and life in the UK<sup>234</sup>. The Asylum and Immigration Act, 2004 harmonized the initial ‘leave to stay’ (permission to live in the UK) period for all categories of asylum seekers and refugees to five years, after which they could apply for settlement<sup>235</sup>. In January 1, 2008 a points based system was introduced to the immigration system<sup>236</sup>. The new system, just like other points based systems, gives priority to immigrants who fulfill certain characteristic points and divides immigrants to five groups accordingly. This system especially restricted the number of skilled worker visas to the UK in an attempt to protect resident workers from heightening competition<sup>237</sup>. Immigration Act 2014 was adopted with an eye to give primacy to family migrants and refugees who could afford their stay in the UK and/or were more proficient in the English Language. This was done under the premises of protecting the British tax payers’ rights. This law also changed the appeal system for refugees in an attempt to cut lengthy appeal procedures short to tackle the problem of asylum seekers whose applications were rejected but used the lengthy appeals procedures to stay in the UK<sup>238</sup>. In September 2015, the UK Prime Minister

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<sup>231</sup> “Policy and Legislative Changes Affecting Migration to the UK.”

<sup>232</sup> “Immigration Laws in British History Timeline.”

<sup>233</sup> “Immigration Laws in British History Timeline.”

<sup>234</sup> “Policy and Legislative Changes Affecting Migration to the UK.”

<sup>235</sup> “Policy and Legislative Changes Affecting Migration to the UK.”

<sup>236</sup> “Immigration Laws in British History Timeline.”

<sup>237</sup> Melanie Gower, “The UK’s Points-Based System for Immigration” (n.d.).

<sup>238</sup> “Policy and Legislative Changes Affecting Migration to the UK.”

announced that the Syrian Vulnerable Persons program would expand to include the resettlement of 20000 Syrian refugees in five years<sup>239</sup>.

## **5.2 Multiculturalism in the UK**

The principles of multiculturalism entered the political spectrum in the majority of the EU member states in the early 1980s. The rejection of policies of assimilation, based on the incorporation of minority groups' values into the major culture, was followed by the embracement and popularity of the multicultural model of integration due to the rise of the human rights movements across western democracies. Multiculturalism, despite its ambiguity from the political point of view, was conceived as an instrument that promotes the mutual enrichment of cultures and the building of a harmonious society based on democratic values.

Multiculturalism, as it was discussed in the third chapter, is simply defined as the equal coexistence of cultural differences<sup>240</sup>. The aim of multiculturalism is to achieve recognition and preservation of the rights and differences of all cultural identities. However, despite the tremendous popularity of multicultural policies, the signs of the fall of multiculturalism appeared in the late 1990s, followed by many dramatic events<sup>241</sup>.

Further in this chapter, the rise and fall of multiculturalism in the UK is studied as an attempt to provide an understanding of how the change in perceptions regarding multiculturalism occurred in practice. Particularly, the performance of

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<sup>239</sup> "Policy and Legislative Changes Affecting Migration to the UK."

<sup>240</sup> Jürgen Habermas, *The Inclusion of the Other: Studies in Political Theory*, 3. print, Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2001).

<sup>241</sup> Vertovec and Wessendorf, *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices*.

multiculturalism and the attitude toward its policies is analysed in order to identify securitizing patterns in the discourse of the party leaders in the UK.

The UK was one of the first European countries that adopted the ideology of multiculturalism. Unlike Canada or Australia, the UK has never proclaimed multiculturalism as an official doctrine that determines the state's policy towards ethnic minorities<sup>242</sup>. However, the UK has actively pursued the ideology of multiculturalism in practice.

The UK is a clear example of the implementation of the model of "hard" multiculturalism: the country has not only developed and actively implemented a broad system of measures to support national minorities in order to preserve their identity, culture, traditions and customs, but also adopted a number of laws aimed at preventing any form of discrimination on the basis of nationality or race. Tolerance essentially turned into a dogma, demanding strict observance from the British.

The first allegations of the failure of multicultural policies appeared in the UK in mid-2001. At that time the series of conflicts based on the ethnic ground took place in the towns and cities in the North of England<sup>243</sup>. In order to investigate the ethnic clashes, the Labour government established a special commission, which was tasked with not only finding their causes, but also developing a set of measures to prevent their repetition in the future.

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<sup>242</sup> Joppke and Morawska, *Toward Assimilation and Citizenship: Immigrants in Liberal Nation-States*.

<sup>243</sup> Dr Nasar Meer and Prof Tariq Modood, *Britain*, n.d.

The report "Community Cohesion", prepared by an independent group of experts headed by Ted Cante in the end of 2001, was welcomed both in political and public circles<sup>244</sup>. This report warned about the existence of 'parallel lives' within the different communities in Britain. The disconnection that was claimed to have been created by multiculturalism between the people was suggested to be among the main sources of prejudices among different communities.

Cante's perception of "Parallel Lives" has also contributed to the vision of the Muslim minorities as exceptional and problematic. The main problem in relation to the Muslim communities was related to their self-segregated attitude as well as the implementation of the practices that violate the rights of the most vulnerable in the communities, such as women and children<sup>245</sup>.

The 9/11 terrorist attack, that took place three months after the riots in north of England, has seriously affected the attitude of the British citizens towards the British Muslims. Four years later, the first Islamic terrorist attack in central London in 2005 has led to further aggravation of relations between native citizens and Muslim population. According to the critics of multiculturalism, the failed integration policy provides suitable conditions for Islamic extremism to rise and create fear and distrust among citizens<sup>246</sup>. This criticism was emphasized in the speech of the British Prime Minister David Cameron at the international security conference in Munich on

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<sup>244</sup> T. Cante, *Community Cohesion: A Report of the Independent Review Team* (London: Home Office, 2001).

<sup>245</sup> Tahir Abbas, ed., *Muslim Britain: Communities under Pressure* (London New York: Zed Books, 2005).

<sup>246</sup> Joppke, *Is Multiculturalism Dead?: Crisis and Persistence in the Constitutional State*; Vertovec and Wessendorf, *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices*.

February 5, 2011<sup>247</sup>. In his speech, the policies of multiculturalism were accused of causing danger for both the British identity and the security of National borders. This announcement had a serious effect on public perceptions toward multiculturalism, both within and outside of the UK.

According to a survey by YouGov in 2015, people in Britain can hardly be called adherents of the idea of multiculturalism. A majority of 56 per cent of people now regard Islam as a threat to Western liberal democracy, rising from 32 per cent in 2001<sup>248</sup>.

However, there is still a big camp of the supporters of multiculturalism that call for a rational interpretation and implementation of these policies. Multiculturalism which was blamed for the segregation of the communities, empowerment of the traditional elites as well as creation of favorable conditions for criminals, simply is not consistent with multiculturalism which has its roots in the general human rights movements, that has never supported discrimination between and within societies.

The fear about multiculturalism, defenders argue, was caused by a negative campaign in media and public officials. The criticism and securitization of multiculturalism may provide the political officials with leverage, as for example, to hide the real economic and social problems, or promote a new innovative policy for their own political gains.

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<sup>247</sup> “PM’s Speech at Munich Security Conference.”

<sup>248</sup> “More Britons Believe That Multiculturalism Makes the Country Worse - Not Better,” The Independent, July 4, 2015, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/more-britons-believe-that-multiculturalism-makes-the-country-worse-not-better-says-poll-10366003.html>.



The negative rhetoric toward multiculturalism and immigrants is more a matter of talk than real policy change. However, the creation of the negative images around these terms may create a dangerous environment for immigrants and minority groups to stay in the UK. The recent example is the Windrush Generation Scandal that involved maltreatment of people from Caribbean countries, who lived in the UK for more than half a century<sup>249</sup>. Because of the changes in policies by the Conservative government, they faced the risk of deportation and rejection of basic public needs.

The Windrush Generation Scandal can be seen as an apparent outcome of the securitization of multiculturalism. Immigrants from former colonies have been negatively affected by the power of words used to depict them. This story highlights the securitization of multicultural policies by the party leaders, especially in the case of immigrant groups.

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<sup>249</sup> “Windrush Scandal - BBC News,” accessed July 31, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/topics/c9vwmzw7n7lt/windrush-scandal>.

## Chapter 6

### DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

#### 6.1 Introduction

For the purpose of this research, fifty speeches given by the leaders of the Conservative and the Labour parties were identified and downloaded from the British Political Speech archive<sup>250</sup>. The speeches were equally distributed among the two parties (Conservative and Labour) meaning that each party had a share of 25 speeches. The majority of speeches were taken from the Parties Annual Conferences. The downloaded documents were then fed to the AntConc corpus analysis software and were tested based on six key search items including \*migra\*, \*refug\*, \*multicultural\*, welfare, \*secur\*, and \*terror\*. The frequency of related words as well as their co-occurrence was tested to check for pattern of securitization among the parties. Each term was then studied in the broader context of the whole speech. In the following sections Corpus Linguistic Analysis will be explained, the application of the AntConc Concordance tool in analyzing the results will be deliberated on and the results of the research will be shown.

#### 6.2 Corpus Linguistic Analysis

Corpus analysis refers to the linguistic analysis of a body of actually spoken and written text. The corpora, which is the plural form of corpus, are usually collected

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<sup>250</sup> “British Political Speech | Speech Archive,” accessed July 31, 2018, <http://www.britishpoliticalspeech.org/speech-archive.htm?q=&speaker=&party=&searchRangeFrom=2000&searchRangeTo=2017>.

based on their special common features<sup>251</sup>. The corpora used in this research is the speeches given by the leaders of Labour Party and Conservative Party in their Annual Conferences as well as events including the search items used in this research.

Corpus Linguistics Analysis is usually made using a specific software that help the researcher to implement both qualitative and quantitative analysis on the data. This method is often used to study the socio-linguistic features of certain groups and their discourse regarding a specific topic<sup>252</sup>.

For the purpose of this research the AntConc concordance tool which is a tool used for the study of words and words strings in certain context and the concordance of these words was used. This tool and its application to this research will be explained further in this chapter.

This research is based on the study of the corpus related to the discourse of the party leaders in the UK. It studies possible securitizing patterns regarding immigration and multiculturalism within the corpus through an analysis of the key terms associated with the process of securitization. The research utilized six search items in an attempt to examine the frequency of appearance of the related words as well as their correlation with each other. These search items included \*migra\*, \*refug\*, \*multicultural\*, welfare, \*secur\*, and \*terror\*. The asterisk means that the search item finds all words that are affiliated with the search item.

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<sup>251</sup> “Corpus Linguistics - an Introduction — Englisches Seminar,” accessed August 13, 2018, [https://www.anglistik.uni-freiburg.de/seminar/abteilungen/sprachwissenschaft/ls\\_mair/corpus-linguistics](https://www.anglistik.uni-freiburg.de/seminar/abteilungen/sprachwissenschaft/ls_mair/corpus-linguistics).

<sup>252</sup> “Corpus Linguistics - an Introduction — Englisches Seminar.”

### **6.2.1 AntConc Concordance Analysis Tool**

For the purpose of this research the corpus was fed to AntConc software. AntConc is a software used for the purpose of corpus analysis. The software was developed by Laurence Anthony of the Faculty of Science and Engineering at Waseda University, Japan. Fifty speeches were fed to the software. These speeches were equally distributed among the Labour Party (25) and the Conservative Party (25). The speeches were downloaded from the British Political Speech Archive<sup>253</sup>. The speeches were given in the period between 2000 and 2017.

The majority of speeches include the annual conference of each party as these speeches summarize the political agenda of these parties. The party conferences are forums to create consensus among party members and vote on important issues<sup>254</sup>. This is why the study of the speeches given during these conferences reflects the reality of party's agenda regarding different issues. The rest of the speeches were found based on the search items.

### **6.3 Research Results**

The search items used in this research (\*migra\*, \*refug\*, \*multicultural\*, welfare, \*secur\*, and \*terror\*) were elicited from an initial examination of speeches. This examination showed that the six search items that were used for the purpose of this research were most relevant to the thesis. The AntConc Concordance tool helped identify these terms as the most frequently used terms that were relevant to this study. In addition to that, the co-occurrence of terms was put into test by AntConc Concordance tool. This was done to identify the context in which the terms were

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<sup>253</sup> “British Political Speech | Speech Archive.”

<sup>254</sup> “What Happens at Party Conferences?,” September 13, 2007, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/politics/6993552.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/6993552.stm).

used in relations to multiculturalism and immigration and the direction of the statements. Although the direction of the speeches was not the focus of this research, the co-occurrence of the search items with each other suggested the attitude of the parties in relation to immigration and multiculturalism. This was done in an effort to identify securitizing/desecuritizing patterns in the speeches of party leaders. The definition assigned to these terms and their use in the interpretation of patterns that showed the attitude of the party leaders in the UK will be further explained in the following sections.

### **6.3.1 Immigration (Conservative Party)**

In the first instance the direction of the statements in relation to the words associated with the search item \*migra\* was distinguished based on the threefold categorization namely Negative, Positive and Neutral.

A total number of 52 instances of statements that included the search item ‘\*migra\*’ (immigrant, migrant, immigration, migration) were identified in 17 of the 25 speeches given by the Conservative Party leaders in the time period between 2000 and 2017. Out of 17, 10 instances were identified as negative, 5 were neutral and 2 were mixed (positive and negative simultaneously). Overall, the negative attitude of the conservative leaders was based on economic (pressures on the welfare system as well as job loss) as well as security (terrorism, chaotic migration inflow) causes. The statements made by Conservative leaders often included vague and generalized claims for which little statistical evidence was provided.

The search item ‘\*migra\*’ most frequently co-occurred with the word \*control\* (all different variants of the word) 15 times in the 10 speeches given by Conservative

leaders. This shows that the leaders were consistent in their bet for controlling (capping) immigration.

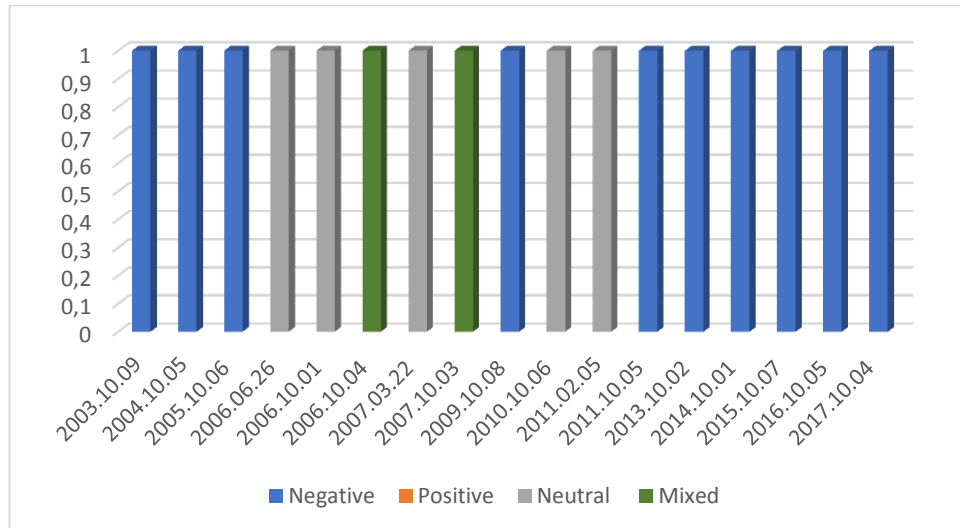


Figure 1: Attitudes Toward Immigration (Conservative Party)

An observation that can be made on the above chart is that the negative depiction of immigration was mainly concentrated in the time period between 2011 and 2017. This is curious because the British economy was on an upward direction and unemployment was on a downward slope at least since 2014<sup>255</sup>. But the rhetoric continues for three years despite the lack of tangible evidence to show a direct relationship between immigration and economic downfall.

### 6.3.2 Refugees (Conservative Party)

A similar observation can be made about the keyword \*refuge\* (refuge, refugee, refugees). The research item \*refuge\* had been used 11 times in 4 different periods in time in the speeches of the Conservative political leaders. In 2004 and 2015 a highly negative rhetoric based on claims regarding the necessity for control and

<sup>255</sup> “44 Charts That Explain the UK Economy,” UK economy: GDP growth, interest rates and inflation statistics, accessed July 21, 2018, <https://ig.ft.com/sites/numbers/economies/uk>.

limitation of numbers of people existed among the Conservative Party leaders, while 2006 and 2016 show quite a neutral attitude toward the phenomena of refugee as refugee camps and need for humanitarian support were mentioned briefly without assigning any plan for action.

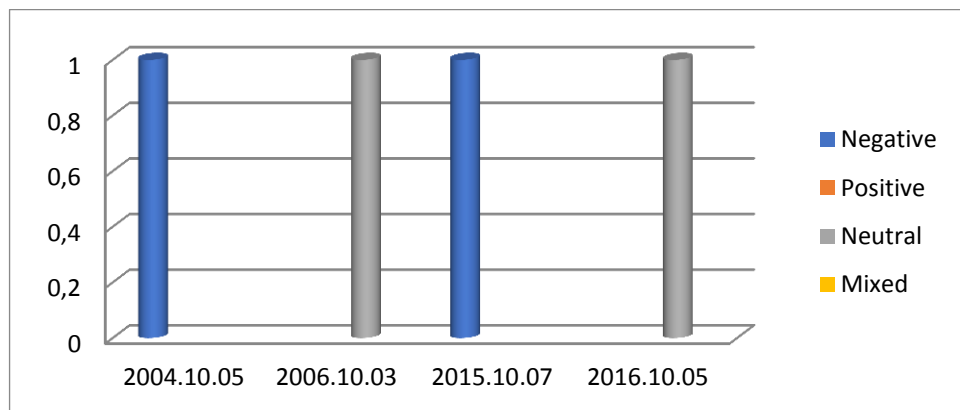


Figure 2: Attitudes Toward Refugee (Conservative Party)

### 6.3.3 Multiculturalism (Conservative Party)

Multiculturalism, in the speeches of conservative leaders was depicted as moral neutrality and passive tolerance. This depiction introduces a twist to the definition of multiculturalism as it adds passivity as a feature of tolerance towards multiculturalism. British (Christian) identity, on the other hand, was discussed in terms of culture, cohesion, history, language, as well as morality and values.

‘Multiculturalism’ was put to test to determine possible shifts in rhetoric regarding this term among British politicians. Although the most obvious retreat from multiculturalism can be witnessed in years 2010 and 2011, the term has to be studied in relation to specific dates and circumstances for any meaning to be assigned to possible securitization/desecuritization during this time.

The rhetorical retreat from multiculturalism by the leaders of the Conservative Party can be traced back to 2006 when the features of multiculturalism were under severe but indirect attack. It was in this year that David Cameron emphasized the lack of community cohesion, due to the communities living parallel lives. The British politician had warned against the danger posed to British identity, as well as British institutions, language and history while speaking of the new generation of Muslim schools. As a response, he proposed that “every child in our country, wherever they come from, must know and deeply understand what it means to be British”. The same statement can be found in the speech of the conservative leader in October 2007 where, after mentioning the threat to identity, the themes of terrorism and military forces were followed.

In 2011, however, the term multiculturalism came under direct attacks. In both speeches given in Munich (Munich Security Conference) and in Oxford ("King James Bible"), Conservative political leader, David Cameron, emphasized the failure of multiculturalism, or as he called it, “passive tolerance” to integrate the immigrants and minorities. In these speeches Cameron emphasized the inextricable link between Islamist Extremism (Terrorism) and the weak collective identity that was formed under state multiculturalism. His emphasis was on segregated communities that implement practices contrary to the British values. Specifically, in the speech dedicated to King James’ Bible, the conservative leader emphasized the values of the British Christian identity, to which the alternative should not be an option. According to Cameron, passive tolerance (multiculturalism) that allows extremism to grow and prosper should be replaced by active muscular liberalism.



Finally, the speech that was given in Manchester in 2015 emphasized the danger of passive tolerance (multiculturalism) for both British identity and Britain’s national security. Here again, Cameron connected Islamic Extremism, by mentioning the ISIL, and multicultural institutions that divided the community. He suggested that it was because of ‘passive tolerance’ (multiculturalism) that practices like forced marriages and genital mutilation were made; it was, according to David Cameron, because of passive tolerance that the new generation of British people were turning into ISIL members and Britain was becoming a disintegrated country.

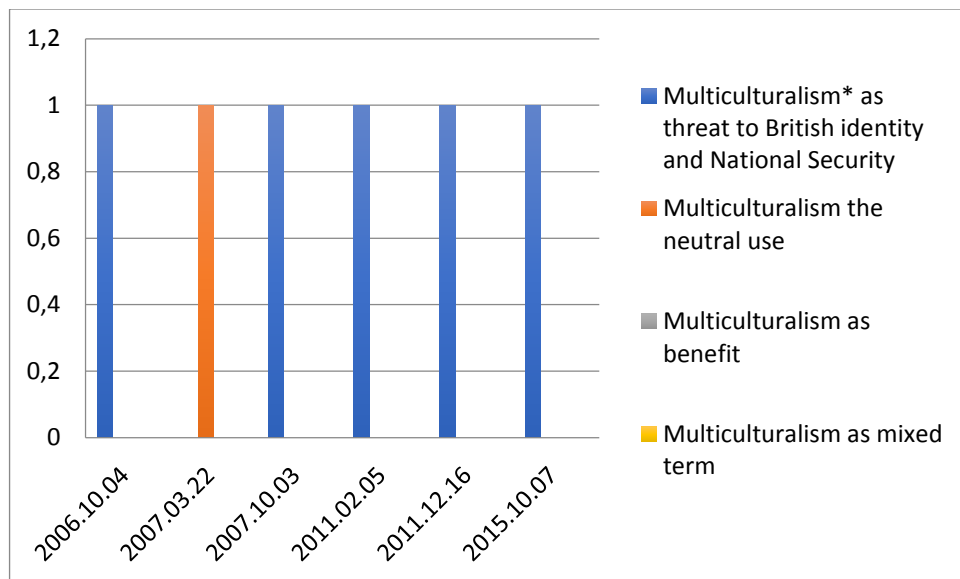


Figure 3: Multiculturalism (Conservative Party)

#### 6.3.4 Welfare Dependency (Conservative Party)

The search item ‘welfare’ also revealed an interesting pattern. The search item was repeated 42 times in 8 different speeches in the time period between 2007 and 2015. It co-occurred most frequently with the word ‘dependency’. What makes this search item and the patterns attached to it interesting is the way the leader of the Conservative Party shifted the rhetorical problematization of the concept ‘welfare

dependency' from the failure of the leading party (the Labor party) to the failure of the immigration system. Back in October 2007, the leader of the conservative party, David Cameron, was critical of the negative side effects of welfare dependency and spoke of the need for reform the welfare system by looking at other developed countries that had overcome this problem. He made a similar proposal in October 2009 when Cameron blamed the then leading labor party for creating dependency on welfare system and thus negatively affecting the British families. "We have to break this cycle of welfare dependency [...] for the strengths of the families". The next year, Cameron also emphasized the fair distribution of money, especially to those who are "sick, vulnerable and old".

However, since October 2011, the critical stance toward the welfare system and its dependency shifted and was now highly linked to immigration and immigration system. According to the Conservative leader the flawed immigration system had increased the pressure on public services, had increased unemployment and most importantly had created dependency on welfare system. In 2013 and 2014 the same negative rhetoric was followed in relation to the connection between the immigration system and welfare dependency. Cameron proposed that "{The} problem in our welfare system and problems in our immigration system are inextricably linked". His new slogan became "capping immigration, capping welfare dependency".

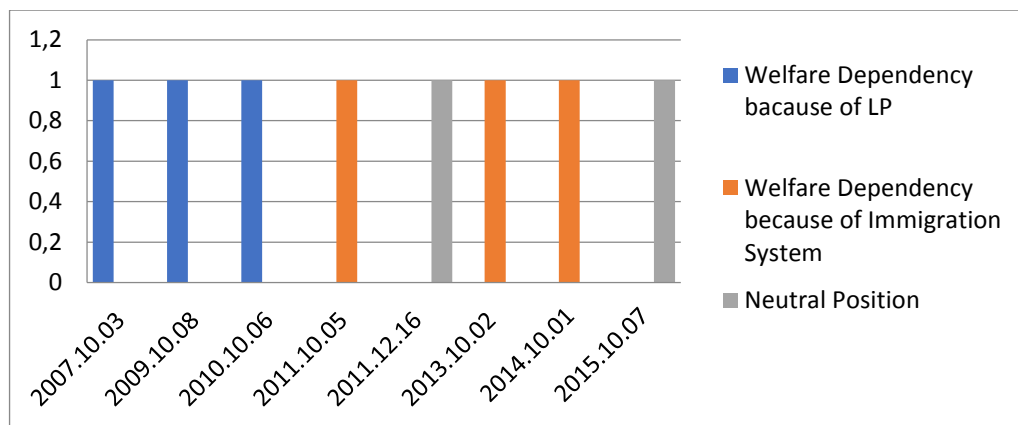


Figure 4: Welfare Dependency (Conservative Party)

### 6.3.5 Security (Conservative Party)

The search item ‘\*secur\*’ (‘security’, ‘secure’, ‘insecurity’, ‘securing’, ‘insecure’, and ‘secured’) was identified 132 times in the corpus. 20 out of the total 25 speeches contained one of the terms associated to the item.

For the purpose of this research security was categorized into different types that explained the nature of security concerns among British politicians. National security, in this case, was defined as the protection of the sovereignty of states and their citizens against threats. International security refers to the protection of the international community (a broad term that includes all sovereign states and their citizens) against different types of threats. Economic security on the other hand specifically focuses on the threats to the economy of the country and the economic consequences of the threat for the citizens. Social security refers to the broad welfare status of the country. Cultural security was assigned as any mention of threat towards the dominant culture of the state.

National security had the greatest share among the frames used to describe security in the identified concurrence hits. The term national security was used 8 times in the

speeches. However, the concept, as defined for the purpose of this research was identified 15 times. Followed by economic security 6 times, social security 5 times, International Security 2 times and cultural security 2 times.

This succession of frames clearly shows that during the time period under discussion the leaders of the Conservative Party in the UK have been very concerned with matters of national security and threats towards the sovereignty of state and its citizens. Economic concerns and social welfare concerns go hand in hand to show how the concerns regarding the capability of the state to provide and maintain the welfare of its citizens have been a matter of discussion for these politicians. Although international security and cultural security were identified in these speeches their infrequent use suggests that Conservative Party leaders were less concerned about these types of security than other parts.

The above mentioned distribution of frames provides a certain degree of understanding regarding the concerns of Conservative leaders in the studied time-frame. However, they do not provide much information about whether there have been shifts in this attention during this time frame. The following chart shows the distribution of these frames in time.

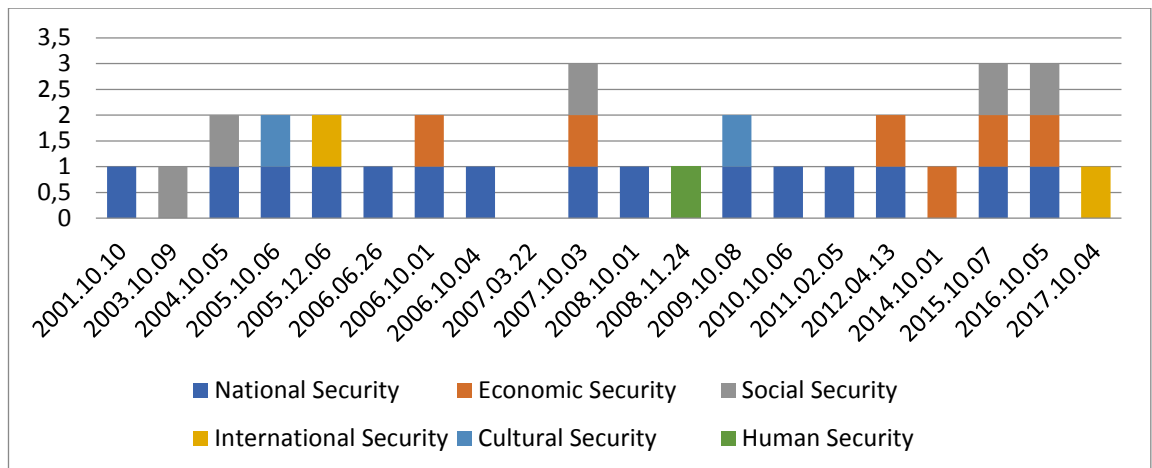


Figure 5: Distribution of Security Categories in Time (Conservative Party)

The above chart shows that national security has almost always been a recurring theme in the speeches of UK party leaders, the use of economic security has been more consistent in the time period between 2014 and 2016 and less obvious in other time periods. This time frame exemplifies the time when the British unemployment was on a downward slope and the economy was on the rise. This brings the question whether the claims regarding the economic consequences of migration to the UK were based on evidence<sup>256</sup>.

### 6.3.6 Terrorism (Conservative Party)

Terrorism produced 151 concordance hits in 22 of the total 25 speeches given by Conservative Party leaders. With this high number of hits it is of utmost importance to analyze the results produced by the search item \*terror\* in their context, as it has frequently co-occurred with all previous search items. Terrorism which is defined as an unlawful use of violence toward the civilians for political aims represents, in this

<sup>256</sup> “44 Charts That Explain the UK Economy.”

analysis, a broader term that includes terrorism by the Real Irish Republican Army and terrorism associated with Islamic Extremism both domestically and globally<sup>257</sup>.

The results revealed that from 2001 until 2005 the speeches of Conservative leaders were mainly directed toward the war against international terrorism in support of its allied countries; especially after the 9/11 terrorist attack in the U.S. In the speeches of the Conservative political leaders, since the end of 2005, the negative stance toward terrorism goes hand in hand with criticism toward the administration of the Labour Party especially for poor immigration and security control, constrained by the Human Rights Act. These statements were followed by the UK's first suicide attacks motivated by Islamic extremism that took place in London in July 7<sup>th</sup>, 2005. The consequent year of 2006 continued the same negative stance toward the Labour government by underlying the threat coming from Islamic terrorism.

The years between 2006 and 2009 represent direct attacks by the Conservative Party leaders towards the ID card policies and the implementation of Human Rights Act by the Labour administration. They proposed that, in addition to weak immigration control, these policies created obstacles for the safety and security of the nation. This rhetoric continued up to the end of 2009.

From 2011, the speeches of conservative leaders highly linked terrorism/Islamic extremism to the negative portrait of multiculturalism doctrine. The segregated communities which were the legacy of passive tolerance were, according to David

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<sup>257</sup> "Terrorism | Definition of Terrorism in English by Oxford Dictionaries," accessed July 31, 2018, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/terrorism>.

Cameron, the root cause of the expansion and popularity of Islamic Extremism among young British Muslims. Similar claims about the negative side of passive tolerance that has caused radicalization among the new generation of immigrants was repeated in 2015 in the face of the refugee crisis and the expansion of the ISIL.

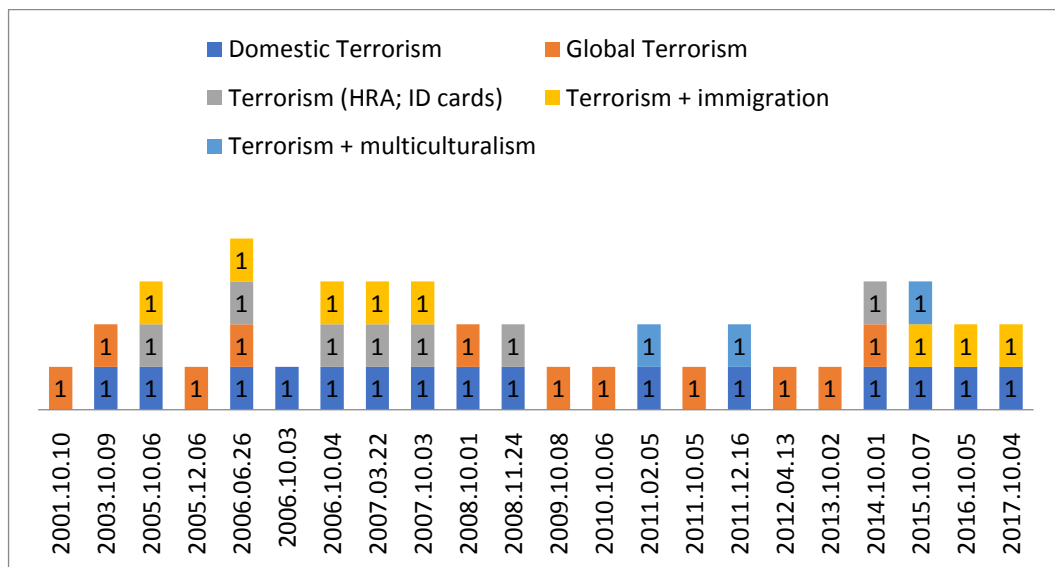


Figure 6: Terrorism (Conservative Party)

### 6.3.7 Immigration (Labour Party)

In the first instance the direction of the statements in relation to the words associated with the search item \*migra\* was distinguished based on a threefold categorization; namely Negative, Positive and Neutral.

A total number of 70 instances of statements that included the search item ‘\*migra\*’ (immigrant/s, migrant/s, immigration, migration) were identified in 19 of the 25 speeches given by the Labour Party leaders in the time period between 2000 and 2017. Out of 19, 4 instances were identified as negative, 9 as positive, 5 were neutral and 1 was mixed (positive and negative simultaneously). Overall, the negative attitude of the Labour Party leaders was based on security causes (terrorism, crime,

uncontrolled migration inflow) as well as on the fear to loose national identity. The positive attitudes of the party leaders, on the other hand, were related to economic, cultural and social contribution of immigrants to the British society.

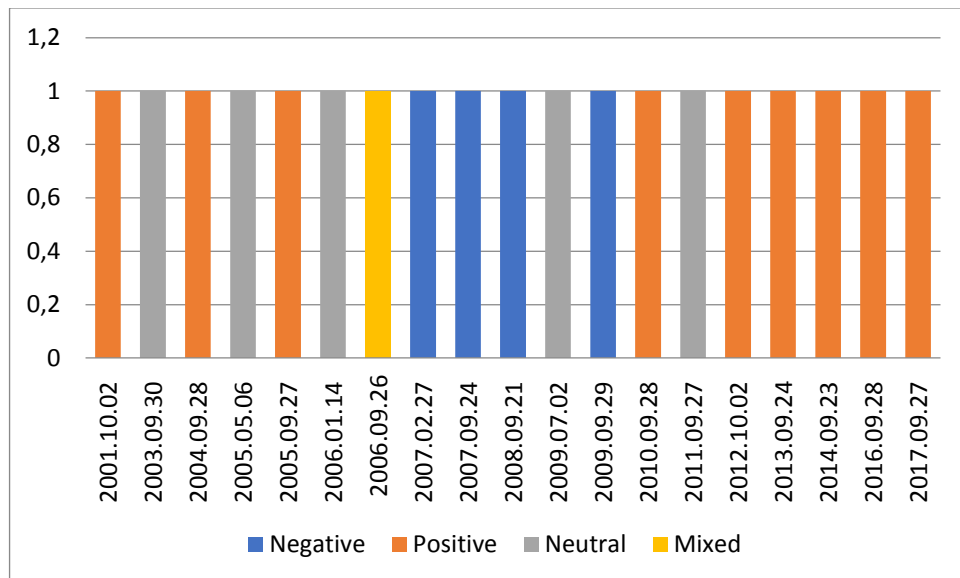


Figure 7: Attitudes toward Immigration (Labour Party)

It was interesting to reveal how the perception and rhetoric towards immigration was changing due to the change in the leadership position of the Labour Party. During the period of Tony Blair’s leadership, the rhetoric reward immigration was somehow moderate, while changing character from positive to neutral. The main concern of the Blair administration was not on the performance of the immigrants themselves, but on the need to reform the immigration system, for which the solution was the implementation of the ID cards based on biometric technology. In one of his final speeches in 2006, Mr. Blair projected a mixed attitude toward immigration, in which the rhetoric was somewhere in between organized crime and benefit, liberty and security.



The rhetoric toward the immigration had rapidly changed from moderately positive to highly negative in the periods between 2006 and 2009. The main reason, it seems, was the resignation of Tony Blair from the position of prime minister and his replacement by Gordon Brown (2007-2010). The stance taken by Mr. Brown toward immigrants was somehow close to the rhetoric of Conservative Party. Calls to strengthen the national identity as well as tightened immigration control were the main points in Mr. Brown's speeches toward immigrants. The concepts of Britishness, community cohesion, implementation of ID cards, stronger security checks as well as point-based immigration system were mainly used in the speeches of this political leader up to the end of his term.

The attitude towards immigration changed completely since 2010. Between the periods of 2010 and 2015 the new leader of the Labour Party, Ed Miliband, demonstrated a highly positive attitude toward immigrants in his speeches. Coming from an immigrant background himself, Mr. Miliband emphasized the economic, social and cultural contribution of immigrants to the British society. With a different vision from the last Labour Party leadership and the Conservative Party, Miliband, in his speeches, called for improving conditions for workers, stopping the exploitation by employers and gang masters and reforming the immigration system for the whole country. The same positive attitude was followed by his successor Jeremy Corbyn, from 2015 to the time of writing. In his speeches, he criticized British society for assaulting immigrants, by following the demonizing rhetoric of the Conservative Party, since the referendum campaign started.

### **6.3.8 Refugees (Labour Party)**

Similar results were identified with the search item \*refuge\* (refuge, refugee, refugees). The research item had been used 15 times in 7 different periods in time in

the speeches of the Labour political leaders. The analysis of the search item \*refug\* revealed the moderate positive attitudes in the speeches of political leaders. In general, political leaders from the Labour Party emphasized the tolerance and compassion of British people, which should always be open to refugees. In the face of the biggest refugee crisis, the leader of the Labour Party Jeremy Corbyn, emphasized the positive attitude of the public towards refugees and thanked British people for their help and compassion.

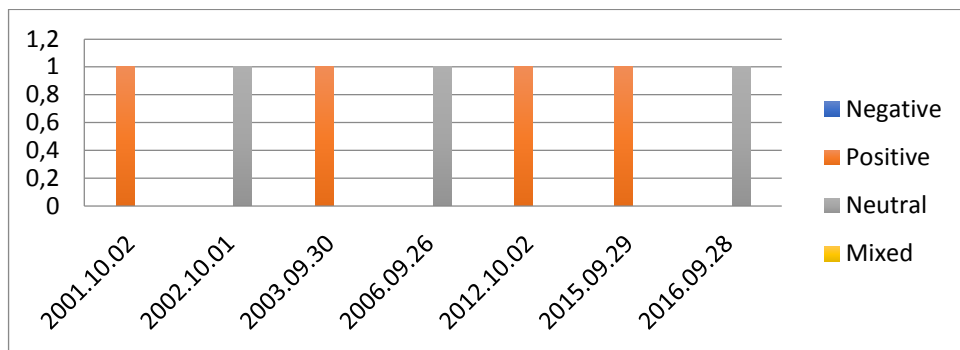


Figure 8: Attitude Toward Refugees (Labour Party)

### 6.3.9 Multiculturalism (Labour Party)

Another interesting observation is related to the analysis of the search item \*multicultural\*. Despite the fact that the search item was identified in the speeches of the Labour political leader 5 times, the features of multiculturalism were discussed more. There is a sharp difference in the attitudes of political leaders toward the multiculturalism in the time periods between 2004 and 2016. Again as in the case of immigration, different rhetoric towards multiculturalism relates to the governance of the different party leaders in specific point in time. Multiculturalism as benefit was particularly underlined in two speeches; in September 2004 by the premier minister at that time Tony Blair, and in 2016 by the leader of the Labour Party and opposition

Jeremy Corbyn. While Mr. Blair praised the multicultural society and considered immigrants as something that Britain should be proud of; Mr. Corbyn expressed his frustration with the multicultural society for its assaults toward immigrants during the referendum campaign.

While both of the leaders were in favor of multiculturalism, another party leader during the time period between 2007-2010, Gordon Brown, had a negative rhetoric toward multiculturalism. The negative view of multiculturalism was especially revealed in two of his speeches given in January 2006 and February 2007. The first speech of Mr. Brown had started from relations between the communities, multiculturalism and the terrorist attack in July 7<sup>th</sup>, 2015. In this speech he has raised the question of Britishness, of the balance between the diversity and integration. In more moderate way, than it was done by the conservative political leaders, Mr. Brown has underlined the problem with immigrant integration (the second generation of immigrants were behind 7/7 terrorist attack), need for more cohesive society, share of the common values for the common purposes. The same rhetoric was continued in the speech of Gordon Brown in February 2007, in which he called for the better integration of ethnic minorities and stronger immigration control. Again the rhetoric toward stronger Britishness, united social cohesion through better integration policies as tests and ceremonies, was proposed by the political leader, for the sake of British way of life.

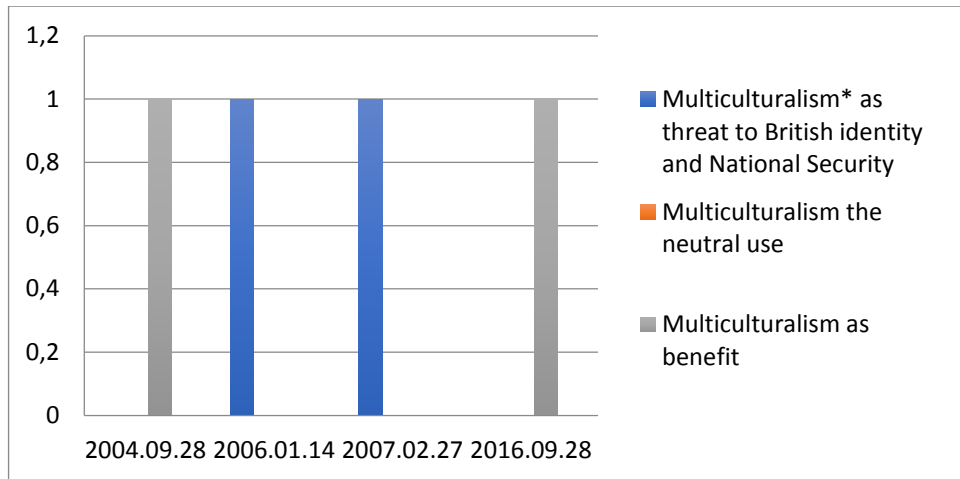


Figure 9: Multiculturalism (Labour Party)

### 6.3.10 Welfare system (Labour Party)

There was no co-occurrence between the words welfare and dependency identified in the speeches of the Labour Party leaders between the periods of 2000 and 2017. For this reason, comparison between the two major British parties is not possible.

### 6.3.11 Security (Labour Party)

The search item ‘\*secur\*’ (‘security’, ‘secure’, ‘insecurity’, ‘securing’, ‘insecure’, and ‘secured’) was identified 137 times in the corpus. 21 out of the total 25 speeches contained one of the terms associated to the item.

For the purpose of this research security was categorized into different types that explained the nature of security concerns among Labour Party political leaders. As it was already identified above, the National security was defined as the protection of the sovereignty of states and their citizens against threats. International security refers to the protection of the international community (a broad term that includes all sovereign states and their citizens) against different types of threats. Economic security on the other hand specifically focuses on the threats to the economy of the country and the economic consequences of the threat for the citizens. Social security

refers to the broad welfare status of the country (job and pension mechanisms). Cultural security was assigned as any mention of threat towards the dominant culture of the state. An additional category titled future security was assigned to this graph since it was mentioned in the speeches several times.

In contrast to the Conservative Party, focus on the national security and social security had the greatest share among the frames with an equal distribution of 9 instances in the studied speeches. Followed by economic security 8 times, future security 3 times, international security 3 times and human security 2 times.

This succession of frames clearly shows that during the time period under discussion the leaders of the Labour Party in the UK have been very concerned with matters of social economic and national security. Specifically, they were focusing on the threats towards the sovereignty of state and its citizens as well as on the welfare system, jobs and pension mechanisms. Although international security and human security were identified in these speeches their infrequent use suggests that Labour Party leaders were less concerned about these types of security than other types.

The above mentioned distribution of frames provides a certain degree of understanding regarding the concerns of Labour Party leaders in the studied time-frame. The following chart shows the distribution of these frames in time.

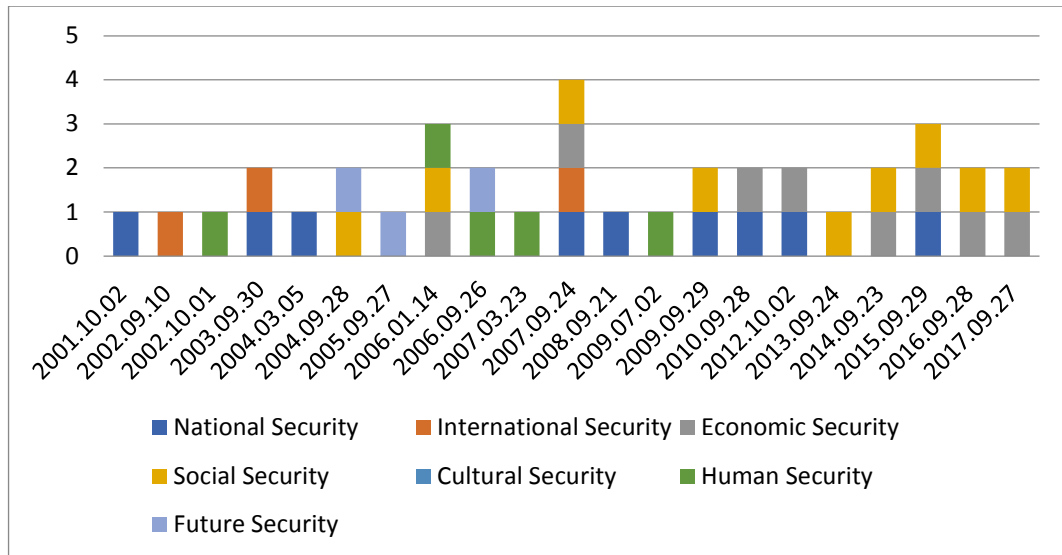


Figure 10: Distribution of Security Categories in Time (Labour Party)

The above chart shows that national, social and economic securities have almost always been the recurring themes in the speeches of UK party leaders. However this chart also represents the chaotic distribution of the security frames from the years of 2001 to 2010. From 2010 until 2017, the security frames were stabilized in their concern toward the economic and social mechanisms worsened by the performance of the Conservative Party.

### 6.3.12 Terrorism (Labour Party)

Terrorism produced 122 concordance hits in 19 of the total 25 speeches given by Labour Party leaders. Terrorism as it was defined above, is an unlawful act of violence against civilians for the political purposes<sup>258</sup>. In this analysis, the term terrorism represents broader meaning and list actors such as Real Irish Republican Army and the Islamic Extremists in both domestic and the global scales.

<sup>258</sup> “Terrorism | Definition of Terrorism in English by Oxford Dictionaries.”

As in case of the Conservative Party, the results revealed that from 2001 until 2005, the speeches of the Labour Party leader was mainly directed towards the war against international terrorism and non-proliferation of the WMD, primarily after the 9/11 terrorist attack.

However, after the first Islamic attack in central London in July 5<sup>th</sup> 2005, the main concern of the Labour Party leaders was directed toward the terrorism within the national borders.

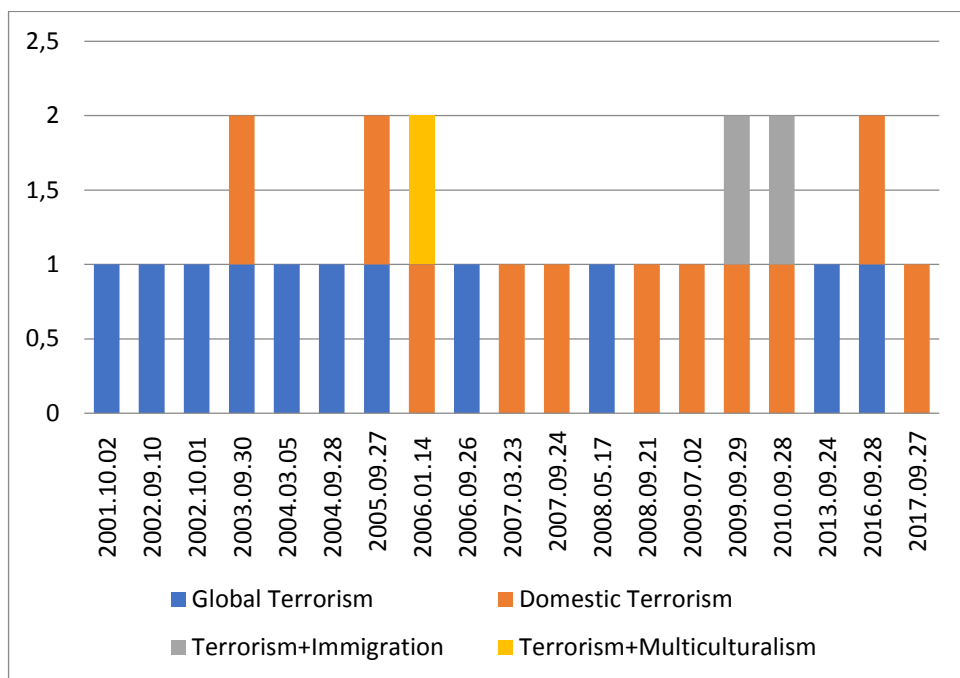


Figure 11: Terrorism (Labour Party)

There is one instance that took place at the beginning of 2006, when the Labour Party leader has linked the term terrorism with negative portrait of multiculturalism in the speech. The connection between the terrorism and immigration were also identified in 2009 and 2010, before the general election in the UK has taken place. The consequent rhetoric of political leaders about the Domestic and International

terrorism were followed the mass waves of terrorist attacks in Europe and the UK (Manchester Arena).

## **6.4 Conclusion**

The AntConc analysis on the speeches given by leaders of the Labour Party and the Conservative Party in the United Kingdom showed that there indeed was a great difference between the stance each of these parties had towards multiculturalism and immigration. While the Conservative Party had a highly negative attitude towards immigration by raising the question of controlling immigration I almost all the speeches the integration policy as multiculturalism based on arguments that multiculturalism and immigration were seen as a threat towards national identity, national security and the welfare system. In contrast to them, immigration, refugees and multiculturalism were seen as beneficial contributors to the society by the labour leaders with the exception of the time period when Gordon Brown was the leader of the Labour Party (between 2007 and 2010). During Gordon Browns term in office the rhetoric used by him as the leader of the Labour Party was similar to that of the Conservative Party.



## **Chapter 7**

### **CONCLUSION**

The thesis started with questions regarding the securitization of multiculturalism and immigrants in the UK. In the following pages the questions asked at the beginning of the thesis are answered based on the results of the analysis made on the speeches of the leaders of the two major parties in the UK, namely the Conservative Party and the Labour Party.

Each question will be discussed separately in the following paragraphs. The first question posed by this research was whether any difference existed in the position of party leaders in the UK in regard to multiculturalism in general and immigrants in particular. The results of this study obviously show that there indeed was a huge difference in the attitude of the party leaders towards these two issues. The Conservative Party was consistent in its negative narrative regarding immigrants and multiculturalism by connecting it with threats to British identity and national security. The Labour Party on the other hand kept a more positive attitude towards the items under observation with the exception of the period between 2007 and 2010 when Gordon Brown was the leader of the Labour Party.

The second question addressed possible securitizing patterns among party leaders in the UK in relation to multiculturalism and immigration. The answer to this question mirrors the answer to the first question in that the Conservative Party's depiction of

multiculturalism and immigration linked them to a threat to national identity and national security hence effectively claiming an existential threat to the identity of the nation as well as threat for the British citizens. The Labour Party on the other hand, in their speeches, emphasized control over the immigration flow without depicting immigration as an existential threat towards national identity and national security. Instead, the claims in relation to multiculturalism and immigration were mainly based on other reasons. In fact, at points, the Labour Party leaders emphasized the contributions of the immigrants to the society.

Answering the third question is more complex than the other two. Retreat from multiculturalism indicates that the government has completely been taken aback and has taken a hostile position toward multicultural policies. However, this pattern is not witnessed in the laws and regulations adopted in the UK in the time frame under review. Instead, minor modifications to immigration laws have been made that don't touch the essence of multiculturalism in the society. These modifications may have made it difficult for immigrants to settle in the UK, but they have not blocked their way to settlement and citizenship. The rhetoric, on the other hand shifted drastically from the mild stance taken by the Labour governments to a somewhat harsh stance taken by the Conservative government. As the consequence, one could argue that the assumed retreat from multiculturalism has indeed only happened in rhetoric and despite the fact that some barriers have been put on the way to immigration, these barriers are more tilted towards assimilation of immigrants in the society than their elimination from social practices in general.

To answer the fourth question one would only need to refer to the Windrush Scandal that represents discriminatory and unlawful practices against the immigrants. A

generation of immigrants arrived in the UK from British Caribbean territories based on the 'Nationality Act' of 1948. In 2018, it was revealed that this generation was highly exposed to institutionalized discriminatory practices by high ranking UK immigration officials, including Theresa May. This revelation caused changes to the immigration system.

The abovementioned answers that are based on the result of the analysis made on the speeches of party leaders show that although multiculturalism is still alive and well, in the context of British politics there has been a rhetorical retreat from multiculturalism that has often been accompanied by direct or indirect securitization of immigrants. This was due to the unfavourable and at times hostile environment created against multiculturalism and immigration in Britain especially at times when the Conservative Party was leading the government.

Study can be made on different sets of data including media discourse, propaganda and in-group/out-group perceptions to identify the process through which perceptions are constructed and public opinion is shaped.

Tools and methods applied to this research could also easily be adapted to a wider study of the political leaders' discourse by including new parties into the analysis as well as new cases. It would be both empirically and theoretically meaningful to carry out a Corpus Analysis on the major parties in Ireland, Canada and the USA. This would provide an opportunity to test when securitization of immigration is sought as an alternative for major political parties.

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