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*European societal security governance between
the risks and opportunities of diversity*

PHD THESIS SUMMARY

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Contents:

Introduction	5
Chapter I: Conceptual bases	
1.1. Definition of the concept	18
1.2. The classical view of security	23
1.3. Post-Cold War security vision	25
1.4. The "Copenhagen School" theory	30
1.5. Societal security	38
Conclusions	47
Chapter II: Identity	
2.1. General issues	49
2.2. National identity	52
2.2.1. National identity in the age of globalization	57
2.2.2. Conservation or change?	59
2.2.3. Multiculturalism and Globalization	62
2.3. European identity a challenge for the Union	68
Conclusions	76
Chapter III: Unity and Diversity	
3.1. Determining the concepts of unity and diversity	78
3.2. Institutionalising the principle of unity in diversity in the European Union	86
3.2.1. The cultural paradox of unity and diversity in European integration	89
3.3. Arguments for Europe	93
Conclusions	95
Chapter IV: Globalization vs. Clash of Civilizations	
4.1. Theoretical concepts and general aspects	99
4.2. Globalization, social values and the clash of civilizations	112

4.3. From the clash of civilizations to the clash of reality	119
4.3.1. Criticism of this view	124
Conclusions	128
Chapter V: Migration – one of the challenges of the European Union	
5.1. Migration - the main threat to societal security	132
5.2. Migration governance: Key to achieving sustainable development goals Migration policies increasingly important	143
5.3. The Common European Asylum System: challenges, threats and proposals	156
5.4. Building European borders. From the utopia of a borderless world to home!	167
Conclusions	178
Case studies: The migrant crisis in the European Union	183
Introductory aspects	183
Critical analysis of „refugee crisis”	205
The refugee crisis from France's perspective	244
Why is a community approach based on solidarity so important? Why should asylum and immigration not be an EU issue?	268
Weaknesses of the Dublin Regulation	275
SWOT Analysis and Conclusions	281
Conclusions	288
List of figures	300
List of abbreviations	301
Bibliography	303
Online Bibliography	315

KEYWORDS

security, identity, unity, diversity, migration, asylum, crisis, globalization, European Union, cooperation

SUMMARY

International relations is an academic field, a branch of political science, that studies the relations between state actors within the international system and their interactions with non-state actors. We consider the topic chosen for the development of this PhD thesis to be interesting given that, in the current context, more and more analysts ascertain that the European Union can be considered, to a certain extent, an international security organisation. On this background, with the development of the fundamental European institutions, it has become increasingly evident that Europe needs a multidimensional and integrated approach to the issue of security in relation to societal aspects.

Starting from the fact that in the second half of the 20th century, the concept of security was seen as referring exclusively to military security relations, with many analysts seriously contesting this definition, we begin this analysis by highlighting the perspective of the "Copenhagen School". The Copenhagen School has become the common name for the whole analysis of the concept of security, which has fundamentally re-conceptualized both the meaning of security and the elements to be secured.

The hypothesis from which we started our research is that under current conditions, the European Union faces several security challenges. They consider several applications of the concept of security to different areas of daily life and focus on economic, societal, environmental, energy or food security, which together with military security create the complete picture of the need for security at the European level.

Based on this hypothesis, we will illustrate the research problem pursued in this doctoral study. In this regard, in order to summarize the research problem as precisely as possible, we highlight the following general question: How have the domestic policies and national interests of the EU Member States affected the EU responses and actions in the face of an extreme crisis in terms of compliance with Dublin Regulation on migration and asylum policy? In addition, we propose the following specific question: Why is an EU approach based on solidarity so important? Why shouldn't asylum and immigration be an issue for EU?

In view of the above, a first argument underlying the choice of the research topic is the

theoretical implications of the concept of societal security, including its specific elements, in the light of the events and challenges faced by the EU during the refugee crisis. From an academic point of view, we consider it relevant to study the E.U. in depth because of its importance as an international community. It is a global role model, given its success in regional integration. However, in recent years, it has faced multiple challenges that have required joint responses from political leaders. These include the refugee crisis, xenophobic feeling among European citizens, the UK's decision to leave the European Union and terrorism. On these coordinates, the approach that we propose in this paper is based on relating and interconnecting processes, mechanisms and tools specific to theories, security studies and international relations, in order to reveal the practical applicability in terms of societal security, in the context of the dynamic situations that Europe is currently facing.

The concept of societal security is an eminently European one, founded and developed by the Copenhagen School on the background of the dynamics of European integration. From a certain perspective, without claiming to establish an order of precedence, European construction and societal security are two complementary academic dimensions, and when we speak of socio-political reality, they are two components of the same process, components that are mutually conditional: societal security is one of the objectives pursued by strengthening European construction, but equally valid is the statement that societal security is an indicator of the level of European integration and the status of the stage of development of the European Union. Under these circumstances, the research project relates to several levels of analysis and investigation. On the one hand, the proposed approach is based on a study of international and national literature, together with a systematic analysis of the components of societal security.

An essential element of the dynamics outlined above is diversity. Anticipating a little, but without actually analyzing the concept of diversity or its content, it is necessary to highlight some of the multiple implications of this concept from an academic and action perspective. In this respect, diversity is the concept that underpins multiculturalism. In applied analysis, diversity and diversity management are the process on whose success or failure any social project depends, regardless of its geographical scale.

In the spirit of this approach, the first stage of the scientific research, dedicated to the presentation of the state of knowledge, consists in going through the bibliography, collecting data on the field in question and analyzing them in relation to the research topic. Reference materials were reviewed to establish the level of knowledge in the field researched both nationally and internationally.

At the same time, we believe that, regardless of the approach of the research, whether from a theoretical, historical or sociological perspective, the subject investigated in this paper is a particularly topical one, with obvious functional implications, which should arouse a high interest in academia and beyond.

On these coordinates, the PhD thesis "European societal security governance between the risks and opportunities of diversity", identifies from the title its research area, in the sense that the attention will be focused on the development of the concept of societal security in the new European environment. In addition, the in-depth case study of the EU Member States, besides helping to shape the answer to the specific question of this research, allowed us to get a broad picture of the situation at EU level and to fully understand the refugee crisis from 2011 to 2016.

In view of the above reasoning, the societal component of European security is diversifying with the achievement that it is, in practice, a complex strategic dimension involving both the identification of causes, the determination of all incident elements, security risk management and crisis management processes and the actual management of consequences.

The complexity of the doctoral approach is highlighted by the attempt to identify and substantiate possible solutions to manage risks and European societal crises taking into account the security dimension from the perspective of promoting multiculturalism and integration of ethno-cultural groups in communities.

In terms of the degree of investigation of the topic, following the analysis of the specialized theory, we consider that, both at national and international level, the analyses and researches that consider these elements are not abundant but, at the same time, the specialized concerns on the field as well as on the perspectives of this topic constitute a varied source of perspectives, data and information.

Under these conditions, considering the level of study and deepening of the issue, we can say that, especially due to the approach, the multi-disciplinarity of the chosen theme, its implications, but also the specificity of the analysis, the Romanian literature is not very rich in complex and integrated works on the field of societal security.

With regard to bibliographical sources, as we have shown above, scientific analyses and investigations on the concept of security and societal security, the analytical dimensions of these concepts, their associated mechanisms, their internal dynamics and implications are abundant and varied for each of them individually or on their specific interactions from a sectoral perspective. However, integrated analyses that encompass these concepts and deal

with them in an interconnected way, as this paper aims to do, are few. In view of this, the establishment of the working hypotheses, their development, investigation and drawing of conclusions took into account the analyses and disciplinary approaches and the monographs of internationally established specialists on the general theory of the concepts analyzed but also their sectoral dynamics, elements that led to the opportunity to exploit the research theme in a comprehensive, multidisciplinary approach. At the same time, the use of analyses and articles presented at prestigious seminars and conferences in the fields of economics, sociology and management helped to complete the documentary fund consulted.

Last but not least, in order to make this scientific approach as up-to-date as possible and to take advantage of all the opportunities for documentation, we have resorted to accessing information sources in cyberspace as an efficient way to make the most of the most varied and up-to-date information.

The substantive analysis carried out in this doctoral endeavour has always had in mind to ensure the scientific novelty of the paper. From this perspective, the doctoral thesis we propose has a rigorous structure, with a logical approach and investigates the most important elements of the societal security field from the perspective of the need to adapt to European dynamics in interaction with its environment, and as structural response mechanisms to the conditions imposed by the new situations, evaluating ways of implementing the solutions identified and analyzed.

One of the main objectives of this paper is that, at present, the major challenge for the international political class, regardless of the limits of their competences, is to address security, especially societal security, when the globalization of migration is taking place at an unprecedented pace. Another objective of this paper is the response of European states on how to comply with and implement the provisions of European regulations on migration and asylum, with particular reference to international protection through asylum taking into account human rights.

As already mentioned, we have called this paper "European societal security governance between the risks and opportunities of diversity" in an attempt to capture the essence of the theme addressed in this paper. The title, we believe, refers to the content of this paper, in which we have presented a distinct analysis of the societal security sector, aiming at a not necessarily historical, but rather analytical incursion, highlighting the role and place of societal security in the overall security components, this being one of the most important dimensions of security. We have therefore looked at the elements of societal security, namely identity, unity, diversity, globalization, migration and asylum policy.

The final part of the paper is an analysis of the crisis that the European Union has faced since 2015, characterized as the biggest migration crisis in Europe in decades, the first time in the history of the European Union that such a large number of refugees have entered Europe from outside the continent.

The methodological strategy used in this research is case study. According to Neil Salkind, "it is a method used to study an individual or institution in a unique environment or situation and in as intense and detailed a way as possible"¹. In order to achieve the objectives of the doctoral research, the research methodology also took into account the systemic approach to analysis and the use of various methods of scientific investigation, the most common being those of research specific to the social sciences, namely qualitative, analytical and descriptive analysis, which aims to analyze and interpret studies, social surveys, investigations, etc., as well as the method of strategic SWOT analysis through which we highlighted the strengths, weaknesses, threats and opportunities following the actions of the EU during the refugee crisis.

Finally, we analyzed the information available in specific scientific portals and journals. We used the official websites of the EU, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees as sources for our research. The European Parliament platform and the Eurobarometer and Eurostat websites were some of the main secondary sources used to search for relevant statistics and graphs. Similarly, with the data extracted and analyzed from these sources, we were able to make our own graphs to illustrate the problem under study.

On the other hand, the political speeches, electoral programmes and actions of the main European political parties and visions of the European political class were studied to understand the different domestic positions on refugee securitisation.

In terms of the theoretical framework, this paper is framed within securitization theory, as this makes it possible to explain the growing interpretation of migration and asylum issues as security issues.

As a scientific result, the PhD thesis is structured in five chapters, each of which analyses, in a rigorous, logical sequence, its theoretical components and practical applications, but, overall, it comprises two distinct parts: a theoretical one and a case analysis. In the first five chapters we have identified the conceptual foundations of the terms security, identity, unity, diversity, migration, asylum, crisis, globalization, European Union, cooperation,

¹ Salkind, Neil, *Research Methods. First edition*, Ed. Pearson, 2012, p. 211.

highlighting the role and place of societal security in the overall security components, as well as the component of the migration phenomenon.

The first chapter, entitled "Conceptual foundations", is structured in five sub-chapters and includes a general analysis of the concept of security, by identifying and presenting some theoretical milestones. At the same time, we cannot fail to take into account the assessments of specialist analysts that major changes are taking place in the societal sector at an accelerated pace, which is one of the reasons why it is necessary to have a much better understanding of the mechanisms for organizing society in front of threats that are proving to be increasingly varied and difficult to anticipate. This still leaves a great societal security dilemma, in that the effects of threats against society are proving very difficult to stop, with medium and long-term repercussions. As a result, the approach to knowledge and understanding of the societal sector has not proved to be an easy one, all the more so considering the inherent multidisciplinary, but also the need to develop viable analytical tools. Although the concept of societal security should be approached in a unified academic manner, it has proven almost impossible to imagine a single, applicable theory that corresponds to all the needs of societies in the European Union.

The second chapter, "Identity", is structured in three sub-chapters and includes a general analysis of the concept of identity, trying to highlight its role and importance in the societal security component. In this part of the analysis, we aim to focus our attention on the main issue, that of European identity starting from the role of national identity. We will not seek to analyze European identity from the perspective of international relations, nor do we intend to debate the future of the EU and its future borders. The main objective is to highlight the opportunity for the Union to strengthen its cultural identity through this integrated European cultural heritage objective. The concept of identity is a vague one unless we accompany it with an adjective, cultural identity, ethnic identity, national identity. And the discussion of European identity has followed in the footsteps of national identity: a flag, an anthem and, above all, an external threat. Returning to the hypothesis with which we began this chapter concerning the elements of European identity and their existence and recognition, we consider important the view that European identity implies a continuous process of construction, not in spite of the cultural differences between states, but through them, not to juxtapose but to think about a common future of the Member States and their common sense of belonging.

The third chapter, 'Unity and Diversity', comprises three sub-chapters. The evolution of the paradox between unity and diversity has shown us throughout history that the process of European integration may not be a linear one, but rather a complicated one, characterized by

development and retreat. "Unity in Diversity", this framework could be summarized in a nutshell as the identity of our continent, but unfortunately this is not yet 100% reality, but more of a dream that is meant to become reality. Unity and diversity are the two sides of the European coin, each of which requires a separate in-depth study to understand the complexity of European identity. In a Europe where differences are very often palpable, diversity is the cornerstone of the construction of European identity. Consequently, European identity is the sum of all identities, and a sense of belonging is created through awareness of common interests and values.

Chapter four of the paper, "Globalisation vs. The Clash of Civilizations", is structured in four sub-chapters. In this chapter we have dealt with globalization, highlighting both theoretical aspects and aspects concerning the phenomenon of globalization, identity and the clash of civilizations in the opinion of Huntington, without, however, wishing this part of the analysis to be a eulogy for either of the two concepts. Throughout time, human history has been built like a jigsaw puzzle, defined by a sequence of placing and fitting together a multitude of pieces, facts through which we know our past, explain our present and shape our future. This consequentiality also mirrors the continuous emergence of challenges and problems, which become the main differences between progress and stagnation, evolution and involution, from humanity to the human condition. After all, globalization can be found in every environment we can imagine, having a direct influence on them, from the cultural, societal, to the labor market, communications, etc.

The last chapter of the paper, chapter five, "Migration - one of the challenges of the European Union", is structured in four sub-chapters and is the one that makes the transition from the technical, theoretical approach to the practical dimension of the research, towards the concrete elements that have an impact on the analysis of the doctoral approach. The concern for the analysis of migration and its dynamics continues to be of particular interest precisely because of the effects it has on individuals and the associations between them at all levels and in all disciplinary fields. Migration comprises a number of components that relate to the values adopted by the individual, which create his identity and allow him to relate to other individuals at different levels. The Copenhagen School sees migration as one of the most common threats to societal security. An integrated research on migration cannot ignore aspects of its societal impact. At the same time, migration has been, often in populist approaches, the vector of speculation and induction of social tensions by exploiting the threat of community, societal and economic insecurity, disguising the inability of the authority to manage in a timely manner the real societal challenges of managing diversity and balancing

the phenomenon of population ageing.

The approach proposed here is a case study in the sense of identifying and presenting both theoretical notions and situations that are difficult to imagine in these periods. Although it has the characteristics of a theoretical analysis, the investigation carried out in this section justifies the analytical choice of the PhD research and demonstrates the broad importance of the field of societal security and international relations.

The case study, "Refugee crisis at EU level", complements the theoretical notions of the first chapters and presents the situation of the refugee crisis, the biggest migration crisis in Europe in recent decades. It is a certainty that 2015 will be remembered as the year when Europe experienced a crisis of global dimensions at first hand. The case study also detailed the reaction of the European Union and the measures taken to combat the effects of this crisis. While others are proving very difficult to predict, we believe they will occur in unexpected ways, with the European Union having the difficult task of predicting and acting decisively to take decisions vital to save the future of the European project. One of the objectives of the Case Study is the response of European states to how they comply with and apply the provisions of the European migration and asylum regulations, in particular in the period 2011-2016, and the responses of the Union to the refugee crisis. As a consequence, the analysis focuses on the case of the EU Member States to observe their position on the subject under study, analyzing the difficulties that have existed in complying with European asylum regulations and how they have dealt with immigration during the specified periods. The hypothesis states that there is a general tendency in the European Union to associate refugees with security issues and this directly affects the application and enforcement of the Dublin Regulation. The research carried out involved, among other things, an analysis of the context and regulations on asylum in the European Union, a search for statistical data, a study of the interests of Member States and their impact. On the basis of securitization theory, the study was able to confirm that Member States (such as France) securitize migration and that national interests influence compliance with the Dublin III Regulation.

The conclusions of this research paper complete the overall picture of the current security environment, which now more than ever requires a global and unified approach to the security issues of individual nations and Europe as a whole, thus obliging the dynamics of European institutions to ensure the synthesis of viable priorities and perspectives towards international stability and security. The in-depth case study of the EU Member States, besides helping to answer the specific question of this paper, allowed us to get a complete picture of the situation in the EU and to fully understand the refugee crisis. From this Case Study, we

have also been able to extract very useful data to understand the general problems of the whole E.U. on how to work together to solve pressing situations with different implications for Member States.

In this context, we believe that the present analysis will be a valuable contribution to a better understanding of the approaches and mechanisms of security studies, mainly of the societal security elements.

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