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**The Effects of Securitising Migration:
The Case of Slovakia and the Czech Republic**

Master's thesis

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Declaration

1. I hereby declare that I have compiled this thesis using the listed literature and resources only.
2. I hereby declare that my thesis has not been used to gain any other academic title.
3. I fully agree to my work being used for study and scientific purposes.

In Prague on May 11, 2018

Bc. Jana Bandurová

References

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Abstract

The Master's thesis called "*The Effects of Securitising Migration: The case of Slovakia and the Czech Republic*" aims to analyse the extent to which migration is constructed as a security threat in crucial conceptual and strategic documents regarding migration, drafted by the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic. Given that the Ministry of Interior is a key player in the field of migration in both countries setting the direction of migration policy on conceptual, legislative and implementation level, it enters a discursive field of migration by offering its own understanding of migration, which has a great impact on the policymaking in the area of migration, migration practice and consequently on the life of migrants. Despite the fact that both Slovakia and the Czech Republic have one of the lowest shares of foreigners within population in the whole European Union as well as neither of the two countries have been the final destinations of migrants during the so called refugee crisis, we can identify the dominant role of security discourse in both countries. To get a better insight into a wider social context, the thesis also builds on the number of "texts and talks" dealing with the issue of migration beside the official policy documents and strategies, such as legal acts, statements the representatives of the Ministry of Interior and other relevant actors in the field of migration as well as qualitative interviews with selected actors of migration practice in Slovakia and the Czech Republic. Using Critical discourse analysis, the thesis aims to analyse the language use by civil bureaucrats from the Ministry of Interior, which helps us understand the meanings and rules that constitute social practice in the field of migration in both countries as well as the role of wider social context in the construction of migration as a security threat.

Keywords

migration, securitisation, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Critical Discourse Analysis

Title

The Effects of Securitising Migration: The case of Slovakia and the Czech Republic

Abstrakt

Diplomová práce s názvem "*Účinky sekuritizace migrace: případ Slovenské a České republiky*" má za cíl analyzovat do jaké míry je migrace konstruována jako bezpečnostní hrozba v klíčových koncepčních a strategických dokumentech týkajících se migrace, vypracovaných Ministerstvem vnitra Slovenské a České republiky. Vzhledem k tomu, že Ministerstvo vnitra je klíčovým hráčem na poli migrace v obou zemích, nastavuje směr migrační politiky na koncepční, legislativní a implementační úrovni. Do diskurzivního pole migrace vstupuje tím, že nabízí vlastní chápání migrace a má tak zásadní vliv na tvorbu politik v oblasti migrace, migrační praxi a následně i na život migrantů. Navzdory skutečnosti, že se Slovensko i Česká republika řadí mezi státy s nejnižším počtem cizinců v celé Evropské unii a zároveň ani jedna ze zemí nebyla konečnou destinací migrantů v důsledku tzv. uprchlické krize, můžeme v obou zemích identifikovat dominantní roli bezpečnostního diskurzu. Pro získání hodnotného přehledu o širším společenském kontextu, vychází práce kromě oficiálních politických dokumentů a strategií i z dalších materiálů zabývajících se problematikou migrace. A to z prohlášení zástupců Ministerstva vnitra a dalších relevantních aktérů v oblasti migrace i z kvalitativních rozhovorů s vybranými aktéry migrační praxe na Slovensku a v České republice. Použitím kritické diskurzivní analýzy se práce snaží odhalit význam a pravidla, která konstituují sociální praxi v obou zemích v oblasti migrace, stejně tak i roli širšího sociálního kontextu při konstrukci migrace jako bezpečnostní hrozby.

Klíčová slova

migrace, sekuritizace, Slovensko, Česká republika, kritická diskurzivní analýza

Název práce

Účinky sekuritizace migrace: případ Slovenské a České republiky

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Introduction

In the recent years, migration has become a major issue for European politicians and citizens due to a growing concern for migration as a matter of security. The unprecedented flow of people trying to cross the borders of Europe at the beginning of 2015 coming mainly from war-torn Middle East and North Africa region has increasingly become associated with social unrest, criminality or even terrorism. For decades, the topic of migration has not been a part of any crucial political debate in Slovakia or the Czech Republic mainly due to a low number of foreigners in both countries as well as the non-existence of strong immigrant communities in comparison to other, mainly western European countries. Despite the fact that both Slovakia and the Czech Republic have not been the final destinations of migrants, we can identify the dominant role of security discourse in both countries. The topic of migration has become one of the most discussed topics in Slovakia and the Czech Republic during the years 2015 and 2016 and presented through security lens mostly by political elites and media. Political elites play an important role in presenting social, economic and security ramifications of migration and have the potential to influence and shape the general understanding of this phenomenon due to their preferred access to the most influential platforms of discourse in society, the biggest being media. Media, on the other hand, have the possibility to produce statements of a particular political figure or process the information in a particular way, which influences not only how people see the world around them but also how they see themselves in that world (Van Dijk 1995, p. 29). Media can shape peoples' views of what they present as controversial, what they consider (ab)normal, disturbing, pleasing or (un)acceptable. Even though the interplay between political elites and media has definitely shaped the general understanding of migration among general public during the critical years, the security discourse regarding the issue of migration has become embedded in an institutional and legal framework of the two countries long before it was enacted by politicians and media. The thesis therefore focuses on the analysis of the crucial strategic and conceptual documents dealing with the issue of migration drafted by the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic as well as the Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic. The Ministry of Interior, as a key player in the field of migration in both countries setting the direction of migration policy on conceptual, legislative and implementation level, has a great impact on the policymaking in the area of migration, migration practice and consequently on the life of migrants. The fact that the agenda of migration falls in a large

part within one of the “powerful resorts” of the state with its focus on the migration management and control, provides the basis for the understanding of migration in a security logic (Bigo 2002, p. 74). The analysis of a language use by civil bureaucrats from the Ministry of Interior will therefore help us understand the meanings and rules that constitute social practice in the field of migration in both countries as well as its wider social effects.

In order to fulfil the aim of the research, the following research questions will be addressed in the thesis:

RQ: To what extent is migration constructed as a security threat in the documents produced by the Ministry of Interior of Slovakia and the Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic?

SQ: How is security discourse on migration positioned in the documents produced by the Ministries of Interior in the two countries? Does it occupy the dominant or a submissive position?

SQ 1: What orders of discourse (discourse types) are articulated in the two institutions in both countries?

SQ 2: Does bureaucratic discourse sustain or challenge the existing power relations in the two countries?

The thesis in its first part presents theoretical underpinnings of the thesis as well as provides the introduction to theoretical concepts that will guide the empirical analysis. At first, the concept of threat and threat construction based on the constructivist theory is briefly presented. Secondly, the thesis uses the concept of securitization that has been brought into the agenda of security studies by the Copenhagen School of Security Studies (Weaver 1995; Buzan - Weaver - de Wilde 1998) followed by its critique. Since the concept of securitization presupposes that certain issues are constructed into a security threat through the use of “text and talk”, Critical discourse analysis (hence CDA) based on the three-dimensional model by Norman Fairclough is employed. CDA allows for deep examination of how social actors constitute situations, produce knowledge and social identities as well as relations between people and various social groups (Fairclough & Wodak 1997, p. 258).

In order to answer the research questions, the thesis builds on the number of “texts and talks” dealing with the issue of migration beside the official policy documents and strategies, such as legal acts, statements of the representatives of the Ministry of Interior and other relevant actors in the field of migration. To get a better insight of a wider social context, the thesis also uses qualitative interviews with selected actors of migration practice in Slovakia and the Czech Republic. The actors include representatives from the relevant departments of the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic that deal with the issue of migration on a daily basis (so called “insiders”) as well as representatives of international and non-governmental organizations (“outsiders”) (Bueger 2013, p. 18).

There were two main problems when writing the thesis following an original master thesis project— access to interviews as well as a language barrier in the case of Denmark. The limited access to interviews in all three countries required a change in the methods and shifted my focus from the analysis of a social field developed by Pierre Bourdieu to Norman Fairclough’s three-dimensional framework of Critical Discourse Analysis, though inspired by the Bourdieusian conception. When it comes to a language barrier in the case of Denmark, the limited knowledge of a language greatly influenced the ability to fully understand the wider social context, which might have distorted the research results. Therefore, the thesis has narrowed the case studies to two cases – the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic, for practical reasons, such as language understanding, better insight when it comes to a social, political and historical context and easier access to data as well as respondents for conducting interviews. Even though the extent of the narrowing of the topic is not minor, there has not been identified any research that would analyse the security discourse on migration in this institutional setting of the two countries and so the thesis still aims to contribute to the body of literature concerning the securitisation of migration with a new study on this topic.

1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.1. The concept of threat in IR and Security studies

The concept of threat lies in the heart of IR theory and specifically in its sub-field of security studies. Traditionally, the concept of threat is associated with (neo)realist school of thought, which was paradigmatic within scholars during the Cold War's military and nuclear obsession. The threat was, for the most part, associated with large scale violence or war endangering territorial integrity and state survival within anarchical context (see e.g.: Morgenthau 1967; Waltz 1979). The threat was understood as an objective condition and so the response to such threat was interpreted as responding to an objectively understood threat (Stevens and Vaughan-Williams, 2016, pp. 17-18). However, the narrowing of the field of Security studies based on the Cold War context has generated the debate questioning the primacy of the traditionalist military and state-centered view in the conceptualization of security. The traditionalist approach failed to meet the challenges brought about by the post-Cold War era, such as the growing number of intra-state conflicts, growing immigration that started to raise fear among Western societies, the acceleration of HIV/AIDS epidemic and other environmental issues (Buzan & Hansen 2009, p. 187). In the 1990's, Buzan and his colleagues from the Copenhagen School of security studies offered a new framework for the analysis of threat construction that is based on wider agenda but also incorporates the traditionalist position and proposes a more radical view of Security studies by exploring military as well as non-military threats to referent objects and the construction of those threats. Buzan et al. argue that perceived threats arise in many different areas, not just in military, but also in non-military areas and thus contribute to the widening of the field of Security studies to include also economic, societal and environmental sectors, which started to appear on the agenda of international politics from the 1970's (Buzan *et al.* 1998, pp. 3-5).

1.2. Constructivism and the construction of threat

Until the end of the Cold War, the approaches to the study of international security were mainly rooted in objectivist political science (McSweeney 1999, pp. 32-33). By contrast, constructivism puts an emphasis on *intersubjectivity* in the formation of social reality and therefore holds that security threats are socially constructed. According to Adler (2002, p. 95), constructivism points out to the social construction of knowledge rather than

understanding of the reality as an objective knowledge of the world. The object of knowledge is therefore dependent on the language and how we interpret it. That means that certain issues that are not defined in security logic at first, but can be elevated to a security level through the process of threat construction. This social constructivist turn has brought into IR the perspective that security threats are not automatically given but rather produced through the interaction between different state and non-state actors. Constructivism therefore criticizes knowledge that is taken for granted. According to Copenhagen School, security threats are not out there to be discovered but they are socially constructed through the process called securitization (Buzan *et al.* 1998, p. 23).

1.3. The concept of securitization

As stated previously, the concept of securitization has first been brought into the agenda of Security studies by so-called Copenhagen School¹ of security studies (Weaver: 1995, Buzan - Weaver - de Wilde: 1998) and has earned a visible place within contemporary security studies. The flagship book of Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde: *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* based on social constructivist perception of international politics was published in 1998 during the ongoing “wide” and “narrow” debate about Security studies. The study builds on remarks made by Wæver in his publication called *Securitization and Desecuritization* (1995).

The securitization theory is based on the premise that security does not have a fixed meaning and that security issues are socially constructed through a “*speech act*” and recognized as a security threat in a process called securitization. Buzan *et al.* introduce securitization and place it on a spectrum, in which a certain issue can be located ranging from non-politicized (not dealt with by the state/outside public debate and decision) through politicized (issue is part of public policy and decision) to securitized (issue is presented as an existential threat and requires adopting emergency measures that are outside “normal politics”, outside established political procedure). Buzan and his colleagues therefore regard securitization as a “more extreme version of politicization” and place it in contrast to “normal politics” (1998, p. 23). A particular issue can be labelled as a security issue when “staged as existential threat

¹ The so-called Copenhagen School comprises a group of scholars from the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute (COPRI).

to a referent object by a securitizing actor who thereby generates endorsement of emergency measures beyond rules that would otherwise bind” (Buzan *et al.* 1998, p. 5). In other words, a socially relevant securitizing actor (the actor in charge of constructing the threat) proclaims some issue as an existential threat (so-called securitizing move) for a referent object (an object that is being threatened) and if this move is accepted by a relevant audience, the actor may apply extraordinary measures (measures that are outside “normal politics”) in order to tackle the threat (Buzan *et al.* 1998, p. 36). The Copenhagen School perceives security as a self-referential practice, in which a certain issue becomes a security issue not because the issue necessarily poses a real threat, but because it is rather discursively constructed into one through a “speech act” (Buzan *et al.* 1998, p. 24). The instrument of securitization can be used by those in power in order to gain control over the issue in question and as Wæver put it, “something is a security problem when the elites declare it to be so” (1995, p. 6). Labelling some issue as a threat to a security intersubjectively turns it into one (Weaver 1995, p. 55). Buzan *et al.* identify two conditions for a speech act to be successful: „(1) the internal, linguistic–grammatical to follow the rule of the act . . .; and (2) the external, contextual and social — to hold a position from which the act can be made...’ (1998, p. 32). In securitization, the sense of urgency is distinctive – “the issue in question needs to be handled before it is too late” (Buzan *et al.* 1998, p. 26).

The Copenhagen School’s concept of securitization is therefore primarily centered on discourse of the most powerful actors, which has sparked a debate in Security studies. The criticism of discursively oriented Copenhagen School is mostly centered on the absence of the role of social context in securitization process as well as the non-existence of analytical tools that would allow for a closer analysis of who is relevant to produce a speech act, what are the power relations between securitizing actor and the audience or what are the conditions under which a securitization can be considered successful. Although the scholars from the Copenhagen School offer some hints in a form of facilitating conditions of securitization (Buzan *et al.* 1998, pp. 31-33), they are left with little theoretical or analytical elaboration (Daniel, Rychnovská 2015, pp. 28-29).

1.4. Beyond the speech act

Many scholars of so called second generation of securitization, challenged the concept

developed by the Copenhagen School by offering new ideas to the development of the original securitization framework and their “logic of exception” (for example McSweeney 1996, 1999; Balzacq 2005; Bigo 2006; Huysmans 2006; Stritzel 2007, 2012; Salter 2008; McDonald 2008). Inspired by political sociology and particularly by French philosopher Pierre Bourdieu, Balzacq emphasizes the role of the context and audience in securitization process. He contested the Copenhagen School’s emphasis on the role of the discourse in securitization process by arguing that the process of securitization is better understood as strategic (pragmatic) practice. He expressed his scepticism about the power of the discourse to operate independently of the context, relative power of the actors (both speakers and listeners) and psycho-cultural dispositions of the audience. According to Balzacq, security is contextual in a sense that various threats are prioritized in different settings, legitimated over time and different actors are empowered or marginalized to define what is and what is not a security threat. He refers to the securitization not as a speech act that construct the reality but rather as a discursive technique that shapes the understanding of it (Balzacq 2005, pp. 172-173). Salter supports Balzacq’s view and suggests four different settings of securitizing move, in which the success of securitization vary - popular, elite, technocratic and scientific. Drawing on the example of the debate about climate change during 1980’s and 1990’s, he explains that the act of securitization may be successful within scientific or technocratic community but not so much in popular or elite community (Salter 2008, p. 325).

As pointed out by McDonald (2008, pp. 563-566), the securitization framework developed by the Copenhagen School is defined very narrowly. It takes into considerations only powerful actors, mainly politicians that are entitled to speak up on behalf of state while leaving out the bureaucratic practices, through which security issues are constructed and that are also part of the process of securitization. At the same time, focusing on the “moment of intervention”, defined by Buzan and his colleagues as the moment, at which a certain issue becomes a security issue, leaves out the contextual factors, most importantly the dominant narratives of identity, which are constitutive with regard to a broader construction of security. Following Didier Bigo (2002), McDonald argues that securitisation is continuous process and so various issues can become viewed as a security issues over time without a dramatic moment of intervention (Ibid., pp. 22-23). Bigo of so called “Paris School” suggests that there are other ways of how to construct a certain issue as a security threat beside the discourse of the powerful actors as proposed by the Copenhagen School. With reference to migration, he claims that “the securitization of immigration [...] emerges from

the correlation between some successful speech acts of political leaders, the mobilization they create for and against some groups of people, and the specific field of security professionals [...] It comes also from a range of administrative practices such as population profiling, risk assessment, statistical calculation, category creation, proactive preparation, and what may be termed a specific habitus of the "security professional" with its ethos of secrecy and concern for the management of fear or unease" (Bigo 2002, pp. 65-66). He also points out that Copenhagen's School's understanding of securitisation does not take into account everyday routines of bureaucracies and argues that political struggles and institutional competitions within the security field of professionals are necessary to understand in order to see how discourses work in practice. He emphasizes that securitisation works through the effects of power and everyday technologies, which are not exceptional but rather continuous. According to Bigo, focusing only on the political discourse in the securitization process "*is to underestimate the role of bureaucratic professionalization of the management of unease* (Ibid., pp. 73-74). Institutions therefore do not respond to a threat but rather create it by their own determination of what they consider a security threat and classify particular issues based on their categories. Even though bureaucratic categorizations of migrants can be challenged by other non-governmental organizations or activists that see the issue differently, they are not part of the decision-making process and therefore they do not have the right to exercise their authority. Since bureaucracies believe that they are in a position of professionals who know what they are talking about and have certain modes of action, which are technical in their nature for responding to an alleged threat, others – "non-professionals", who does not have enough information cannot understand them and so their understanding of an issue is not relevant. Bigo suggests that the fact that migration issues are incorporated into the agenda of security professionals, such as police and military, should be considered crucial in the construction of migration as a security threat (Ibid., pp. 74-75).

The Copenhagen School's emphasis on powerful actors of securitization overlooks the actors, who are also part of a discursive field of migration and who have a huge impact on the construction of security issues and subsequently on policymaking in the area of migration, in this case civil bureaucrats having the topic of migration in their competence. Focusing solely on the speech act leads to the negligence of the bureaucratic ideas about security conveyed in their own right (Hansen 2000, p. 301). Therefore, the thesis tries to go beyond the existing securitization framework developed by the Copenhagen School by bringing new actors of securitization into analysis – civil bureaucrats from the Ministry of

Interior of Slovakia and the Czech Republic. Building on Paris School's understanding of securitisation, the thesis examines the practice of writing about security in the context of the Ministry of Interior as well as takes into consideration the role of wider social context in construction of migration as a security threat.

1.5. Overcoming the normative dilemma of writing about security

According to Huysmans (2002, pp. 42-43), whenever an analyst engages in security studies, there is always a risk of reproducing or reinforcing the negative securitisation processes, thus contributing to a further securitisation of a certain issue. The analyst therefore becomes involved in the production of a certain knowledge about security issues, thus replicating the dominant narratives of security that are the result of an unchallenged structural and symbolic power relations (Charret 2009, p. 11). As Bigo (2002, p. 73) pointed out, the Copenhagen School's understanding of security does not challenge the traditional, militarized view of securitisation processes but rather reproduces them by accepting the "truth" regarding what security is. According to Copenhagen School, when certain issues are labelled as a security threat, they are to be dealt with in exceptional manner. The logic of the Copenhagen School therefore does not recognize other modes of dealing with a threat to security but confirms the realist view of how security issues should be managed, thus reinforces the dominant view of security processes with regard to emergency and exception (Ibid., p. 73). The normative dilemma therefore concerns the question of how to engage in and analyse the securitisation processes without reproducing and legitimizing the dominant and potentially exclusionary modes of approaching security that may result in a further securitisation of migration. Critical application of the concept of securitisation therefore aims to overcome the normative dilemma located within securitisation theory by uncovering the power position of actors in charge of defining and constructing security threats as well as by bringing alternative approaches to securitisation and counter-securitisation claims of marginalized voices into analysis. This way, the focus will be also placed on the human aspects of migration, which provide the basis for the understanding of security in terms of human security, shifting away from the state as a subject of security (Fairclough, Squire, pp. 5-6, Charret 2009, pp. 24-26).

1.6. Migration-security nexus

Migration has not always been a matter of security. After the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union, the term “*security*” has started to be employed in a variety of different contexts thus challenging the traditional military-political and state-centred view in a conceptualization of security. Changes in post-Cold War era – the geopolitical dislocation as well as wider social and political shifts brought by globalization have triggered a huge increase in populations’ movement across the globe (Huysmans and Squire 2009, p. 1). The phenomenon of migration has started to be seen as a threat to European (hence Western) society, thus reinforcing stereotypes regarding the impact of migration flows, such as dangers that migrants may pose to cultural identity, public order or domestic and labour market stability (Huysmans 2000, p. 752). The association of immigration with security have intensified in post 9/11 environment when Muslim migrants started to be perceived as a threat, resulting in a spread of Islamophobic attitudes throughout the United States, but also Europe. A rise in a number of terrorist attacks on European soil in recent years, perpetrated by attackers that were born and/or raised in Europe sparked a debate over the influx of immigrants who have been perceived as a threat to European states; a stance that currently prevails over the normative arguments to support them. The topic of migration has become the core of the discourse of far-right, eurosceptic, anti-immigrant political parties that have been gaining support of European voters in the recent years. Migrants have been labelled as potential terrorists, job takers and criminals threatening European society, culture, identity and security, thus strengthening the West-Islam dichotomy among Europeans (Pinyol-Jiménez 2012, pp. 36-38). However, the security discourse related to migration has been subjected to criticism on the part of social scientists, who point out that the construction of migration as a threat is not a reaction to an actual threat that migrants may pose, but rather it is a part of strategies and technologies of governance (Bigo 2002, Huysmans 2006, In Kostlán 2014, p. 406). Following Foucault’s concept of governmentality, Bigo works with the term “governmentality of unease” and suggests that “the securitization of migration is, thus, a transversal political technology, used as a mode of governmentality by diverse institutions to play with the unease, or to encourage it if it does not yet exist, so as to affirm their role as providers of protection and security and to mask some of their failures” (Bigo 2002 p. 65). Bigo (Ibid., p. 65) explains that in the European policies and documents, the notion of freedom is reduced to free movement and so it became an important part of the “technology of power”. Perceiving free movement as a threat in the first place, not as an

opportunity thus makes freedom “a tool for maximizing of security”. The securitisation of immigration has therefore become a “mode of governmentality”, where bureaucracies define what is and what is not a security threat (Ibid, p. 65).

2. RESEARCH DESIGN

In order to analyse to what extent is migration constructed as a security threat in bureaucratic discourse of the Ministries of Interior, Critical discourse analysis is employed. Since the concept of securitization presupposes that certain issues are constructed into a security threat through the use of “text and talk”, CDA is suitable for this analysis. The chapter introduces basic principles of critical discourse analysis and defines the notions of critique, ideology and power, which are constitutive for CDA.

2.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

In the early 1990’s, a group of scholars - Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Theo van Leeuwen and Ruth Wodak with the support of the University of Amsterdam met to discuss the basic tenets of critical discourse analysis. The beginning of CDA network is marked by the launch of Van Dijk’s journal called *Discourse and Society* (1990) and studies devoted to the same research goals published in the subsequent years (Wodak and Meyer 2008, p. 3). Emerging from critical theory, critical discourse analysis is a problem-oriented approach (rather than a sub-discipline of discourse analysis) to the study of “text and talk”, which allows for in-depth analysis of the relationship between the use of language and society (Van Dijk 1995, p. 17). CDA views the use of language, either written or spoken, as some form of social practice and by contrast to other discourse-oriented approaches, brings socio-political context to the analysis. Fairclough and Wodak see discourse as

“socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people”. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. Since discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power.

Discursive practices may have major ideological effects – that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people” (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p. 258).

In other words, CDA assumes that situations, institutions and social contexts influence discourses the same way as discourses affect social as well as political reality. By using language, social actors create knowledge, situations, identities and relations between the various identities or social groups (De Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak 2016, p. 157).

2.1.1. The notions of critique, ideology and power

Regarding the concept of “*critique*” related to the programme of CDA, critical linguists are usually inspired by Frankfurt School’s understanding of Critical theory. Following Horkheimer’s famous essay from 1937, social theory should focus on the criticism of society and on finding a way how to change it while traditional theories focus on understanding and explaining it. Wodak and Reisigl explain the critical stance as “gaining distance from the data, embedding data in social context, clarifying the political positioning of discourse participants, and having focus on continuous self-reflection while undertaking research” (Wodak and Reisigl 2008, p. 87). Critical linguists need to be self-reflective and take into consideration that they are influenced by social, economic and political motives in their work. When it comes to critical adequacy, Fairclough sees CDA as normative and explanatory in a way that it tries to criticize the society on normative grounds and explain the reality with regard to a posited structures, mechanisms and forces that effect it (Fairclough, 2012, p. 1). Such critique then reveals power structures as well as underlying ideologies (Wodak and Meyer 2008, p. 7).

2.1.2. Ideology and power

The relationship between language, power and ideology has first been addressed in Norman Fairclough’s publication called *Language and Power* (1989/2001). Fairclough believes that ideology and power are necessary dimensions of the discourse in society. CDA understands ideologies as everyday beliefs or worldviews that are rather hidden in a form of conceptual

metaphors or analogies, and are (re)produced in everyday or institutional discourse. Van Dijk (1993b in Wodak and Meyer 2008, p. 8) pointed out that ideologies constitute “social cognition”, or “schematically organized complexes of representations and attitudes” that people have about the different aspects of a social world (e.g. attitudes of white people towards the blacks). Ideologies that are dominant in a society are considered neutral and so those in power strive to challenge them in order to become closer to the needs of a society. CDA therefore tries to uncover and reveal what is hidden and not obvious on the outside (Wodak and Meyer, 2008, p. 8). According to Fairclough, ideologies represent “aspects of the world which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation. They may be enacted in ways of interaction (and therefore in genres) and inculcated in ways of being identities” (2003, p. 218). According to critical discourse analysts, ideologies serve the interests of those in power, who make sure that certain events or practices are seen as legitimate or commonsensical (Mayr 2008, p. 11).

CDA focuses on the notion of social power (enacting power in discourse), dominance and inequality. Social power, described as having an access to resources that are considered socially valuable, such as status, position, force, knowledge, can influence the minds of others. (Van Dijk 1993, p. 254). By dominance, Van Dijk (1993, pp. 249-250) sees “the exercise of social power by elites, institutions or groups that result in social inequality, including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender inequality”. Dominance can therefore be understood as some sort of a control of one, more powerful group over the other. If the dominated group becomes persuaded that such control is in their interest and adopts the discourse of the powerful out of their free will, dominance becomes legitimized, what Gramsci (1971) terms hegemony (domination by consent) (Ibid., p. 255). Dominance is granted by the preferential access to text and talk based on, for example, position, income, education, status, which forms the basis of social power. The group in power therefore has a great control over the understanding of the world by the dominated group and shapes their daily experiences by imposing the discourse of the powerful, fostering particular identities to fit their objectives (Mayr 2008, p. 1). The main aim of CDA is therefore the discursive reproduction of dominance of the group in power and resistance of the dominated group, or in other words, a power abuse of those who wield power over the others (Van Dijk 1993, p. 259).

Power is inevitably interconnected with knowledge. Following the work of Michael Foucault (1972), Fairclough (1992, p. 12) points out that discourse is formed by the correlation of

power and ideologies with its effects on the construction of social identities, social relations as well as production of a system of knowledge and beliefs, what is not so obvious to the participants of discourse.

In order to properly analyse the relationship between the use of language and society, CDA stresses the importance of *interdisciplinarity*. For CDA, the notion of context is very important. As Fairclough (2001, p. 26) put it:

“CDA analyses texts and interactions, but it does not start from texts and interactions. It starts rather from social issues and problems, problems which face people in their social lives, issues which are taken up within sociology, political science and/or cultural studies.”

CDA is not interested in language itself but also in complex social phenomena including social-psychological, political, ideological components and so interdisciplinary approach is required (Wodak and Meyer 2008, p. 2 and 21).

2.2. Discourse as social practice: Three-dimensional model by Norman Fairclough

In order to uncover the underlining ideologies and power relations in two different settings, the thesis uses Fairclough’s three-dimensional model, which is considered to be the most advanced method within all CDA approaches. The model draws upon Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), a theory of language primarily associated with Michael Halliday (1978). SFL sees language as a process, through which meanings are constituted and therefore it is very useful for the application within CDA. SFL, as a socially oriented theory, explores the ways how language can be used in different social settings in order to achieve a desired objective (Mayr, 2008, p. 17).

SFL emphasizes multi-functionality and introduces three types of meanings of language, also called “*metafunctions*”, which are interconnected: *ideational* function is a function of language that is used to express our understanding and perceptions of the world we live in; *interpersonal* function, meaning that the language is used to express and to take on social roles and constitute the relationship between people (for example an expert vs lay person) and express attitudes; and *textual* function, by which language is used to make texts cohesive

an coherent and to foreground or background certain piece of information and present is as either new topic or a given thing (Halliday 1978 in Fairclough 2003, p. 26).

Since Halliday’s systemic functional linguistics is the main point of departure for Fairclough’s three-dimensional model, it will be used in our analysis as a complementary instrument. Fairclough’s model is based on three-dimensional concept of discourse, in which discourse is regarded as a) language text (written or spoken), b) discourse practice (production and interpretation of the text) and c) social practice² (either situational, institutional or societal). Fairclough at the same time developed three-dimensional method of discourse analysis, which corresponds with the three dimensions of discourse mentioned above:

- *Description* – formal properties of a text (text analysis)
 - *Interpretation* – the relationship between text and interaction (processing analysis)
 - *Explanation* – relationship between interaction and social context (social analysis)
- (Fairclough 1995, pp. 96-98).

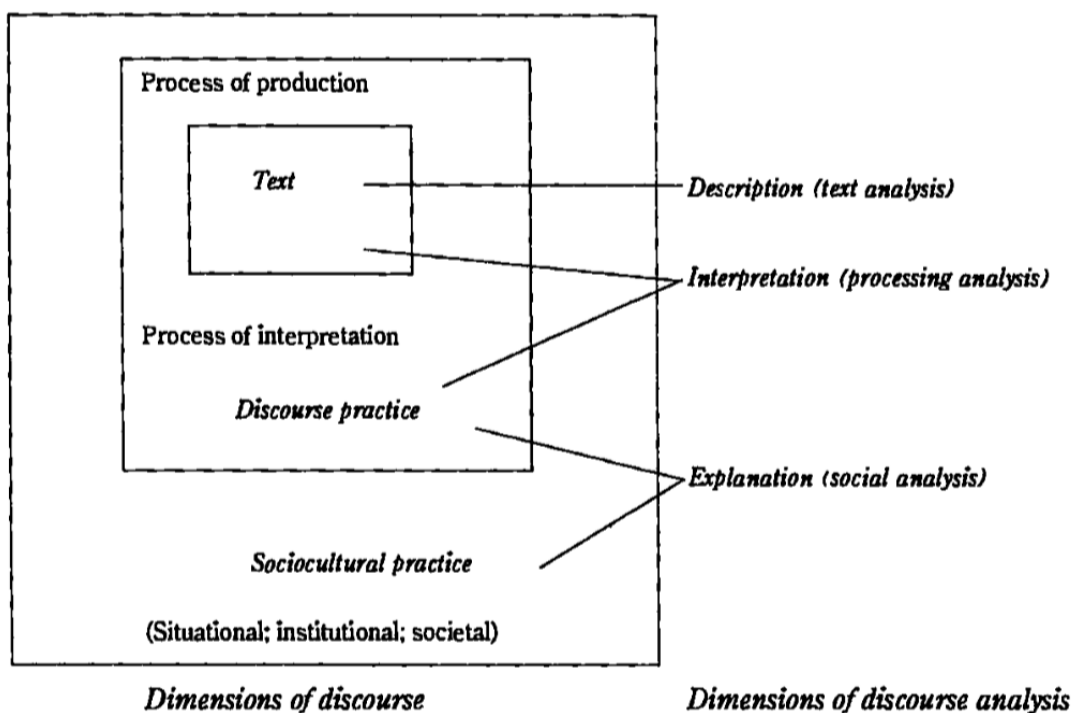


Figure 1: Fairclough’s three-dimensional model of CDA (1995, p. 98)

² In his 1995 publication called *Media discourse*, the term „social practice“ is replaced by the term „socio-cultural practice“ (Fairclough, 1995)

According to Fairclough, the three-dimensional model presented above is in a dialectical relationship with social structures. Texts, being written, spoken or in a form of visual image (or their combination) are produced and consumed as a part of specific discursive practice that is driven by the specific rules - “orders of discourse”, depending on social context or social practice. In other words, the orders of discourse act as a some kind of intermediary between text and society (Fairclough 1989, p. 28; Fairclough and Wodak 1997, p. 277). Fairclough's discourse is thus both constitutive and constituted. Constitutive because it constitutes a certain representation of the world, and constituted, because it is itself partly determined by this world (Fairclough 1989, p. 172).

2.2.1. Description (text analysis)

Fairclough's three-dimensional model of analysis suggests that the critical analysis of discourse should start with an analysis of a text, or in other words, with a description of linguistic phenomena. Generally, linguistic analysis of the text focuses on lexical-grammatical as well as semantic features, such as vocabulary, grammar or textual structure. Vocabulary focuses primarily on individual words, grammar on words together forming clauses and sentences, which then forms larger units of texts. Because of its multifunctionality and ability to uncover power and ideology concerns in a context of language use, Fairclough regards Halliday's “*systemic grammar*” as well suited for the analysis of a text, which he defines in a Halliday's broad sense as written as well as spoken language (Halliday 1985 in Fairclough, 1992, p. 27, pp. 71-75).

2.2.2. Interpretation (processing analysis)

According to Fairclough, discursive practice is linguistically manifested in a form of texts and so he finds it necessary to supplement linguistic analysis with intertextual analysis. Fairclough calls it interpretation or the analysis of discursive practice. When analysing discursive practice, the attention is primarily focused on intertextuality and interdiscursivity (Fairclough 1992, pp. 78-82). Intertextuality and interdiscursivity are analysed in order to see how the texts draws on earlier texts and discourses. In other words, the goal of interpretation phase is to identify and interpret various discursive types (orders of discourse) that are linked to a certain types of situations as well as the way how they affect

representations, subjects and their mutual relations (Fairclough 1989, p. 26). Order of discourse is defined by Chouliaraki & Fairclough as "*a socially structured articulation of discursive practices*" (1999, p. 114). Fairclough's interpretation phase builds on the concept of the "field" developed by Pierre Bourdieu, which takes as its object the formal and informal practices within a social field that are essential for understanding power relations. An order of discourse is then the discursive characteristics of a particular social field (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999, p. 13).

2.2.3. Explanation (social analysis)

The third dimension of Fairclough's model is *explanation* of the relations between the discourse processes and social context as well as the effects of discursive practice on social practice. According to Fairclough, the main objective of this stage is "to portray discourse as part of a social process, as a social practice, showing how is it determined by social structures, and what reproductive effects discourses can cumulatively have on those structures, sustaining them or changing them" (Fairclough 1995, p. 163). At the *explanation* level, we try to uncover a) social determinants shaping the discourse at the situational, institutional and societal level, b) ideologies, or the construction of meanings that maintains the relations of power, and the c) effects – whether the discourse sustains or changes power relations. Therefore, *explanation* phase explores the connection between discourse, ideology and power (Fairclough 1989, p. 176).

Critical study of text and talk can therefore help us unveil hidden determinants and not so obvious implications of the language use by examining its microstructures and how it shapes the macrostructures of society (Mayr 2008, p. 9).

2.3. Data

As a part of Critical discourse analysis, the following documents were chosen for the analysis:

Slovakia

- Concept of Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic (2005)
- Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic Perspective until 2020 (2011)

The Czech Republic

- Strategy of Migration Policy of the Czech Republic (2015)
- National Security Audit's Chapter on Security Aspects of migration (2016)

The rationale behind the selection of these specific documents for the analysis is that they represent the most crucial and coherent documents of the Ministries of Interior on migration, based on which we can closely examine the specific language use of civil bureaucrats regarding the topic of migration that constitutes migration practice in Slovakia and the Czech Republic. The fact that the adoption of the documents in Slovakia took place before the refugee crisis in comparison to the Czech Republic, where the documents on migration were adopted only after the crisis, reflects the specific situation and the role of a wider social context in both countries, which will be taken into consideration.

The thesis also builds on other relevant documents related to the issue of migration as well as parliamentary debates and comments by the representatives of the Ministry of Interiors and other state and non-state actors engaged in the field of migration.

For the purpose of a better insight into a wider social context, the thesis also uses qualitative, semi-structured interviews with selected actors of migration practice in Slovakia and the Czech Republic. All eight interviews were face-to-face interviews, of which four were recorded. The interviews have been conducted during the period of May 2017 - January 2018 in order to better understand the context and power relations within the discursive field of migration. The actors include representatives from the relevant departments of the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak republic and Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic that deal with the issue of migration on daily basis (so called "insiders") as well as representatives of non-state organizations ("outsiders") (Bueger 2013, p. 18).

Eight interviews have been conducted at the following institutions:

- The Bureau of Border and Alien Police of the Presidium of the Police Force of the Slovak republic under the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic, Bratislava (2), in text referred to as "Interview BBAPa" and "Interview BBAPb"

- National Unit for Combating Illegal Migration, Operations and Investigations Division, Bratislava-West (1), in text referred to as “Interview NUCIM”
- International Organization for Migration, Bratislava, Slovakia (1), in text referred to as “Interview IOM”)
- Globsec Policy Institute, Bratislava, Slovakia (1), in text referred to as “Interview Globsec”
- Directorate of the Alien Police Service –FRONTEX National Contact Point, Prague, Czech Republic (1), in text referred to as “Interview DAPS”
- Biometric Section of the Department for Asylum and Migration Policy under the Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic (1), in text referred to as “Interview DAMP”
- Department for Home Affairs EU Funds, Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic (1), in text referred to as “Interview DHA”

2.3.1. Ethical consideration

Interviews with representatives from the institutions and organizations mentioned above have been conducted under the condition that they remain anonymous. Therefore, in the thesis, I am not providing the name of the author of a given statement, only an institution, department or a position from which they act, which will be specified to the extent that is necessary in order to understand the context of their testimony.

2.3.2. Shortcomings

There are some shortcomings to the study that might have influenced the findings of the research and therefore they need to be mentioned. The interviews conducted at the institutions listed above are supposed to serve as yet another discursive monument that help us uncover meanings and rules that constitute social practice in the field of migration. During the interviews, the respondents provide their understanding and experiences regarding migration and thus “their conception of reality”, which then helps a researcher to reconstruct the processes taking place within a specific field. However, the number of interviews conducted limits the study in terms of generalizability. Also, the absence of close observation of the processes taking place within these institutions limits the ability to

reconstruct those processes and thus provide a full picture with regard to migration discourse and practice. Therefore, the interviews are meant to serve as “pieces of puzzle”, through which a researcher, with the help of other relevant data, tries to develop certain discursive patterns that take place in the specific context.

3. MIGRATION IN SLOVAKIA AND THE CZECH REPUBLIC

3.1. Migration in the Czechoslovakia during the 19th and 20th century

Until the early 1990's, the history of the Slovak and Czech Republic's migration can be best characterized in terms of emigration. During the 19th and 20th century, there was a massive emigration of Czechs and Slovaks from then Austro-Hungarian Empire primarily to the United States, southeast Europe, Russia and Germany due to economic, political as well as religious reasons. After the imposed restriction of immigration by the United States during the two world wars, migration flows shifted to other countries, such as Canada, France or Latin America. In 1918, a smaller number of migrants returned as a reaction to an establishment of new and independent Czechoslovak state. However, the second world war has again resulted in the massive emigratory flows, the biggest being the expulsion of German minority (almost three million people) from Czechoslovakia's territory. The territory was later resettled by more than two million people – mostly returnees from past emigrations, post-war repatriates and Roma people, which resulted in the homogenization of Czechoslovak population. The emigration of Czechs and Slovaks continued during the communist era as well. Only in the period from 1948 to 1989³, about half a million people left Czechoslovak territory for the United States, Canada or Australia (Baláž and Karasová 2016, p. 43; Szczepanikova 2013, p. 1).

On the other hand, beginning the 1960's up until 1989, more than 100 000 workers and students came to Czechoslovakia as a part of guest-worker programs that were put in place by the agreements between the government of Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries.

³ The Communist Party takeover of power (1948-1953) and the suppression of the Prague Spring by the Warsaw Pact (1968-1972) were the periods of large-scale emigration, for more see Drbohlav et al. 2009.

The majority of them were men, mainly from Hungary, Poland, Vietnam, Laos, Cuba or North Korea. Even though emigrated workers were entitled to the same rights and duties as home population, the reality was somehow different considering the fact that they performed, in a big part, hard-working jobs that were not that attractive to Czechs and Slovaks. After the regime change in 1989, the majority of foreign workers and students left Czechoslovakia for their home country. When it comes to refugees, until 1991, Czechoslovakia was not a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention but the legal system recognized the concept of political asylum. In reality, refugees were accepted on ad hoc basis, depending on the decision of the leadership of the Communist Party (Szczepanikova 2013, pp. 1-2).

The Velvet Revolution of 1989 has pushed for many changes in Czechoslovakia. The fall of Iron Curtain, political and economic transformation and the opening of borders have allowed Central Europe to engage in natural migration processes. The geographical location made Czechoslovakia an east-west transit country for migration and despite negative expectations of the Western countries, the relaxing of border controls did not set off large-scale migration to the West. Due to a rather liberal immigration policy of 1992 and no visa requirements until 2000's, the number of people applying for refugee status coming mainly from the former Eastern bloc, has increased (Bargerová 2016, p. 26, Szczepanikova 2013, p. 2). According to Galanská (2016, pp. 64-66) there are three phases characterizing the development of migration policies in V4 countries after 1989:

- i. Transformation phase (from 1989 until the first half of 1990s)
- ii. Harmonization phase (second half of 1990s until 2004)
- iii. Stabilization phase (2004 until today)

3.1.1. Transformation phase - 1989-1995

Until early 1990's, emigration dominated over immigration in Czechoslovakia. The opening of borders has resulted in an increase of immigration to Czechoslovakia (first-comers were mainly from Romania, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union) and so there was a need to set the rules regarding the status of refugees. In this regard, Act No. 498/1990 Coll. on Refugees was adopted in 1990, using the definition of a "refugee" as defined by the Geneva Convention, to which Czechoslovakia was not a signatory at that time. The Refugee Act provided a foundation for new Czechoslovak asylum policy, which was necessary in order

to be able to ratify Geneva Convention and its Protocol (Szcepanikova, 2011, pp. 791-792). In 1991, Czechoslovak government signed the 1951 Refugee Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (Geneva Convention) together with the New York Protocol Relating to the Legal Status of Refugees of 1967 (Galanská 2016, p. 65).

After 1989, there was a desire of CEE countries to take on the standards of Western democracies in providing asylum and dissociate themselves from the communist era. Szcepanikova (2011, pp. 791-792) describes the “emotional” state among the elites (many of whom actively participated in communist dissent) as “certain euphoria” when it comes to the reception of refugees. The adoption of the Refugee Act was considered a good step towards being a part of the club of free and civilized nations. However, due to a communist heritage and no experiences in policymaking, the approach to the formation of migration policy in Czechoslovakia was in the years after the regime change rather passive, lacking any conceptual or institutional design. Regarding the legal framework, Czechoslovakia built on the Act No. 68/1965 Coll., on the Residence of Foreigners on the Territory of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, which was replaced by Act No. 123/1992 Coll., on the Residence of Foreigners on the Territory of the Czechoslovak Federative Republic in 1992. The latter Act established a standardized and modern structure for granting resident permits, introducing short and long-term residence permits (6 months and 1 year respectively) as well as permanent residence permits. At this stage, the migration policy was relatively liberal, allowing almost everyone to come to the country with relatively no bureaucratic obstacles. However, only those migrants who had family ties in Czechoslovakia or those in the need of humanitarian protection could get the permanent residence permit. Otherwise, the Act allowed for issuing long-term permits to foreigners who wanted to settle in Czechoslovakia (Drbohlav et al. 2009, p. 46). Such welcoming attitude is different from the approach towards refugees as we see today, being mainly characterized in terms of an underlying mistrust towards immigrants (Szcepanikova 2011, p. 792). Baršová and Barša (2005 in Drbohlav et al. 2009, p. 46) described this period as “*liberal tolerance*” in comparison to a later, rather restrictive, legal framework and policies of the Czech and Slovak Republic (Galanská 2016, p. 64).

After the dissolution of Czechoslovakia in 1993, both countries have started to develop their own migration legislation. Neither Slovakia, nor Czech Republic had any coherent migration strategy in place at that time and so the application of migration policies, which was just a

system of legal norms and measures, was driven by an ad hoc decisions or in a form of immigration laws (Bargerová 2016 p. 26).

3.1.2. Harmonization phase: 1995-2004

The effort of the Czech and Slovak Republic to join the European Union greatly influenced institutional and legislative framework as well as the direction of migration policy in both countries in the years to follow. After Slovakia and Czech Republic submitted the application to join the European Union in 1995 and 1996 respectively, the countries had to undergo the process of harmonization of the system of laws with *acquis communautaire*⁴ in order to acquire the membership in the EU. The implementation of *acquis* - one of the three accession criteria - also called “Copenhagen criteria,” touched upon the field of migration as well (Galanská 2016, 65). Slovak and Czech Republic underwent a “passing the buck” process of incorporating EU law and regulations regarding migration and integrating into EU structures of migration control. At the same time, the supra-nationalization of migration, asylum and visa policy took place at the EU level, requiring EU member states to coordinate their positions in migration matters, which was introduced in the Amsterdam Treaty in 1997 (Szcepanikova 2011, p. 794). During the harmonization phase, the implementation of the EU law into national legislation was considered a priority and so the formation of a comprehensive migration strategy was pushed into the background for the time being (Baršová and Barša 2005, p. 223). As members of the European Union, both Slovakia and the Czech Republic have not been crucial actors in the process of creating the migration policy at the EU level, given that the basic tenets of migration policy have been formulated before their accession into the EU on one hand and the increased interest of bigger, Western European countries in the formation of this policy, on the other. Migration policy is, however, still considered very sensitive topic and so large part of the migration agenda is still in a competence of individual member states (Androvičová 2015, p. 95).

⁴ The *acquis communautaire* is the body of common rights and obligations binding for all the EU member states. Before joining the EU, candidate countries have to accept the *acquis* and make EU law part of their own national legislation. For more information regarding Copenhagen criteria see European Commission website at https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/policy/conditions-membership_en

3.1.3. Stabilization phase: 2004 onwards

The last phase, stabilization phase, begun after the accession of both countries into the European union in 2004. In Slovakia, first *Concept of Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic* was introduced in 2005, which was later succeeded by the *Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic Perspective until 2020* adopted in 2011, which has not yet been replaced. The Czech Republic adopted its first document regarding migration called *Czech Government's Migration Policy Principles in 2003*, where six principles defining the direction of Czech migration policy were formulated. However, the document is very short and vague, lacking any concrete measures (Galanská 2016, p. 65).

3.2. Migration and the development of migration policy in Slovakia

Slovakia has never been one of the final destinations for migrants. Until recently, it was mainly country of origin with Slovaks migrating abroad for different reasons. The number of foreigners coming to the country has been on the rise since the accession to European Union - from 22 108 in 2004 to 97 934 foreigners with residence permit in June 2017, representing 1,8 % of Slovakia's total population. However, most of the foreigners come from European Union and European Economic Area. Specifically, the largest number of foreigners come from Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Poland, Germany, Austria, Italy, Great Britain and Bulgaria. When it comes to third-country nationals, migrants from Ukraine, Serbia, Vietnam, Russia and China predominate. Among the European Union member states, Slovakia has 6th lowest proportion of foreigners (IOM 2017a). According to Slovak Border and Aliens Police (BBAP, 2004 – 2017), the number of illegal border crosses have steadily decreased from 10 946 in 2004 to 2 706⁵ in 2017 mainly due to the accession into the Schengen Area in 2007 and strengthened protection of the border with Ukraine, which became the external land border of the European Union. The number of asylum seekers has been on the rise since 1993 and reached its peak in 2004 when more than 11 000 people sought asylum in Slovakia. The trend has taken the opposite direction from 2005 onwards mainly because of the introduction of Dublin and EUODAC Regulations⁶

⁵ There was a slight increase in 2015. In 2016, illegal migration again decreased (BBAP 2016)

⁶ Dublin Regulation establishes Member state that is responsible for the handling of an asylum application, which is a state through which an asylum seeker entered the EU at first. In case of applying for asylum in another Member state, the Regulation provides for the transfer of an asylum seeker to the state he or she entered first. EUODAC Regulation established EU-wide fingerprint database for the identification of

(Minv.sk 2018a). The fact that the country has lacked an active immigration policy that would attract migrants but rather strict asylum policy for a long time has added up to the low number of asylum seekers in the country (for complete statistics see Appendix).

The adoption of the Slovak Constitution in 1993, which grants foreigners basic rights, freedoms as well as security, was a first step towards the development of migration and asylum legislation in Slovakia. In 1993, Government Resolution No. 846/1993 adopted a document called *Principles of migration policy in Slovak Republic*, determining the form and methods of coping with migration issues. Ten principles of migration policy were introduced including Slovakia's sovereign right to decide about who can enter Slovak territory, among others. The document also expressed its determination to respect the principles of international law and international treaties regarding migration. However, the principles are very vague and the document points out to the security-migration nexus that requires complex solutions and the need for international cooperation based on mutual trust (Bolečeková 2014, pp. 69-79). The current conception of the Slovak immigration policy is based on these principles, which were updated and broadened in the documents that followed. Divinský (2007, p. 54) points out that existing legislation (Act No. 73/1995 Coll. on Residence of Foreigners, Act. No. 283/1995 on Refugees) was very vague and formal before entering the EU, not reflecting the dynamic development in the field of international migration. Many experts as well as EU representatives criticized Slovakia's approach towards migration, saying it was not matching other EU member states. Although a little bit later than expected, the problem was partly solved after the Slovak accession into the European union, when a new *Concept of Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic* was adopted by the Government Resolution no. 11 in 2005. The new Concept of Migration Policy broadened the previous document with respect to Slovak entry into the EU and introduced policies as well as six principles⁷ guiding the migration policy of Slovakia (Divinský 2005, pp. 173-174). In 2011, the *Concept of Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic* was succeeded by the *Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic Perspective until 2020* adopted in 2011. This strategic document has not yet been replaced and determines the direction of Slovakia's migration policy until today. Both documents will be further analysed as a part of Critical discourse analyses in the next chapter.

asylum applicants, which serves the Dublin Regulation. The Dublin Regulation and EURODAC Regulation make up the Dublin System. More at the European Commission website at www.ec.europa.eu.

⁷ The principles of sovereignty, legality, regulation of legal migration, active cooperation with the European union, non-discrimination and the principle of flexibility

There are two major acts with regard to the field of migration: Act No. 480/2002 Coll. on Asylum and Amendment of Some Acts (thereinafter “Asylum Act”) and Act No. 404/2011 on Residence of Aliens and Amendment of Some Acts (thereinafter “Aliens Act”). The Asylum Act has undergone various changes throughout the years mainly due to an approximation of Slovakia’s legislation with the EU acquis. The Asylum Act deals with issues regarding asylum and grants protection from persecution to foreigners for reasons stated in the Geneva Convention as well as in the Constitution of the Slovak Republic. The Act on Aliens is the most important act defining the regulations of residence of third country nationals on Slovak territory and distinguishes three types of legal residence – temporary, permanent and tolerated residence⁸ (Lauko at al. 2014, pp. 111-113).

3.2.1. Institutional framework

Due to a cross-sectional nature of the topic of migration, competences in this area fall within various institutions. Most importantly, the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak republic is considered a key player in the area of migration in Slovakia as it deals with international migration and asylum not just on conceptual and legal basis, but also on implementation level. Within the Ministry of Interior, the Bureau of Border and Alien Police of the Presidium of the Police Force of the Slovak Republic (hence BBAP) is primarily responsible for the issue of irregular immigration and plays an important role in the management of borders and regulation of migration flow to the country (Divinsky 2009, p. 60). The agenda of BAPP also includes granting residence permits to foreign nationals. However, there was a discussion regarding the moving of this competence under a new civil body – *Immigration and Naturalization Office* (hence “IMO”). This idea was therefore incorporated into strategic document *Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic Perspectives until 2020* that was adopted by the Slovak government in 2011. According to the document, IMO should be

⁸ Temporary residence entitles a third-country national (non-EU citizen) to reside, work, study or travel to and back to Slovakia for the time he or she was granted a temporary residence; Permanent residence entitles a foreigner to reside, travel to and back to Slovakia for the time he or she was granted a permanent permit (at first 5 years, additional authorisation for permanent residence can be requested); Tolerated residence is given to a foreigner for a maximum of 180 days when there is an obstacle to administrative expulsion, the foreigner’s departure from the country is not possible and detention is inefficient; the foreigner is a minor child found in the territory of Slovakia; the foreigner is a victim of human trafficking and is at least 18 years old; if it is required due to respect for his/her personal and family life and he/she does not threaten the state safety or public order; the foreigner was illegally employed under particularly exploitative working conditions or to an illegally employed minor person (IOM 2017).

established because there is “no unified interdepartmental body allowing fulfilment of the tasks related to the full-scale implementation of the migration policy of the Slovak Republic from one centre, while pursuing the fulfilment of international treaties and commitments in the area of international protection of aliens” (Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic 2011, p. 17). However, the IMO has not been established to this day due to the absence of a wider consensus among affected institutions as well as political parties. Moreover, after the parliamentary elections in 2012 and the change on the ministerial post at the Ministry of Interior, the establishment of the IMO was not considered a priority anymore (Interview BBAPb 2017). As a part of the organizational structure of BBAP, *National Unit for Combating Illegal Migration* is responsible for detection and investigation of cross-border crime with regard to illegal migration (Interview NUCIM 2017).

The Migration Office of the Ministry of Interior (the “Migration Office”) established in 1993 is an important civil administrative body in the field of migration. Migration Office dealing primarily with proceedings on the granting of asylum and international protection. What is more, Migration Office plays a crucial role in drafting and implementation of migration policy as well as conceptual and strategic documents regarding migration in Slovakia (Minv.sk 2017b).

When it comes to coordinating and monitoring of the application of migration policy in practice, an inter-ministerial expert group called *Steering Committee for Migration and Integration of Foreigners* (henceforth “Steering Committee”) has been established in 2009 by the Government Resolution No. 467/2009. According to the Statute of Steering Committee (Statute of the Steering...In Government SR, 2009), the Chairman of the Steering Committee is the director of Migration Office. The Steering Committee has permanent members (representatives of key institutions) as well as ad-hoc members, who are present depending on the character of discussed topics.

The Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family of the Slovak Republic (MLSAF) is responsible for granting work permits to foreigners. The role of MLSAF is quite important in a sense that whenever MLSAF issues a work permit to a foreign national, in most cases Alien police subsequently grants that person a residence permit and so it influences the performance of migration policy in general. However, MLSAF is rather restrictive in granting work permits to foreigners. Another key competence of MLSAF is in creating the

conception of integration policy directed mainly towards third-country nationals. However, according to migrants themselves, the approach of MLSAF towards migrants is perceived more positively than the one of the Ministry of Interior (Androvičová 2015, p. 26).

There are also other institutions that are partially involved in migration matters including the Ministry of Education, Science, Research and Sport, Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, Ministry of Health, Slovak Intelligence Service as well as regional and local authorities and self-governments having an important role in integration of foreign nationals (Lauko et al. 2014, p. 114).

When it comes to non-state actors, International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) are involved in the formation of migration policy and practice in Slovakia by performing complementary tasks, such as monitoring the process of asylum procedure, facilitating the returns of migrants to their home country or their integration into the society (IOM 2017a; Lauko et al. 2014, p. 114). Moreover, various non-governmental organizations also contribute to the shaping of migration policy through either providing their expert opinions, comments on laws and strategy papers, participating in round table discussions with state representatives, carrying out research and developing expertise in the area of migration or by providing assistance to migrants. To a certain extent, non-governmental organizations fill the gap by providing assistance in the field of migration that state cannot or is not willing to do. However, the cooperation of NGO's with the state has some drawbacks. Before the accession of Slovakia into the European union, the activities of NGO's (primarily assistance to refugees) have been financed mainly through UNHCR projects. After 2004, NGO's are dependent on EU funds, *Solidarity and Management of Migration Flows Programme* in particular, which is managed by the Ministry of Interior. This change has resulted in their cautiousness when it comes to their critical reflection on migration issues as they risk being cut off financial resources. At the same time, the need of professionalization of NGO's due to quite complicated bureaucratic mechanisms regarding the implementation of the projects has added to their difficulties in maintaining their stability in providing assistance in the field of migration. Many NGO's have therefore changed their areas of interest or stopped acting in migration area (Androvičová 2015, pp. 26-28). Although the contribution to the shaping of migration policy of third-sector institutions is not compromised, some of the Ministry of Interior representatives as well as experts from non-state sector admit that their opinions in

migration matters are often different from that of state institutions (Interview BAPPb 2017, Interview NUCIM 2017, Interview Globsec 2017).

3.3. Migration and the development of migration policy in the Czech Republic

As in the case of Slovakia, emigration dominated over immigration in the Czech Republic until early 1990's. Since the accession into the European Union, the immigration to the Czech Republic has continually increased from 254 294 in 2004 to 524 132 foreigners in 2017, representing 4,94% of Czech Republic's total population. Most of the foreigners come from Ukraine, Slovakia and Vietnam, majority of whom are also economically active on Czech territory (Czso.cz 2017). According to the Ministry of Interior (2018b), the number of illegal border crosses has decreased from 26 129 in 2004 to 4 738 in 2017. In the last year, illegal transit migration has decreased from 3 294 in 2015 to 172 foreign nationals in 2017, coming mainly from Afghanistan, Syria and Iraq. The number of asylum seekers in the Czech Republic has been fluctuating since 1993, with its maximum in 2001, when about 18,000 foreigners applied for asylum in the Czech Republic. Last year, 1450 foreigners applied for the international protection, of which 27 people were granted asylum and 118 were granted subsidiary protection (for complete statistics see Appendix).

Baršová and Barša (2005) categorize the development of Czech migration policy into five periods according to the idea of liberal versus restrictive conception of migration policy.

Liberal period (1990-1996) is characterized by the process of replacement of old structures with the new ones. The non-existence of integration policy and no interest in migration policy of government at that time has resulted in the period informally characterized as "laissez-faire".

During the 1990's, the Ministry of Interior fought for stronger control of migrants and the strengthening of its power in that matter, labelling the 1990's migration management as "*too liberal, chaotic and risky for the security of the Czech Republic*" (Kušniráková and Čížinský 2011, pp. 500-501). The Ministry of Industry and Trade of the Czech Republic (MIT CR), on the other hand, was the main opponent of Ministry of Interior's stricter conception of

migration policy due to a convenient existing liberal migration regime, making it easy for the businesses to recruit foreign nationals from other countries, such as Ukraine or other post-Soviet countries at that time.

Restrictive period (1996-1999) and so the restrictive nature of migration policy was the result of the initial institutionalization, the socio-economic situation of the Czech Republic characterized by the increase in foreigners coming to Czech Republic and the candidacy of the Czech Republic to the European Union that culminated in the adoption of Act no. 326/1999 Coll. on Residence of Aliens on January 1st, 2000, which has been amended almost every year. The Act addressed the shortcomings of the previous Asylum Act from 1990 as well as satisfied the requirements on the part of the EU regarding the harmonization of the migration legislation. The Ministry of Interior pushed ahead their stricter vision of migration policy when Czech economy backslid into economic crisis after Václav Klaus's austerity packages in 1997 followed by the decrease in labour demand. The adoption of the Alien Act in January 2000 subsequently resulted in the further decrease of foreigners in the Czech Republic as it terminated bilateral agreements concerning visa-free travel with Ukraine, Belarus and Russia as well as abolished requests for a long-term stay of foreigners (Kušniráková and Čížinský 2011, pp. 501-503).

The period of consolidation (2000-2004/6) copies the trend set in the previous period – the institutionalization, the creation of the rules for entering and staying of foreigners on the Czech territory, the convergence of Czech and European Union's law and civic mobilization (establishment of non-profit organizations for migrant rights protection, the establishment of ombudsman's office, the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs's (henceforth MLRP CR) initiative leading to so called Pilot Project⁹). In 2003, Czech Republic adopted its first strategic document regarding migration called *Czech Government's Migration Policy Principles*, in which six fundamental points defining the direction of Czech migration policy were formulated. According to the document, Czech Republic "consistently fosters government control in the field of migration". Moreover, as stated in the document,

⁹The main goal of the Pilot Project called „*Selection of qualified foreign workers*“ prepared by the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs in 2003 was to bring qualified foreign experts together with their families to Czech Republic and permanently integrate them into Czech society. The project originated as a reaction to MLRP CR's demographic analysis of Czech labor market, which found out that in 2030, the Czech labor market will lack approximately 420 000 people (for more see Press release of MLRP CR at <https://www.mpsv.cz/files/clanky/472/250703.pdf>)

migration policy aims at “eliminating all forms of illegal immigration and other illicit activities” on one hand and supporting legal immigration that is beneficial for the country and society as a whole, on the other (Mvcr.cz, 2017c). However, the document is very short and lacks any concrete measures.

Neo-liberal period (2005-2007/8) followed after the accession of the Czech Republic into the European Union and is characterized by the low unemployment rate, economic growth, the lack of labour force as well as the import of less qualified labour. The influence of the European Union law has relaxed some bureaucratic obstacles in dealing with migration issues as well as strengthened legal certainty of migrants set in the EU Council Directive 2003/109/ES¹⁰. At the same time, integration of migrants, which was before in the competence of the Ministry of Interior, was partially moved to the agenda of MLRP CR. The topic of migration so far understood in terms of internal security, gained another perspective, fulfilling demographic and economic needs of the country.

Neo-restrictive period (2008 onwards), on the other hand, calls for the reduction in the number of foreigners on Czech territory due to states’ commitment to their own citizens who have lost their jobs because of the financial crisis. The number of long-term visa permits has decreased tremendously from 52 356 in 2008 to 18 568 permits in 2009. As a result, the document called *Ensuring the security situation of the Czech Republic in connection with the redundancies of foreign workers as a result of the economic crisis* was adopted in 2009. Ivan Langer (Civic Democratic Party - ODS), the Minister of Interior for the period of 2006-2009, have commented on the adoption of the document as follows:

„[those are the] measures to prevent the worsening of the security situation in the Czech Republic in connection to foreigners who have come and still come due to the labor crisis. Many of these people, unfortunately, find themselves in a difficult financial situation and existential problems. There is a risk that they get into the gray zone, become part of the criminal structures and, in order to subsists themselves, they will commit crimes (...) We must consistently apply the control mechanisms and focus on prevention” (Langer in Jelínková at al. 2009, p. 13).

¹⁰ The EU Council Directive 2003/109/ES concerning the status of third-country nationals who are long-term residents shortened the period of their stay on Czech territory before gaining permanent residence permit from 10 to 5 years (More at <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/en/ALL/?uri=CELEX:32003L0109>)

According to Kušniráková and Čížinský (2011, pp. 501-513), the strengthening of the rules and control of foreigners in the field of migration has always come after the Ministry of Interior found the existing migration regime too liberal, arguing that the better control of foreigners is needed in order to safeguard the absorption capacity of Czech society, defined by the Ministry as the maximum number of foreigners that a country is able to accept before the society radicalizes, as well as pointing out to criminality of foreigners that needs to be handled (Kušniráková and Čížinský 2011, pp. 501-503). According to Čížinský, the Ministry of Interior has been using the argumentation of absorption capacity to reduce the number of accepted foreigners, what may, in its effect, instigate the radicalization and xenophobia rather than prevent it (Čížinský 2015, np).

In 2015, the Government of the Czech Republic adopted its first complex Strategy of Migration Policy of the Czech Republic (henceforth “Migration Strategy”), which is the most current strategy on migration. The Migration Strategy builds on the recommendations that were formulated as a part of National Convent on EU regarding migration in the light of asylum crisis on November 2014. The Migration Strategy introduces seven principles ordered according to priority with regard to security as a cross-sectional element (Strategy of Migration Policy 2015).

Moreover, in December 2016, the document called *National Security Audit* was approved by the Government Resolution no. 1125, focusing on ten main areas that were identified as the most threatening to Czech national security. Among the topics such as terrorism or the influence of foreign power, the issue of migration has earned fifth place. The document was drafted by the Ministry of Interior, but the content of the National Security Audit was elaborated by more than 120 experts from “security community”. Therefore, it is no wonder that the topic of migration is strongly framed in security logic, considering mass, untrammelled migration and unsuccessful integration as the biggest challenges in the field of migration. Even though the document considers existing migration and asylum policy to be adequate and management of issues related to migration as satisfactory, it still requires “legislative and non-legislative fine-tuning” (National Security Audit, 2016, pp. 62-75). Chapter on security aspects of migration of the National Security Audit as well as the Strategy of Migration Policy of the Czech Republic will be subjected to Critical discourse analysis in the fourth chapter.

Considering the legislative framework, the most important acts on migration are the Act No. 325/1999 Coll. on Asylum and Amendment of Some Acts (hence “Asylum Act”) as well as Act no. 326/1999 Coll. on Residence of Foreign Nationals in the Territory of the Czech Republic and Amendment of Some Acts (hence “Alien Act”). The Asylum Act has undergone various changes throughout the years and deals with issues regarding asylum and granting protection from persecution to foreigners for reasons stated in the Geneva Convention as well as in the Constitution of the Czech Republic. The Alien Act is the most important act defining the regulations of residence of third country nationals on Czech territory. The last amendment of the Alien Act No. 222/2017 Coll. came into force in June 2017 significantly restricting the rights of foreigners living in the Czech Republic. The adoption of the Alien Act brought about controversy, as the Act is considered to be against both constitutional and European law, which will be further elaborated on in the analysis. The Alien Act has undergone various changes throughout the years and is the most important act defining the regulations of residence of third country nationals on Czech territory.

3.3.1. Institutional framework

As mentioned previously, the main body responsible for migration and asylum issues in the Czech Republic is the Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic. The Ministry of Interior deals with migration on legislative, strategic as well as implementation level. Within the Ministry, tasks related to immigration and asylum issues fall within the competence of the Department for Asylum and Migration Policy (henceforth DAMP), which is a civil body focusing on entry, stay and integration of foreign nationals, international protection, international and European cooperation in migration and asylum issues, Schengen cooperation, protection of borders as well as return policy. DAMP is also responsible for the development and guidance of a general immigration and asylum policies and strategies as well as evaluation and development of legislation related to immigration and asylum issues and the implementation of the activities mentioned above in practice. In 2007, an inter-agency Analytic Centre for Protection of State Borders and Migration (hence “Analytic Centre”) was established under the Ministry of Interior focusing on close cooperation as well as on information exchange between different institutions that deal with the topic of migration, visa and asylum issues. The Analytic Centre is of inter-ministerial nature and is

coordinated by DAMP. Its main areas of focus are divided into four Forums: Migration Forum, Security and Operations Forum, Strategy Forum and Visas Forum (Mvcr.cz, 2017a).

Refugee Facilities Administration of the Ministry of Interior (henceforth RFA) is an organizational body of the Ministry responsible for services people in a process of applying for international protection as well as those who have already been granted international protection. RFA also manages the Detention Centres of Aliens that serve as a place for those foreign nationals who have received an administrative expulsion and detention verdict, as well as for those, whose stay on Czech territory is against the law. RFA, together with the Police of the Czech Republic and International Organization for Migration organizes the repatriation of foreign nationals to their home country (European Migration Network 2008, p. 6).

The Directorate of the Alien Police Service (DAPS) under the Ministry of Interior primarily deals with national border protection and tasks related to border clearance procedure. In 2011, DAPS has undergone a major transformation following other European member states when non-police activities in the field of migration have been removed from its competencies on behalf of DAMP. In 2009 and 2011 respectively, the competences of DAMP concerning the agenda of issuing permanent and long-term residence permits and long-term visas have broadened at the expense of Aliens Police (Minv.cz 2014). The competencies of DAPS also include the reporting of the place of stay of foreigners on the territory upon arrival in the Czech Republic, extending the stay on the territory for a short-term visa, the verification of an invitation and control of the legality of stay on the territory (Policie ČR 2018).

Other institutions involved in migration matters include the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs acting in the area of labour market access for foreign nationals, Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Industry and Trade, Ministry of Justice and The General Directorate of Customs. (European Migration Network 2008, pp. 6-10).

When it comes to non-state actors, International Organization of Migration that has been operating on Czech territory since 1998, cooperates with the Ministry of Interior in facilitating assisted voluntary returns of migrants to their country of origin, integration of

foreigners to the society and their reintegration, labour migration, prevention and combatting the trafficking of human beings as well as providing support in building capacities in migration management (IOM 2018). There are also various non-governmental organizations, such as Consortium of Non-Governmental Organizations Working with Migrants, Association for Integration and Migration or People in Need that focus on different aspects of migration, asylum and integration of foreigners or in providing legal or social services (European Migration Network 2008, pp. 13-14).

4. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

In this chapter, Critical discourse analysis based on Fairclough's three-dimensional model will be used to analyse how is security discourse on migration conveyed in key documents on migration drafted by the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak and Czech Republic using three phases: description, interpretation and explanation. In order to reveal the underlying ideologies and power relations, the first phase will focus on linguistic choices of the texts drawing on analytical devices of Halliday's SFL. According to Fairclough, the analysis does not have to encompass all the aspects of description at once as it depends on the specific form of the text being analysed. Since documents that have been chosen for the analysis differ in their form as well as in the use of linguistic phenomena, analytical devices that will be used in each text will be adjusted accordingly. The other two phases will then try to explain the specific linguistic choices within a wider social context, in which the texts emerged.

4.1. Slovakia

In this chapter, we examine the following documents using Critical Discourse Analysis:

- *Conception of Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic (2005)*
- *Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic Perspective until 2020 (2011)*

Description phase

According to Fairclough (1989), description phase concerns formal properties of text. At

this stage, linguistic phenomena - vocabulary, grammar and textual structure of the texts are analysed.

Text 1: Conception of Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic (2005)

The Conception of Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic (henceforth “Conception of Migration Policy”) was adopted in 2005 by the Government Resolution no. 11/2005. The adoption of a new Conception of Migration Policy was influenced by the integration efforts of the Slovak Republic followed by the accession into the European Union in 2004. The Conception of Migration Strategy was drafted for the period from 2005 until 2011, when new strategic document called Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic Perspective until 2020 replaced it.

The Conception of Migration Policy is divided into four chapters. The first chapter analyses the fulfilment of the tasks that resulted from the document called Principles of Migration Policy in Slovak Republic adopted by the Slovak Government in 1993. The following chapter defines the purpose and six principles of migration policy of the Slovak Republic. The third chapter is devoted to individual policies in the field of migration and the last chapter deals with the instruments of migration policy.

Rewording and over wording

The producers of the Conception of Migration Policy use terms such as “*terrorism*” (6 times), “*criminality*” (5 times) or “*organized crime*” (3 times) in connection to migration quite often given the length of the document (16 pages).

*“Based on current knowledge, it is clear that the main causes of migratory movements are economic, political, social, religious and national, and that their frequent accompanying phenomenon is the increase in **crime, organized crime and terrorism**”* (Conception of Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic 2005, p. 9).

*“Another significant reason for changing the current migration policy is the increase in illegal migration, which, determined by its character, objectively **creates space for the increase in organized crime and criminality**”* (Conception of Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic 2005, p. 15).

The document explicitly links migration to an organized crime, criminality and terrorism, implying that the topic of migration is a security problem and therefore, security measures as well as legislative changes need to be applied in order to prevent this threat.

Classification schemes

In the document, the support of legal migration is articulated, however, not all legal migrants are considered good for the country. It can be observed that the creators of the document make a distinction between those, who are beneficial for the country, its economy and society as a whole and so they are “welcomed” and those, whose culture, customs and traditions are different from ours as well as they are not needed in terms of labour market situation and so they are not welcomed. The Conception therefore implies that unwanted migrants can be deterred only through their exclusion.

*“The principle of regulation of legal migration creates a space for the adoption of legal migration regulation procedures in accordance with the interests of the Slovak Republic, in particular **with regard to an economic, political and cultural stability** of the society as well as **the labour market situation** and the structure of employment through state migration policy in a form of controlled and regulated immigration.”* (Conception of Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic 2005, p. 6)

*“The principle of sovereignty ensures the right of the Slovak Republic to protect its national interests and to regulate migration, the reception, stay and return of foreigners, with regard to **maintaining of social stability and the protection of the traditional way of life** based on the economic and social possibilities of the Slovak Republic”* (Conception of Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic 2000, p. 5).

Modality

The use of modal verbs provides the recipients of a particular text with producer’s view on the issue as well as a commitment to what they say or write. In the Conception, the use of high modality exemplified by modal verb “will” as well as deontic modality exemplified by modal verb “must” are used very often in order to persuade or influence the recipient of a text and emphasize the need to adopt necessary measures to deal with migration issue.

*“Based on the realistic assumption that the interest of foreigners seeking asylum in the Slovak Republic, as a new member state of the European Union, **will** increase, priority **must be given** to the creation of regime measures related to the requirement to protect the external border of the European Union in order to prevent the penetration of illegal migrants into territory of the Slovak Republic and subsequently to other countries of the European Union”* (Conception of Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic 2005, p. 7).

*“Since legal migration is approached as it is a broad-spectrum problem, the conditions under which foreigners enter the territory of the Slovak Republic **must be based** not only on the legal conditions, but also on the economic and social possibilities of the state”* (Conception of Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic 2005, p. 8).

Creating opposing social identities: “Us” versus “Them”

From the excerpts above it is clear that migrants are in the document frequently constructed as a violent other, mainly in a connection to terrorism and criminality. Migrants are seen as different in terms of their culture, not being compatible with our traditional way of living.

*“The principle of sovereignty ensures the right of the Slovak Republic to protect its national interests and to regulate migration, the reception, stay and return of foreigners,, with regard to maintaining of **social stability and the protection of the traditional way of life** based on the **economic and social possibilities of the Slovak Republic** while respecting the obligations arising from international treaties and documents and creating the conditions for stepping up the fight against illegal migration and **terrorism**”* (Conception of Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic 2005, p. 5).

When it comes to illegal migration, the document suggests that the specific feature of illegal migrants to Slovakia is their attempt to abuse the asylum procedure and legalize their stay in the territory in order to later travel to other countries (Conception of Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic 2005, p. 9). Such profiling of migrants then leads to regarding asylum seekers as being rather “guilty until proved innocent”.

On the other hand, Slovakia is presented as a responsible country of the European Union, respecting international commitments and laws with “*an emphasis on the protection of human rights and basic freedoms*” (Conception of Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic 2005, p. 6). Therefore, Slovakia acts as a responsible nation whose interests are the same as the interest of the European Union and other international organizations or non-governmental organizations dealing with humanitarian aspects of migration, such as the Slovak Helsinki Committee or the Slovak Catholic Charity (Ibid., p. 5).

Slovakia is therefore presented as a culturally homogenous country with their own traditions while migrants are the ones who are prone to disrupting the current state and they may in their consequences pose a threat to Slovakia’s society, economy and public order.

Text 2: Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic Perspective until 2020

The document called *Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic Perspective until 2020* (henceforth also referred to as “Migration Policy”) was adopted in August 2011, replacing the previous Conception of Migration Policy adopted in 2005. The document has not yet been updated and therefore provides the most current strategy of migration policy of the Slovak Republic.

After a short introduction into the topic of migration, the Migration Policy document defines the objectives and principles of the migration policy. The document then defines migration policy in the context of the Slovak Republic’s membership in the European Union. The whole document is divided into seven chapters: legal migration; integration; emigration of qualified labour force; illegal migration; returns and human trafficking; protection of borders; international protection; migration and development and finally document closes with the chapter on institutions engaged in migration policy.

Rewording and over wording

In the document, the phrase “*legal migration*” is used interchangeably with “*controlled economic migration*”. The term “*control/controlled*” is used 23 x and its synonym

“*regulation/regulatory*” is used 9 times creating the feeling that migration is a phenomenon that needs to be controlled and regulated.

*“Therefore, in the following years the economic migration must be based on the **active and flexible control** of receiving of aliens who decide to come to our country”* (Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic, 2011, p. 6).

*“**The economic migration control** must resolutely react to the challenges brought by the global competition for talents and this especially through an active search and creation of preconditions for their arrival in Slovakia”* (Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic, 2011, p. 6).

Classification schemes

The document *Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic Perspective until the year 2020* makes a visible distinction, as in the previous analysed document, between the terms “*legal migrant/migration*” and “*illegal migrant/migration*”. While legal migration is considered to be good for the “needs of Slovakia”, all forms of illegal migration are regarded as something that needs to be fought against. However, not all forms of legal migration are considered vital for Slovakia. As it can be observed, the creators of the document classify legal migrants according to their contribution to Slovak economy:

*“Therefore the Slovak Republic **will** adopt policies aimed at an active support for economic migrants and employment of migrants from third countries in compliance with the needs of the national economy and labour market **with an emphasis on receiving and employment of highly qualified employees, scientific workers, and other qualified migrants as necessary**”* (Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic 2011, p. 6).

At the same time, the use of “will” conveys a strong sense of certainty and a commitment to adopt policies that support those migrants who will be of a benefit for Slovakia’s economy.

Paradoxically, when it comes to the classification of an illegal migration, the producers of the document do not distinguish between different forms of illegal migration and frame all migrants without a valid residence permit in terms of illegality:

*“The Slovak Republic, [...] efficiently fights against **all forms of illegal migration** [...] Resolving of the issues associated with illegal migration forms is a self-contained part of the migration policy and it includes a set of measures of both preventive and repressive character”* (Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic 2011, p. 12).

Unlike in Slovakia, many Western European countries have started to employ more sensitive terms for migrants who find themselves in a situation without a valid residence permit, not because they crossed borders of a particular country without a permission but because of some other, mainly bureaucratic obstacle. Instead of labelling a migrant illegal, they refer to those migrants as “undocumented migrant/migration” or “over stayer”. This is not the case of Slovakia, even though there are some bureaucratic and legal shortcomings when it comes to residence permits. No legal act exists that would recognize a temporary stay of a migrant who, for example, has lost his or her job. In such case, a person automatically loses his residence permit and does not have a time to look for a new job as he automatically becomes an illegal migrant. (Androvičová 2015, p. 22). The term “undocumented migrant/migration” or “over stayer” would have captured the situation more precisely. Labelling those migrants as illegal automatically induces negative connotations. As one representative from the Directorate of Border and Aliens Police (Interview BAPPa 2017) pointed out, *“the word illegal subdues that something is not right. I do not understand how anyone can say that it is okay and that it is not a security threat”*. Labelling someone who has not done anything wrong as illegal migrant puts him or her in a position of security logic. Moreover, those migrants are therefore looked at through security lens and are dealt with within the category, in which a person is regarded as some kind of threat.

Modality

In the document, we can find many high modalities as well as deontic modalities that are meant to persuade the recipients that migrants coming to Slovakia need to be controlled, which conveys the image of Slovakia as a country, in which migrants have to go through complicated control mechanisms in order to settle on its territory.

*“Due to the fact that migration **will** objectively affect our future, we **must** affect migration”*
(Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic 2011, p. 2).

*“Therefore in the following years the economic migration **must** be based on the active and flexible control of receiving of aliens who decide to come to our country”* (Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic 2011, p. 6).

Creating opposing social identities: “Us” versus “Them”

In the Migration Strategy, different culture of migrants and their culturally conditioned characteristics are considered as a threat or risk to Slovakia’s economy and society. Migrants from different cultures are considered incompatible with Slovakia’s way of life and traditions, implying that Slovakia will need to accept only a small number of highly qualified or scientific workers from “culturally related countries”, who are beneficial for the country, while the rest is still potentially dangerous.

*“The **basic criterion** applicable to the acceptance of foreigners within the controlled economic migration is **their potential for the development of the Slovak economy and society** while preferring those migrants who have the qualifications and competencies necessary to satisfy the lasting demand for shortage professions on the national labour market **with an emphasis on culturally related countries**”* (Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic 2011, p. 6).

Such profiling of migrants, i.e. accepting just a particular group of migrants “who represent an asset for the Slovak economy” (p.7) and do not pose a threat to Slovakia’s culture reinforces the distinction between our culture or “us” and their culture or “them”.

On the other hand, Slovakia is presented as a state that aspires to be in „the first league“ in reference to the strategy called Minerva 2.0 – Slovakia into the first league, which is a document prepared by the Government of Slovakia's Plenipotentiary for Knowledge Economy in collaboration with other Ministries, whose goal is to support the development of knowledge economy based on accepting highly qualified foreign workers (Bruncko 2011, p. 29).

*[...] who are needed for the development of **our** economy, is the key in compliance with the concept of Minerva 2.0 – **Slovakia into the first league**“* (Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic 2011, p. 6).

Moreover, there is a frequent use of adjective “our” in regard to “our country” (p. 6, 18), “our economy” (p. 6), “our future” (p. 2, 4) enhances the differences between “us” and “our” country and “them” and “their specific cultural features” (p. 9).

*“If we underestimate and ignore it, it may cause problems in political, economic and social life of **our** country”* (Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic 2011, p. 18).

Interpretation phase - text as discursive practice

According to Fairclough (1992, p. 26), linguistic analysis needs to be accompanied by the intertextual analysis since they together form a complementary pair. In this phase, the focus will be placed on intertextuality and interdiscursivity in order to see how the texts draws on other texts and discourses. In other words, the goal of interpretation phase is to identify and interpret various discursive types (orders of discourse) that are linked to a certain types of situations as well as the way how they affect representations, subjects and their mutual relations (Fairclough 1989, p. 26).

In both analysed documents, we can identify two orders of discourse – the dominant security discourse and a submissive human rights discourse. The first discourse is regarded as dominant because it predominates in various types of social practice and a the second, submissive type of discourse therefore aspires to become dominant by infiltrating those practices (Fairclough 1989 In Vašát 2008, p. 2). The Conception of Migration Policy as well as Migration Strategy belong to a dominant security discursive type.

Within the security discourse, there are two discursive strands – first one regards migration as a risk/threat to national security and the second one regards migration as a cultural threat.

The first discourse strand sees migration primarily through security lens. Migration is connected to a security related issues, such as terrorism or criminality. The Conception of Migration Policy presents migrants as potential terrorists and individuals that are prone to perform various criminal acts and therefore may undermine the security of the country. In this case, the construction of migration as a threat to national security is enhanced by the criminalisation of migration. In the Migration Strategy, the security aspects of migration are not explicitly articulated as in the Conception on Migration. However, migration is still

regarded as a phenomenon, which, if not controlled, can have consequences on the safety of the country:

*“Migration is a historical social phenomenon that significantly influences policy, economy, social aspects, and **safety of countries** and modifies the composition of the population in individual countries. [...] Therefore, migration requires a systemic approach and qualified control”* (Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic 2011 p. 3).

This way the producers of the documents legitimize the need to adopt necessary measures in order to regulate the issue in question in a form of legislative changes, strengthened security measures, capacity building or an enhancement of the border protection, thus preventing such negative phenomena from happening.

The second discourse strand presents migration as a cultural threat. Some of the migrants are perceived unable of peaceful coexistence, which is given by their culturally conditioned characteristics, which are seen as inherent and therefore incompatible with “traditional way of life” or Slovakia’s culture and traditions. Slovakia therefore advocates its right to accept only those, who are culturally related by referring to existing laws and principles, according to which Slovakia is a sovereign country and has the right to regulate the migration and subsequently choose, who can enter the country. Both documents therefore construct a social representation of migrants as different others, who can be deterred only through their exclusion. The respondent from the National Unit for Combating Illegal Migration of the Ministry of Interior also pointed out to the cultural differences of migrants:

“My personal opinion is that those migrants cannot be integrated into our society. These people have totally different mentality. Or maybe yes, but it would take very long time.” (Interview NUCIM 2017).

Moreover, as mentioned in the description phase, the Ministry of Interior presupposes that migrants coming to Slovakia do not even want to stay on Slovak territory but they rather want to abuse the asylum procedure and legalize their stay in Slovakia in order to later travel to other countries and so that they do not even want to integrate into society in the first place. Respondents from the Ministry of Interior reproduce the discourse about Slovakia being only a transit country:

“Primarily, those people do not want to stay here, they want to travel to Germany,

Netherlands. [...] Slovakia is not an attractive country for them” (Interview BBAPb 2017)

“My personal opinion is that migrants do not want to stay here. In fact, we are very lucky that they don’t stay at our territory. [...] In case these people stayed here then I think it would be a problem but at the moment, thank God, we don’t have to deal with it” (Interview NUCIM 2017).

“For them, we are not interesting as a country where they would like to live. We had here Christians¹¹ on those quotas who should have integrated but they left because they do not want to live here. These people just care about money, they are looking for a country where they can come, get accommodation, get food, get some financial benefits, and they’ll still live in that community. And by growing their community, the country will suffer” (Interview BBAPb 2017).

The Ministry of Interior’s “guilty until proved innocent” argument then serves as a legitimization of a restrictive immigration policy.

Both discursive strands are strongly interlinked, creating a hybrid security discourse that guides the migration practice in Slovakia. The security discourse type has dominated the political discourse on migration in Slovakia preceding the adoption of the Conception of Migration Policy in 2005 as well as Migration Policy document in 2011. Given that the topic of migration wasn’t a social or political issue before 2015, Ministers of Interior were the ones commenting on the topic of migration most frequently.

Vladimir Palko (Christian Democratic Movement – KDH), the Minister of Interior for the years 2002-2006 having the topic of migration in competence, presented the topic of migration very often as a cultural threat, pointing out to the experiences of other, mainly western European states that immigration of people from different cultures has caused many problems.

“Another huge incoming problem that has already been fully experienced by Western Europe, but we are beginning to experience that too, is the migration of millions of people

¹¹ Slovakia has agreed to accept 25 Christian Assyrian families. However, they later returned to Iraq. The International Organization for Migration was assisting those Christian refugees in their return to Iraq. However, according to Assyrian families, they were told something different before coming to Slovakia – that Slovakia is a strong Christian country. According to IOM, the Ministry of Interior’s “management of expectations” has been a failure. Assyrian families could not accustom to our culture in a sense that „they saw naked people in magazines, on billboards and TV [...] this is not what they consider as Christianity as it was presented to them” (Interview IOM 2017).

from other cultures who come to Europe with their culture, creating the problem of the coexistence of different cultures and civilizations in common space. There is a serious role for the leadership culture, the culture of the majority of the original European population, which must be respected [...] Illegal migration is a cultural as well as a security risk.”
(Palko 2006)

In 2011, Daniel Lipšic (Christian Democratic Movement – KDH), the Minister of Interior for the period of 2010-2012 has commented on the topic of migration, while referring to other countries:

“The project of multiculturalism has failed” (Pravda 2011).

“We welcome legal immigrants, but we will not change their traditions, customs, and values, as hosts, and they have to behave as guests” (Aktuality.sk 2011).

“They will not create communities where their rules will work parallel with our rules. We have quite similar communities here. There will be no more. It's unacceptable. It's a security risk that the government will not allow” (Aktuality.sk 2011).

The security discourse can be also found in major legal acts concerning migration, such as Act No. 404/2011 on Residence of Aliens. The Police department shall reject the application for permanent residence, if

“there is a reasonable suspicion that a third-country national endangers state security, public order or public health” (Act No. 404/2011 on Residence of Aliens, § 48, 2b).

Even though such suspicion may be legitimate, it is important to note here that the ones who are in charge of protecting the country are the ones who define who or what is and who or what is not a security threat. As it can be observed in both documents, threat may take on a many forms, such as threat to culture, public order or security per se in a form of terrorism or criminal activity. The dominance of a security discourse implies that there is continuous risk that migrants may pose and so the need to control migration is strongly emphasized. Such discourse then easily becomes institutionalized in practice, meaning that migrants have to undergo many controls in order to be able to live in Slovakia.

The second type of discourse that has been identified is human rights discourse, creating the contrast to a dominant security discourse. By the choices of grammatical structure, Slovakia

is presented as a country adhering to the laws and international commitments with “*an emphasis on the protection of human rights and basic freedoms*” (Conception of Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic 2005, p. 6).

“The basic attributes associated with the right to life, freedom, personal security, the right to leave and return to the country or the right to asylum are enshrined in the Constitution of the Slovak Republic. Irrespective of nationality, ethnicity, social origin, race, language, gender, religious and political beliefs, these rights are granted to all persons subject to its sovereignty. The same approach in this area is generally applied to aliens and asylum seekers alike. This not only presents the acceptance of international documents such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948, the Charter for a New Europe, signed at the conclusion of the 1990 CSCE in Paris, and, last but not least, the ability to adapt to new trends in The European Union” (Conception of Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic 2005, p. 12).

Also, the Migration Policy document puts an

*“increased emphasis on **human rights and tolerance and the fight against discrimination**”* (Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic 2011, p. 9).

*“The Slovak Republic, in compliance with its international commitments, efficiently fights against all forms of illegal migration, while **taking into account the human rights aspects associated with this phenomenon**”* (Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic 2011, p. 12).

However, the human rights discourse is somehow overshadowed by the strong emphasis on national interest. The Conception of Migration Policy puts a strong emphasis on the national interest when it comes to immigration of foreign nationals. In the second chapter that defines the purpose and principles of migration policy, the protection of national interest is unambiguously prioritized.

*“The purpose of the Conception of Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic is to **ensure the protection of national interest** of the Slovak Republic and the realization of the objectives and priorities in the field of migration as well as the procedure for its provision by various actors involved in the implementation of migration policy”* (Conception of Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic 2005, p. 5).

Moreover, as the first principle guiding the migration policy of the Slovak Republic is the principle of sovereignty, which

“ensures the right of the Slovak Republic to protect its national interests and to regulate migration [...]” (Conception of Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic 2005, p. 5).

In Migration Policy document, national interest is again emphasized,

“The objective of the migration policy is, in compliance with the national interests of the Slovak Republic, [...]” (Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic 2011, p. 4).

“Controlled economic migration is primarily determined by the needs of the Slovak Republic” (Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic 2011, p. 6).

Within legal migration, the document finds it necessary to focus on:

“support for receiving of economic migrants and employment of migrants from third countries in compliance with the needs of the national economy and labor market” (Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic, 2011, p. 7).

Emphasising national interest implies that the object of migration policy are not migrants, but rather the Slovak Republic and its citizens, who need to be protected. According to the Conception of Migration Policy (2005, p. 12), all migrants should have all rights *“irrespective of nationality, ethnicity, social origin, race, language, gender, religious and political beliefs”* but on the other hand, Slovakia has a right to prioritize between them based on its national interest. Pointing out to the human rights and non-discrimination legislation in the documents therefore evokes nothing more than just a construction of self as a responsible actor that respects human rights in the eyes of the text recipients.

Explanation phase – text as social practice

The aim of the third dimension of Fairclough’s model is to explain the relations between the discourse processes and social context as well as the effects discursive practice has on social practice. At the explanation level, focus is placed on the examination of a) social determinants shaping the discourse at the situational, institutional and societal level b)

ideologies, or the construction of meanings that maintain the relations of power, and the c) effects – whether the discourse sustains or changes power relations.

The discursive field of migration encompasses various actors that shape the discourse on migration in Slovakia. At the situational level, it is the practice of interaction of various international, non-state organizations, institutions as well as activists with migrants “on the ground”. In Slovakia, non-governmental organizations and international organizations that are involved in migration practice whether in a form of providing assistance to migrants in their integration into society, monitoring of procedures or the facilitation of the returns to the country of origin, provide an opposition to the dominant security discourse by pointing out to human aspects of migration. The interaction with migrants then motivates those actors to shape the discourse on migration in Slovakia by engaging in negotiation process with state institutions, trying to challenge the dominant security discourse at the institutional level.

At the institutional level, state institutions responsible for the issue of migration form the discourse on migration not only on conceptual and legal but also on implementation level, which influences the migration practice and subsequently the life of migrants themselves. In Slovakia, the key player in the area of migration is one of the powerful resorts - the Ministry of Interior. The Ministry of Interior, however, cooperates with many non-governmental and international organizations by giving them space for their expert opinions, comments on laws and strategy papers or participating in round table discussions. As mentioned earlier, there is often a conflict between non-governmental organizations working with migrants at a situational level and state institutions when it comes to migration discourse and practice. According to a respondent from the Directorate of the Bureau of Border and Alien Police of the Presidium of the Police Force of the Slovak Republic,

“these are NGOs that have a different view on things than us - people from the practice who are directly involved in the subject [...] I sometimes have a feeling that we fight against each other” (Interview, BBAPb 2017).

On May 2010, Migration Office did not allow the participation of invited asylum seekers who were currently staying in the Opatovská Nová Ves camp at the festival called “The Weekend of new minorities”. Human Rights League, responsible for providing help to refugees detained in the police detention centres for refugees together with Milan Šimeček Foundation that focuses on advocating human and minority rights and on improving the status of disadvantaged groups, criticized the sudden decision of the Migration Office in

terms of human rights violation:

[...] It is a manifestation of a dangerous and unacceptable demonstration of power against asylum seekers as well as against the general public. Residents of the camp became prisoners of one political affair and victims of manipulation and oppression by the Migration Office" (Sme.sk 2010).

What is more, Human Rights League have been pointing out to the human rights violations and approach of Ministry of Interior towards migrants for years. In 2015, the Bureau of Border and Alien Police has unilaterally ended the cooperation with Human Rights League as, according to the Bureau *"in many demonstrable cases, Human Rights League has abused its position for non-constructive criticism of police practices"* (Kaliňák, in Pravda 2015). The Ministry of Interior has been maintaining its power in the area of migration dismissing alternative views on the subject by excluding the actors of the anti-hegemonic discourse from migration practice.

Moreover, at the institutional level, the security discourse of the Ministry of Interior is also challenged by other state institutions. For example, Committee of the National Council of the Slovak Republic on Human Rights and National Minorities has been pointing out the discriminatory approach of the Ministry of Interior in migration legislative.

"I think this contradiction in the views between the Interior Ministry and the Human Rights Committee is symptomatic, and that such contradictions in the understanding of what are human rights and what are not human rights, what is discrimination and what is not discrimination will be repeated in future on similar issues" (Palko in NRSR 2004).

"But, the information from practice is that certain asylum seekers behave different, depending on where they come from, depending on their civilization." (Palko in NRSR, 2004)

The Ministry of Interior's security approach towards migration is often legitimized with regard to their years long practice and experiences with dealing with the issue of migration as well as with working with migrants, presenting themselves as experts or professionals on the topic.

At the societal or global level,¹² the discourse on migration is influenced by the international and European institutions, which is given by the Slovakia's membership in the European Union as well in other international organizations or initiatives. In the last decades, the topic of migration had become a part of the global agenda. Many new documents and initiatives dealing with the issue of migration have been adopted, such as Haag Declaration on the Future of Refugee and Migration Policy (UN 2002) or Berne Initiative with the goal of better management of migration at the national, regional and global level based on the cooperation between states (IOM 2018a). These documents have been pointing out that migration is a natural process, which has been happening since the time being and that it is a part of our history while stressing the positive aspects of migration on one hand and eliminating the illegal migration on the other. Global discourse on migration therefore puts an emphasis on migration as a “win-win-win” relationship, when it can be beneficial for the countries of origin, destination countries as well as for migrants themselves. However, this is conditional upon the effective migration management. Global migration discourse has been institutionalized in the European Union as well. Since 2005, Global Approach to Migration and Mobility provides framework of the EU external migration and asylum policy focusing on international cooperation with third countries and the elimination of the root causes of immigration through so called Mobility partnerships (MP) with third countries (European Council 2018). Such externalization of migration control is evident also in the analysed documents. As pointed out by Androvičová (2015, p. 95), it is difficult to talk about one European or global discourse on migration. However, at the global level, a certain consensus has emerged with regard to emphasizing the positive aspects of migration while overcoming the problematization of migration.

The Conception of Migration Policy was adopted in 2005 as a reaction to the integration efforts of the Slovak Republic into the EU. Here, the global migration discourse has not been that evident than in the later Strategy of Migration Policy in 2011.

In the Conception on Migration Policy, we can find that as one of its basic principles is the principle of “*active cooperation with the European Union*” (Conception of Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic 2005, p. 6). However, there is not a strong reproduction of the European migration discourse nor wider global discourse given the Slovakia's accession into

¹² In a 2004 interview with R. Rogers, Fairclough points out that in case of the European Union type of structure, we should rather refer to macro-regional level, implying that societal level, by the sense of scale applied, could be global macro-regional, national and local (Fairclough in Rogers 2004, pp. 16-17).

the EU a year before the adoption of the document. In the Migration Policy document, which was adopted six years later, the reproduction of European discourse is more evident. Six years of EU membership has allowed Slovakia to benefit through different European programmes and funds in different areas. Regarding migration, Solidarity and the Management of Migration Flows programme aimed at the improvement of the management of migration flows at the EU level has influenced the migration practice in a sense that those applying for grants (mostly non-governmental organizations) had to learn the “specific language” in order to be able to fill out the forms and get the financial resources. Same applies to the actors in charge of evaluating the applications, in this case the Ministry of Interior (Androvičová 2015, pp. 95-96).

“One of the priorities in this area should be to assist third countries in close partnership with the European Union, in areas such as improving capacities to manage migration and the protection of migrants, fight against illegal immigration, effective solutions regarding the return of migrants to their countries of origin etc” (Conception of Migration Policy 2005, p. 7).

*“[...] development of cooperation, in the interest of the fight against illegal migration, with the EU member states and countries of origin and transit within a **global approach towards migration**” (Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic 2011, p. 12).*

Pointing to externalization of migration can be considered as recontextualization of the European/global discourse into national discourse on migration. However, the security discourse still dominates both documents so that it has become considered as “neutral” and widely accepted until challenged.

Given the Slovak Presidency of the Council of the EU in the second half of 2016, Slovakia had an opportunity to influence the European politics on migration, which became one of the four¹³ priorities of the Presidency. Slovakia maintained its strong position in opposing mandatory quotas for the relocation of refugees and has presented the concept of “effective solidarity” as an alternative. The externalization of migration has been the basis of Slovakia’s proposal, as presented by then Minister of Interior Róbert Kaliňák (Direction –

¹³ The other three priorities: Economically Strong Europe, Modern Single Market and Globally Engaged Europe (Programme of the Slovak Presidency of the Council of the EU 2016, p. 2).

Social Democracy - SMER-SD), every member state shall choose how they want to help manage the migration flows (Minv.sk 2016). Slovakia's position therefore reflected its years long discourse on migration based on the notion of cultural difference being a threat to national security as it tried to externalize the migration from its territory. However, after recent political turbulences in Slovakia, the political elites as well as media have lost their interest in the topic of migration. The Ministry of Interior has been successfully maintaining its power in the field of migration and the refugee crisis even reinforced the dominant position of the Ministry of Interior in migration matters.

4.2. The Czech Republic

In the case of the Czech Republic, following documents will be analysed as a part of Critical discourse analysis:

- *Strategy on Migration Policy of the Czech Republic (2015)*
- *National Security Audit's Chapter (pp. 62-74) on Security Aspects of Migration (2016)*

Description phase

Text 1: Strategy on Migration Policy of the Czech Republic (2015)

The document Strategy of Migration Policy of the Czech Republic adopted by the Czech Government in July 2015 has emerged after almost twelve years since the last strategic document dealing with migration issues was adopted - The Czech Government's Migration Principles of Migration Policy in 2003. However, the document Principles of Migration Policy is very short and very vague in its content. Six principles are formulated in one or two sentences, leaving the space for the recipients to manoeuvre when it comes to the interpretation of the text. It can be observed that the new Strategy of Migration Policy of the Czech Republic of 2015 builds on the principles formulated in the 2003 document but further elaborates on them, creating a coherent strategic document concerning the area of migration.

To begin with, the document provides seven principles of migration strategy that formulate Czech Republic's top priorities in migration and international protection (asylum) area. The

Strategy also reacts to then current debate on this topic as well as expresses Czech Republic's position on migration issues. Seven principles (divided into seven chapters) include the following areas: integration, illegal migration and return policy; international protection (asylum); external dimension of migration (together with developing and humanitarian aspects); free movement as a part of the European Union and Schengen area; legal migration and the coherence with common European Union policies. Every chapter provides the readers with the current state of affairs in every area, goals to be reached at the national as well as European Union level and instruments that should serve to reach those goals. The document basically states that all the above mentioned areas of importance, or principles, have something in common – the security aspect:

*“The principles are listed according to a priority with regard to **security aspects of migration** (representing a cross-sectional element of these principles), [...]“ (Strategy on Migration Policy of the Czech Republic 2015, p. 2).*

The Strategy on Migration Policy links the topic of migration to security in the very beginning of the document, implying that a security discourse will dominate the whole document.

Rewording and over wording

The word “*security*” in connection to migration is mentioned 17 times in the document implying that the terms migration and security go hand in hand. Also, similar phrases such as “*negative aspects [of migration]*” or “*negative social phenomenon*” (8 times) and “*risk*” (5 times) with regard to migration are used quite frequently. In comparison, the term “*positive*” with regard to migration is used only twice.

*“The Strategy on Migration Policy of the Czech Republic must lead to the strengthening of the positive aspects of migration and combating **negative phenomena connected to migration and associated risks** as efficiently as possible” (Strategy on Migration Policy of the Czech Republic 2015, p. 4).*

The document also sets the goal in the field of legal migration and suggests “*strengthening security elements of an immigration process and **preventing security risks.**” (Strategy on Migration Policy of the Czech Republic 2015, p. 20)*

Equally, the document works with the term “*control*” and its associated word forms that are used 10 times creating the feeling that the phenomenon of migration needs to be controlled and regulated under all circumstances.

In the chapter on illegal migration, in order to ensure security of the Czech Republic, the document suggests, „*strengthening **the control mechanisms** implemented before the entry of foreigners into the territory of the Czech Republic*“ as well as “*extending residence check-ups and strengthening of the measures to enforce administrative deportation decisions.*” (Strategy on Migration Policy of the Czech Republic 2015, p. 10)

Classification schemes

The document makes a visible distinction between the terms “*legal*” and “*illegal migration*” or more precisely, “*controlled legal migration*” and “*uncontrolled illegal migration*”. Legal migration is used as a synonym to the term “*controlled*”, while illegal migration is used as a synonym to the term “*uncontrolled*”. In the chapter on illegal migration, the document says:

“Uncontrolled spontaneous migration – in comparison to controlled, legal – presents one of the most crucial challenges for the Czech Republic as well as for the European Union.”
(Strategy on Migration Policy on the Czech Republic, 2015, p. 8)

While controlled legal migration is considered to be good, uncontrolled illegal migration is regarded as something that needs to be challenged. The effective control in migration area is therefore presented as fundamental when it comes to the limiting the negative aspects of migration.

Modality

Using modality in the text shows how certain textual effects are created and subsequently how they affect the recipients of the text. It can be observed that many high as well as deontic modalities are used. The frequent use of high modality in a form of “*will*” provides the recipients with Czech Republic’s commitment to actually do what they state to do in the document, creating the feeling that migration is manageable and Czech Republic will undergo certain steps to prevent its negative aspects.

*“Czech Republic **will** ensure security of its population and effective law enforcement in the*

field of illegal migration, return policy and organized crime connected to smuggling and human trafficking.” (Strategy on Migration Policy of the Czech Republic 2015, p. 2)

*“Czech Republic **will** meet the obligation to ensure citizens with regard to migration policy peaceful coexistence with foreigners and thanks to effective integration will prevent the occurrence of negative social phenomena.” (Strategy on Migration Policy of the Czech Republic 2015, p. 2)*

Moreover, deontic modality in a form of “*must*” is used in the text to persuade the recipients what needs to be done to manage the risks and security concerns connected to migration from the point of view of the producers of the text.

*“The Czech Republic and the European Union as a whole **must** push further and effectively pursue migration policy with clear goals [...]” (Strategy on Migration Policy of the Czech Republic 2015, p. 4).*

The use of emphasis

Adverbs and phrases, such as “**as efficiently as possible**” with regard to combating negative phenomena connected to migration and associated risks or “**unequivocally**”, work to emphasize and highlight the importance of the act or measure to be undertaken in order to deal with negative aspects of migration:

*“**Unequivocally**, the need to further actively act in this field [integration of foreigners] and create such mechanisms, including security guarantees, which ensure functional and effective prevention of negative aspects connected to migration, is confirmed.” (Strategy of Migration Policy of the Czech Republic 2015, p. 6).*

Constructing different social identities: “Us” vs “Others”

In the document, migrants are frequently described through the security perspective, often in connection to negative social phenomena or security risk. Focusing on security rhetoric in the discourse on migrants puts them in a position, from which they are seen as the ones, whom we cannot trust and so it is very risky to live with them, work with them or employ them.

The goals on national level in the area of integration of foreigners include

*“successful integration policy including the support of the integration of foreigners with respect to their dignity and **the prevention of security risks and negative social phenomena, including social exclusion**”* (Strategy of Migration Policy on the Czech Republic 2015, p. 7).

*“The Czech Republic and the European Union as a whole must push further and effectively pursue migration policy with clear goals [...], iii) to ensure such level of integration of foreigners permanently residing in the territory of the Czech Republic that will **prevent security risks and negative social phenomena** and will lead to the social cohesiveness and the protection of the rights of its members”* (Strategy of Migration Policy on the Czech Republic 2015, p. 4).

On the other hand, positive self-representation of the Czech Republic clearly shows the construction of different social groups, or identities. Throughout the document, the Czech Republic is frequently presented as a proud member state of the European Union, as a nation committed to the rule of law and adhering to the international commitments. In the document, Czech Republic is also presented as a country whose migration policy is humanitarian in nature while expressing its solidarity with other countries most affected by the migration crisis.

*“Activities within the external dimension of migration policy are thus not only **humanitarian in nature** against those seeking protection but also act **as an act of solidarity** towards third countries which are also affected by the increased migratory flows vis-à-vis the other member states of the European Union that receive a disproportionately large proportion of asylum seekers”* (Strategy on Migration Policy on the Czech Republic 2015, p. 14).

*“Beside the standard instruments in the field of international protection, Czech Republic has been for a long time supporting measures that lead to **direct help of refugees in their countries of origin** or regions that host numerous refugee populations”* (Strategy on Migration Policy of the Czech Republic 2015, p. 14).

Text 2: National Security Audit (2016) Chapter: Security Aspects of Migration

National Security Audit adopted by the Government in 2016 is a quite long document drafted by the Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic presenting ten main areas that were identified as the most threatening to Czech national security. As mentioned previously, the document puts security aspects of migration on the fifth place among other identified threats to Czech Republic, following terrorism, extremism, organized crime and influence of foreign power (National Security Audit 2016, p. 6).

The chapter on security aspects of migration begins with the description and assessment of threat and associated risks for the Czech Republic. After this introduction, the chapter further defines the security environment in the Czech Republic and EU context and identifies two kinds of threats Czech Republic faces in the field of migration – the threat of uncontrolled migration and the threat of failed integration. The document also presents responsible institutions within Czech Security System and the main tools for the elimination of the identified threats and risks. The chapter concludes with SWOT analysis identifying strengths and weaknesses as well as elaborates on the opportunities and threats of uncontrolled migration and failed integration. Finally, the chapter provides recommendations to strengthen resilience in a form of systemic, legislative measures as well as material, technical and staffing capacities (National Security Audit 2016, pp. 62-75).

Rewording and over wording

Given the nature of the document as a whole, the term “*security*” in connection to migration is used very frequently – altogether 46 times becoming a key term of the document. What is more, the term “*threat*” is used 41 times and “*risk*” 24 times strongly invoking migration-security nexus.

*“However, migration is also linked to **security** aspects”* (National Security Audit 2016, p. 62).

*“Alongside the type of immigration, i.e. immigrants, the volume of migration flows may pose **a threat**, and **security may be compromised** by mass uncontrolled immigration that could result in social unrest or radicalism, both within the minority and the majority”* (National

Security Audit 2016, p. 62).

*“The long-term goal of immigration policy is to eliminate these **threats** in the CR through instruments of controlled migration, when **security risks** are reduced via regulatory, especially legislative, instruments and processes”* (National Security Audit 2016, p. 63).

*“In particular, the threat of uncontrolled migration may, under some circumstances, be one of the elements of a **hybrid threat** [...]”* (National Security Audit 2016, p. 62).

Classification schemes

As in the Strategy on Migration Policy document, the National Security Audit makes a clear distinction between the terms “*controlled migrant/migration*” and “*uncontrolled migrant/migration*”. While controlled migration is considered very effective in minimizing the risk migrants may pose, the main problem is uncontrolled migration, which can bring many negative phenomena.

*“In this respect, **the real threat to security** within the context of the entire migration process is that of **uncontrolled migration**”* (National Security Audit 2016, p. 63).

Requiring enhanced control in migration area suggests that the phenomenon of migration is very likely to cause risks and security concerns in many different forms if not managed.

*“Specific migrants or their large numbers may pose a threat. Such a **threat may take the form of terrorism, organized crime, but also the spreading of infectious diseases, cultural practices incompatible with our legal system or a reduced willingness to integrate**”* (National Security Audit 2016, p. 62).

Surprisingly, the document does not distinguish between legal and illegal migration in terms of their potential risks, suggesting that all migrants, whether legally or illegally residing on Czech territory, are risky and should be subjected to a continuous control. When not, according to the document, it may lead to their radicalization and subsequently terrorism.

“While analysing the security aspects of migration, the working group identified, in accordance with SS 2015 (Security Strategy of the Czech Republic, authors note), the threat of illegal migration as a result of the increased number of local armed conflicts as well as the threat of insufficient integration of legal migrants, which may be a source of social

*tension. The issue of **possible radicalization of members of immigrant groups** or the majority population is discussed in the chapter on Extremism, the issues of terrorism and foreign fighters are discussed in the chapter on Terrorism” (National Security Audit 2016, p. 62).*

The use of metaphor

In the Czech Republic and the European Union context, producers of the document justify the need to adopt necessary measures in order to tackle the threat posed by migration by using metaphor, which tries to create the feeling that Czech Republic needs effective and sufficient security measures in order not to become the “*weakest link*” within the European Union and not to cause problems to other EU member states. And since other European member states are employing such security measures in order to tackle the “threat” posed by immigration, the Czech Republic, as a responsible member of the EU, is committed to do the same.

*“When values and security are shared within a community, **the chain is only as strong as its weakest link**. It is a commitment for the CR, therefore, to not become the weakest link and thus an increased security risk for other members” (National Security Audit 2016, p. 63).*

The predomination of certain participants

According to Fairclough (1989, p. 120), the producers of the document always have a choice between different types of participants when one wants to textually represent some real or imaginary event, state of affairs or relationship, which can be ideologically significant. In the document, Security forces as well as Police of the Czech Republic are mentioned many times and defined as key institutions that participate on migration issues. Given the repressive character of those institutions, the topic of migration becomes strongly associated with security related issues. The role of intelligence services in terms of security aspects of migration is also mentioned. These actors usually use surveillance and other repressive measures that are traditionally used when dealing with security threat in a traditional sense.

*“In terms of safety aspects, **a crucial role is played by intelligence services**, which participate on the issue within the scope of their competencies, defined by legislation (Sec.*

5 of Act No. 153/1994 Coll., on intelligence services of the CR) and in accordance with their annual priorities approved by the Government” (National Security Audit 2016, p. 70).

“Security forces, which must be an integral part of the entire immigration process, play a key role in reducing individual risks” (National Security Audit 2016, p. 65).

Moreover, using bold is usually reserved for headings. However, in the above extract, bold was used by the producers of the document implying very strong emphasis and so the importance of a given statement regarding the role of Security forces in migration issues.

Constructing different social identities: “Us” vs “Them”

Migrants are presented as a social group that may pose threat in many different forms. They are being connected to terrorism and infectious diseases. Their “cultural practices” are said to be “incompatible with our legal system”, which implies strong ideological assumption that We, or our culture, is something more than Them, or their culture in regard to their inability or unwillingness to integrate and take on our customs and rules of coexistence.

“Specific migrants or their large numbers may pose a threat. Such a threat may take the form of terrorism, organized crime, but also the spreading of infectious diseases, cultural practices incompatible with our legal system or a reduced willingness to integrate.” (National Security Audit 2016 p. 62)

The text also uses adjectives in connection to migrants, such as “radical foreigners”, “helpless and ignorant migrants” pinpointing the ideological underpinnings attached to it. Using adjectives in derogative way causes migrants to be seen rather in a bad light.

On the other hand, the Czech Republic is presented in a good light, as a country that complies with their commitments to European Union unlike migrants, who are not willing to adapt or take on our customs.

“[Czech Republic] Within its scope of powers, it reacts to new trends by consistently adhering to accepted standards or by proposing amendments to legislation in accordance with the EU and the Schengen acquis” (National Security Audit 2016, p. 63).

The adverb “consistently” also emphasizes the statement and adds a feeling that Czech Republic is very responsible country when it comes to adhering to some norms. Unlike

migrants, from who we may expect their unwillingness to integrate and to take up our norms and traditions.

Interpretation phase – text as discursive practice

The Strategy on Migration Policy of the Czech Republic is the most current strategy on migration, which was adopted by the Czech Government in July 2015. The Migration Strategy builds on the recommendations that were formulated as a part of National Convent on EU on November 2014 regarding migration in the light of asylum crisis. The Czech Government entrusted the Ministry of Interior with the elaboration on the Strategy on Migration Policy, which, according to the Government, should be directed towards *“maintaining current calm state of affairs and not disturbing the calm atmosphere within population while complying with international commitments”* (Kučera 2015, np).

According to the Czech Government, the National Security Audit was adopted in 2016 as a reaction to a worsened security situation in Europe in the last years. The Audit determines the basic documents in the area of migration. Apart from the Strategy of Migration Policy, the Audit also refers to the Security Strategy of the Czech Republic from 2015, which identified the increased rate of migration and the insufficient integration of legal migrants as security threats.

“The conclusions of the working group confirm the validity of the threats defined by the SS 2015, and elaborate on them further” (National Security Audit 2016, p. 68).

National Security Audit therefore builds on the recommendations of the Security Strategy of 2015, confirming the dominance of the security discourse in migration issues.

In both documents, security order of discourse is strongly dominating, while human rights discourse is, as in the case of Slovakia, almost completely left out. We can identify two discursive strands within security discourse that are strongly interlinked in both documents. The first discourse strand sees migration as a security threat/risk and the second discourse strand regards migration as a cultural threat.

The first type of discourse sees migration primarily through security lens. Migrants are seen as a security risk/threat and need to be permanently controlled in order to prevent “negative

social phenomena” that migrants might cause. The documents identify uncontrolled illegal migration as well as failed integration of foreigners as the biggest security threats. The producers of the document therefore offer solutions in order to avert the risks of migration that are of repressive nature, suggesting more controls of migrants as well as changes in legislation in the direction of making it harder for foreigners to come, live or work in the Czech Republic.

*„strengthening **the control mechanisms** implemented before the entry of foreigners into the territory of the Czech Republic“* (Strategy on Migration Policy of the Czech Republic 2015, p. 10)

*“The possibility and ability to **legislatively adjust the conditions of entry and residence of foreigners** so as to make migration beneficial in the long-term and to **minimize its potential negative impacts** is crucial for efficient management of migration”* (National Security Audit 2016, p. 64).

In the National Security Audit, migration is even strongly presented as a security threat. In comparison to the Strategy on Migration of the Czech Republic adopted in 2015, which works with a more euphemistic term “risk”, the Audit explicitly regards migration as a security threat, which may take on many forms. It can be observed that the Audit reproduces the security discourse of the Migration Strategy of 2015 but in a more radical way. Migrants are predominantly constructed as a threat that requires security approach to deal with. According to a respondent from the Biometric Section of the Ministry of Interior, it is necessary to control migration,

“[...] because when you let somebody through your borders without taking a picture of them and taking their fingerprints, they will change their identity ten or twenty times and then they commit a terrorist attack” (Interview DAMP 2017).

The second discourse strand constructs migrants as individuals, who are characterized by their low willingness to integrate into a majority society and consequently their inability to navigate the peaceful coexistence with Czech citizens, which is given by their different culture. Migrants, if not integrated well, may pose “negative social phenomena” that may lead to security threats and so an effective control of foreigners is regarded as necessary. Such formulations imply that foreigners are inherently prone to criminality, or that there is

a high probability that they will cause the occurrence of other “negative social phenomena”.

“They do have cultural differences. We cannot be as Swedes, who are obsessed with helping migrants [...] I do not like when it is uncontrolled” (Interview DAPS 2017).

The Strategy of Migration Policy identifies the integration of foreigners as the main problem, what is seen not only by the grammatical choices of the text itself but also by placing the integration of foreigners in the first chapter before illegal migration. According to National Security Audit (2016, p. 66), *“successful integration is a key factor in eliminating many negative phenomena that may ultimately also lead to security threats”*. Therefore, the instruments of integration policy that are supposed to be helping migrants to integrate into the society have transformed to obstacles for those, who want to live in the Czech Republic. Migration Strategy presupposes language tests for foreigners seeking to obtain a long-term residence permit to be stricter, needing to achieve A2 level in Czech language (currently being A1) (Strategy of Migration Policy of the Czech Republic 2015, p. 7). Moreover, the Strategy seeks to *“extend residence controls and strengthen the measures for the enforcement of the administrative deportation decisions”* (Strategy of Migration Policy of the Czech Republic 2015, p. 10). The National Security Audit (2016, p. 67) confirms that *“the requirement for a higher level of knowledge of Czech – naturally supported by an expanded choice of classes – is fully justified”*.

*“Due to a lack will of the migrant to integrate into society **for reasons of significant cultural differences and traditions** different from those of the Czech legal system”*
(National Security Audit 2016, p. 73).

When it comes to human rights discourse, the documents refer to human rights of migrants only marginally. References to international commitments in the field of human rights seem rather as some kind of obligation to adhere to some minimal standards that Czech Republic signed up for.

*“Maintaining an effective return policy while preserving transparency, **respect for human rights and human dignity**”* (Strategy of Migration Policy 2015, p. 15).

*“Besides EU legislation, the issue of migration is significantly influenced by international obligations of the CR, **especially in the field of human rights**”* (National Security Audit 2016, p. 63).

On January 2014, the Government of the Czech Republic approved the official proposal of then Minister of Interior Milan Chovanec to accept fifteen Syrian families as a form of humanitarian gesture. Term such as security guarantees, thorough verification, monitoring or risk dominated the official proposal of the Minister. The selection of people for the relocation to the Czech Republic was very complicated and consisted of three-rounds. The pre-selection process was held with the help of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). In the proposal that was prepared by the Ministry of Interior, it says that “*only after thorough verification of those persons by the Czech Security Services*”, the Ministry of Interior will send its own people to finally select the candidates for relocation while preferring those, who needed immediate medical care, those with high integration potential, education and religion. Also, thorough check-up was carried out to ensure selected people have no connection to a terrorism or terrorist cell (Mvcr.cz 2018). The relocation was coordinated with the Unit for Combating Organized Crime under the Police of the Czech Republic, Security Information Services, Military Intelligence and Foreign Affairs and Information Office. What can be observed is that security aspect is strongly emphasized in the Minister’s proposal while it almost completely leaves out the needs and rights of refugees. The involvement of security professionals in the process of their relocation evoked the feeling that the Czech Republic was trying to relocate some dangerous criminals and not those who need help and health care. The Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic itself therefore failed to explain the human perspective of the relocation of people who were forced to leave their homes. This humanitarian act was overshadowed by the security aspect of the situation, invoking fear rather than sympathy with chosen families among general public (Pavelková 2015, np).

Explanation phase – text as social practice

In order to examine the relations between the discourse processes and social context as well as the effects that discursive practice has on social practice, the focus is placed on the examination of a) social determinants shaping the discourse at the situational, institutional and societal level b) ideologies, or the construction of meanings that maintain the relations of power, and the c) effects – whether the discourse sustains or changes power relations (Fairclough 1995, p. 163).

At the situational level, the anti-hegemonic discourse of migrants-assisting NGO’s that point

out to the human aspects of migration provides the opposition to state institutions' understanding of migration. These are various non-governmental organizations or activists who, by the nature of their activities, engage in negotiation process with state institutions and subsequently in the discursive field of migration by formulating their claims. However, the influence of NGO's at the institutional level is not that great. As mentioned in the interpretation phase, even though we can find some aspects of human rights discourse in the analyzed documents, they lack any deeper attention. However, NGO's that point out to human aspects of migration are many times dismissed at the institutional level, as it was in the case of the Strategy on Migration Policy. On March 2015, the Strategy was elaborated on in a round table discussion arranged by the DAMP with representatives from other resorts as well as from non-governmental organizations that deal with migration issues. The Ministry of Interior presented ready-made document that approaches the topic of migration from a security perspective and where migration is framed as a security threat in the first place. As said by Mr Haišman in the round table discussion, Ministry of Interior's stance toward migration as presented in the proposed document, was interpreted very clearly and it won't change. Therefore, the representatives from non-governmental organizations had a little chance to confront the Ministry of Interior representatives' ideas on migration, meaning that human right aspects were, in a large part, excluded from the round table discussion as well as from the Strategy itself. As Kučera (2015, np) pointed out, it is good that the Ministry of Interior is interested in other ideas on migration and talks with various non-state actors and experts about the issue. However, by presenting ready-made document the Ministry of Interior dismissed any alternative arguments and so such discussions might then be perceived as a tool for the legitimation of Ministry of Interior's vision of migration policy. What is more, according to a respondent from the Department for Home Affairs EU Funds, Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic, there are many bureaucratic obstacles that NGO's must face when applying for the EU funds that consequently discourages potential applicants from applying and therefore acting in the area of migration. That is why Czech Republic has been for a long time one of the EU member states with the lowest drawdowns of money from the EU (Interview DHA 2018).

Furthermore, as of 2017, the Ministry of Interior shifted its focus to labour migrants including EU citizens, who are in high demand when it comes to Czech job market. In February 2017, the Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic adopted the *Measures for Addressing Security and Public Order in Industrial Areas and Their Vicinity in Relation to*

Increased Employment of Foreigners, which was aimed at migrant workers in industrial zones in Pilsen, who, according to then Minister of Interior Milan Chovanec (The Czech Social Democratic Party – ČSSD) and Police President Tomáš Tuhý, come uncontrollably, which is followed by the increase in criminality of foreign workers¹⁴ (Čaněk 2017a, np). In the Minister’s proposal, the EU citizens and other foreign nationals are regarded as a threat to security as well as public order. In the words of Minister Chovanec (In Čaněk 2017b, np), “*We have to guarantee to the citizens of Pilsen that their children will safely return home at night. We will not tolerate shouting after Czech women after having a bottle of wine.*” Presented measures primarily concern the role of the Police at the expense of social work or the work of other non-governmental organizations that have experiences in this area. Moreover, the Minister of Interior himself has participated in few security controls in the industrial zones, which was widely covered by the media. Such medialization and the actual participation of the Minister contributes to the construction of migration as a security problem as well as works as some kind of manifestation of power over foreigners, being them EU citizens or third country nationals (Čaněk 2017b, np). In their effort to challenge the dominant security discourse of the Ministry of Interior, an open letter against the criminalization of migration addressed to the Minister of Interior has been signed by twenty non-governmental organizations, such as Adra, o.p.s., Agency for Migration and Adaptation or CARITAS, in which the organizations demand the change in the security approach of the Ministry of Interior, pointing out to human security of migrants rather than the security of the state that should be protected (Open Letter 2017, np).

The Ministry of Interior’s understanding of migration has also been challenged on the part of other resorts and various state institutions. For example, the last amendment to the Alien Act no. 222/2017 Coll. amending the Act no. 326/1999 Coll. on Residence of Aliens came into force in June 2017 after more than a year long negotiations in the Chamber of Deputies followed by the rejection in the Grand Chamber. Some of the amendments significantly restrict the rights of foreigners living in the Czech Republic as well as they are considered to be against both constitutional and European law by many institutions, such as the Czech legal chamber, the Government Council for Human Rights or the Ministry of Justice of the Czech Republic. During the debates in the Grand Chamber, the arguments for the restrictions

¹⁴ According to statistics, the increase in the criminality of foreigners in 2016 mostly concerns minor driving offences (often parking fines). However, this is partially the result of insufficient infrastructure, which does not reflect the fast development in the industrial areas (Čaněk 2017b, np).

in migration area were articulated as a response to the refugee crisis of 2015 and so the topic of security was the main point of departure. Somehow surprisingly, the Act primarily concerns the rights of those who legally live, work and study in the Czech Republic (mostly Ukrainians, Vietnamese, Americans) despite the refugee crises arguments. What is more, the amendments themselves do not in reality tackle security issues as was argued by the proponents of the amendments (in a large part the Ministry of Interior) but instead pose various obstacles to those who wish to legally work and stay in the Czech Republic¹⁵. The proponents of the amendments to the Alien Act also argued that the new document builds on the results and recommendations of the National Security Audit of 2016. However, the Audit considers mass, untrammelled migration and unsuccessful integration of foreigners as the biggest challenges in the field of migration. The new Alien Act amendments do not deal with those challenges at all except one very vague suggestion to “*enforce security elements of the immigration process*”. Paradoxically, one security element was thrown out from the Amendment to the Alien Act – a personal interview of a visa applicant at the embassies (Jurečková 2017, np).

At the societal level, the discourse on migration is influenced by the membership of the Czech Republic in the European Union as well in other international organizations. We can find the aspects of global migration discourse in the analysed documents:

*“Activities related to the assistance of refugees in third countries and **support for the development of third countries in managing refugee crises are an essential component of the European Union's migration policy.** Policies on the external dimension of migration and international protection (asylum) are increasingly perceived as an important instrument for the protection of refugees in the regions of origin, as well as an important tool for the development and stabilization of third countries in which refugees come”* (Strategy on Migration Policy 2015, p. 14).

*“In this respect, the European Commission, in cooperation with the European External Action Service, introduced a new framework or partnership with third countries in June 2016, which should deliver **a complex and coordinated approach of the EU targeting the root causes of migration in the long-term**”* (National Security Audit 2016, p. 65).

From the extracts above, it can be observed that both documents recontextualize the aspects

¹⁵ For example, the Act prolongs the period from two to five years for those who wish to change their purpose of stay to business, or restricts the ability of foreigner to defend against illegal behaviour of his or her employer, as in case of an unlawful notice to leave job, he or she would automatically lost residence permit.

of the global discourse by pointing out to the externalization of migration control. However, the security discourse pointing out to negative aspects of migration is way too dominant. All in all, the Ministry of Interior has been maintaining its power position in the field of migration and the refugee crisis even reinforced its role in further securitisation of migration.

Conclusion

For a long time, the topic of migration has not been an important topic in both Slovakia and Czech Republic as it was practically social and political non-issue. Therefore, for decades, all the relevant policy on migration was being adopted without much attention and public interest. Due to this fact and the dominant role of the Ministry of Interior in migration issues, it maintained its continuity when it comes to the influence of the bureaucrats from the Ministry of Interior on the overall conception of the migration policy and its management. Kušniráková and Čížinský (2011, pp. 504-509) talk about “*path dependency*” process (as formulated by Krasner 1988), in which both countries have maintained the style of the migration policy management based on their experiences before the regime change in 1989. During the socialist era, the main aim of the Ministry of Interior in migration area was the protection of a country and migration was considered as threatening for the stability of the regime and society as a whole. The experiences with immigration were very little, mainly in terms of controlled migration of foreign workers and students coming from other socialist countries. Therefore, the conception of migration policy based on security and control has been determined by the character and past experiences of the Ministry of Interior as a key player in migration issues and this security discourse has dominated until today. As it was also examined in the thesis, in both countries, the security discourse has been dominating the crucial conceptual and strategic documents regarding migration while human rights, or humanitarian discourse has been pushed into the background.

Slovakia has adopted its first crucial document regarding migration in 2005, as a reaction to the accession into the European Union, which was replaced by a new document in 2011 preceded by the economic crisis. This context was reflected in the analysed documents, which put strong emphasis on the national interest when it comes to the acceptance of migrants. In the documents, only a small group of migrants are actually considered as good – those who are culturally related and those, who can be an asset for Slovakia in terms of

labour market situation. All others, who do not serve Slovakia's national interests, are potentially dangerous and need to be deterred through exclusion or subjected to a continuous control. Before the refugee crisis, the Ministry of Interior had been maintaining its long time dominance over the issue of migration by successfully dismissing any alternative voices pointing out to human aspects of migration. However, until the beginning of 2015, the topic of migration has not attracted wider political or public attention. The security discourse on migration has become an important part of media and political discourse since early 2015, when the immigration to Europe has significantly increased. Migrants have been presented mostly in a negative light in terms of their culture, connection to terrorism and criminality, therefore reproducing the institutionalized security discourse. The debate also intensified due to the upcoming parliamentary elections in March 2016 when the topic of migration toppled domestic issues and became the center of attention of many political parties and media, what was subsequently reflected in the election results¹⁶. Given the Presidency of Slovakia in the Council of the EU in the second half of 2016, Slovakia has not pushed forward any document that would reflect the current situation in terms of refugee crisis, but rather tried to voice its views at the EU level. The presented concept of effective solidarity, however, reflected Slovakia's long time approach to migration based on national interest. Nonetheless, the Ministry of Interior has been successful in maintaining the power over the issue as the dominant security discourse has not been challenged by the alternative discourses that were either excluded from migration practice or ignored.

On the other hand, in the Czech Republic, the topic of migration wasn't a priority until 2015. Even though Czech Republic adopted a document defining the basic principles of migration policy in 2003, it cannot be considered as a coherent document in the field of migration as it contains only a few vague sentences. This absence of a coherent policy document regarding migration can be explained by the disinterest of political elites to engage with the topic as well as by the frequent changes on the post of the Minister of Interior. The Czech Republic adopted its first crucial document regarding migration only in 2015 as a reaction to an increased immigration in Europe. As pointed out by Tomáš Jungwirth from Association of International Affairs (Globsec 2017), we have witnessed "migration debate on steroids"

¹⁶ The Social Democratic Party of Róbert Fico of SMER-SD, who is known for his strong anti-immigration rhetoric, has won the elections as well as far-right nationalistic Party of Marián Kotleba called People's Party Our Slovakia – LSNS entered the parliament for the first time. The LSNS build its election campaign on anti-immigration sentiment.

in the Czech Republic during the 2015-2016 even though there was not a substantial increase in the asylum claims as it was in other countries of the European Union. Media and politicians presented the topic of migration primarily as a security threat, confirming the dominance of the security discourse in the field of migration. The fact that the Czech Republic adopted its first strategic document regarding migration during the critical period of the refugee crisis, strongly influenced the more “radical” security approach to migration than the one of Slovakia. In the analyzed documents, migrants are constructed primarily as a security threat by pointing out to their cultural characteristics that are defined with regard to their unwillingness to integrate and proneness to criminal activity or terrorism. The refugee crisis further strengthened the power position of the Ministry of Interior in the field of migration as counter-securitisation claims have not been successful in challenging the dominant security discourse due to an advantaged position of the Ministry of Interior over the issue of migration as well as its strong voice of “an expert” that is upstaged to speak on the issue during the time of crisis.

Despite the different context in both countries under which the documents were adopted, the rationality behind the security discourse of the Ministries of Interior is almost identical. Migrants are primarily perceived as a threat to national security, which is given by their culturally conditioned characteristics, which are seen as inherent and therefore incompatible with “our traditional way of life”. This may consequently result in “negative social phenomena” that may undermine the security of the country, in many forms, such as criminality or terrorism. The construction of migration as a threat to national security is in both cases enhanced by the criminalisation of migration. However, the producers of the document regard this security threat as manageable. By linking migration and security concerns, they have been legitimizing the securitising moves in a form of effective control mechanisms as well as changes in legislation in the direction of making it harder for foreigners to come, live or work in Slovakia or the Czech Republic. By constructing a social representation of migrants as different others, who can be deterred only through their exclusion, the producers of the document legitimize their “truth” about what security is with regard to their years long practice and experiences with dealing with the issue of migration as well as with working with migrants, presenting themselves as experts or professionals on the topic. As Bigo (2002, pp. 65-67) pointed out, the public acceptance of a certain issue as a security threat is not a precondition to a successful securitisation as it was presented by the Copenhagen School. Rather, those securitising moves have been institutionalized within the

Ministries of Interior for a long time without a wider public consent. Civil bureaucrats from the Ministries of Interior that have migration in their competence are not interested in public legitimacy of their steps but rather in the expanding of their power over the issue in order to secure their position as providers of security. Given the advantaged position of the Ministries of Interior over the definition of security threats, those professional discourses then materialize in a form of laws and policies that, in turn, confirm the dominant ideologies. Alternative voices pointing out to human aspects of migration therefore face a challenge in providing an alternative interpretation of what security is, as they are mostly dismissed or marginalized. The security discourse regarding the issue of migration has become embedded in an institutional and legal framework of the two countries long before it was enacted by politicians and media at the beginning of 2015. The refugee crisis even reinforced the dominant role of security discourse in both countries and provided the basis for further securitisation on migration. The Ministry of Interior of Slovakia as well as the Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic confirmed their position of the providers of security, however, their security approach towards migration based on exclusion and continuous control may have the opposite effects, thus creating the real risk for social cohesion.

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Interviews

The Bureau of Border and Alien Police of the Presidium of the Police Force of the Slovak republic under the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic, Bratislava, 16.6.2017

The Bureau of Border and Alien Police of the Presidium of the Police Force of the Slovak republic under the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic, Bratislava, 27.11.2017

National Unit for Combating Illegal Migration, Operations and Investigations Division, Bratislava-West, 27.11.2017

International Organization for Migration, Bratislava, Slovakia, 19.12.2017

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Directorate of the Alien Police Service –FRONTEX National Contact Point, Prague, Czech Republic, 11.12.2017

Biometric Section of the Department for Asylum and Migration Policy under the Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic, 18.7.2017

Department for Home Affairs EU Funds, Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic, 27.1.2018

Appendix

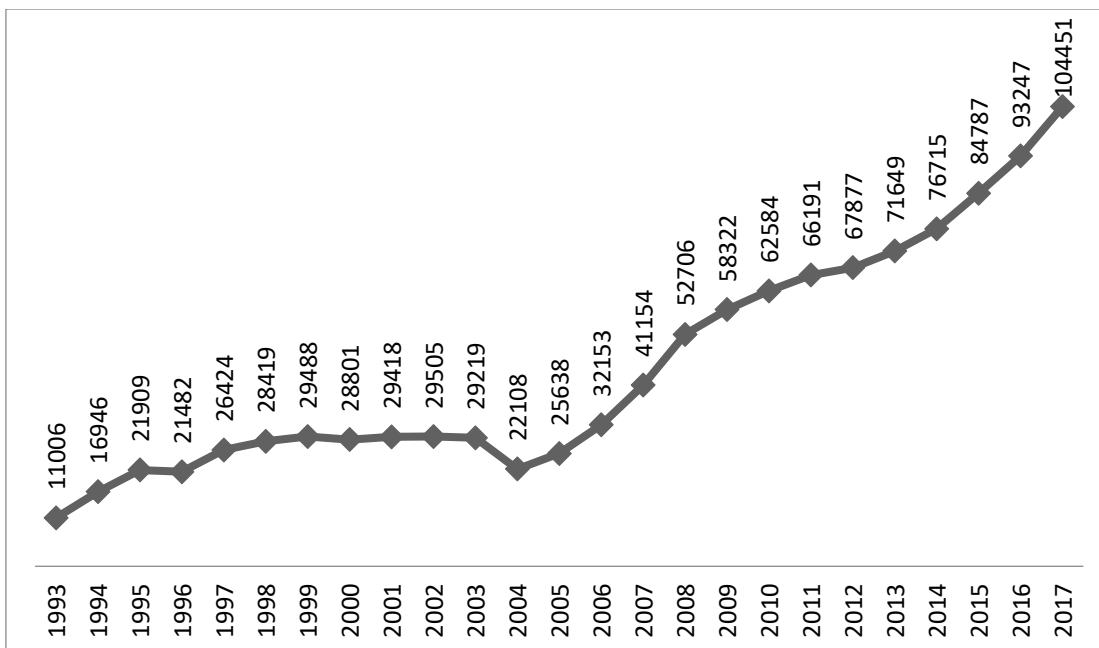
Appendix 1: Asylum in Slovakia for the period of 1993-2017 (*Ministry of Interior SR 2018, own presentation*)

Year	Applications total	Asylum granted	Subsidiary protection granted
1993	96	41	
1994	140	58	
1995	359	80	
1996	415	72	
1997	645	69	
1998	506	53	
1999	1320	26	
2000	1556	11	
2001	8151	18	
2002	9743	20	
2003	10358	11	
2004	11395	15	
2005	3549	25	
2006	2849	8	
2007	2642	14	82
2008	909	22	66
2009	822	14	98
2010	541	15	56
2011	491	12	91
2012	732	32	104
2013	441	15	34
2014	331	14	99
2015	330	8	41
2016	146	167	12
2017	166	29	25

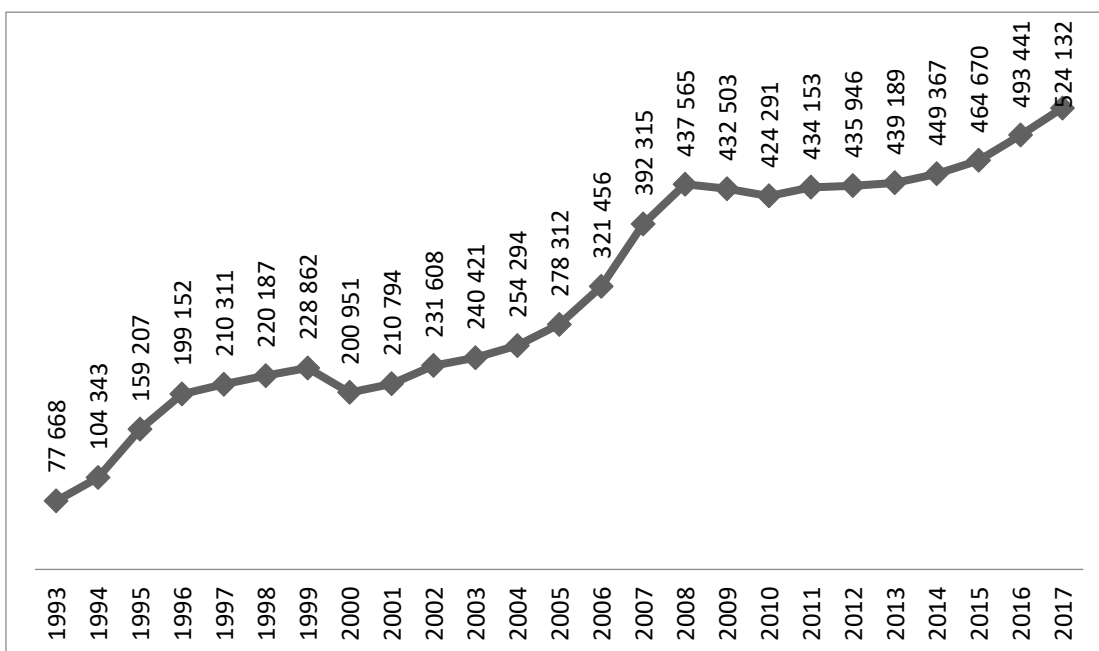
Appendix 2: Asylum in the Czech Republic for the period of 1993-2017 (*Ministry of Interior CR, Czech Statistical Office 2018, own presentation*)

Year	Applications total	Asylum granted	Subsidiary protection granted
1993	2207	250	
1994	1187	116	
1995	1417	59	
1996	2211	162	
1997	2109	96	
1998	4086	78	
1999	7218	79	
2000	8794	133	
2001	18094	83	
2002	8484	103	
2003	11400	208	
2004	5459	142	
2005	4021	251	
2006	3016	268	
2007	1878	191	
2008	1656	157	
2009	1258	75	
2010	833	125	
2011	756	113	
2012	753	49	
2013	707	95	256
2014	1156	82	294
2015	1525	71	399
2016	1477	148	302
2017	1450	29	118

Appendix 3: The number of foreign nationals in Slovakia 1993-2017 (*Ministry of Interior SR 2018, own presentation*)



Appendix 4: The number of foreign nationals in the Czech Republic 1993-2017 (*Ministry of Interior CR, Czech Statistical Office 2018, own presentation*)



Summary

The Master thesis called “*The Effects of Securitising Migration: The case of Slovak and the Czech Republic*” aimed at the analysis of the extent, to which is migration constructed as a security threat in crucial conceptual and strategic documents regarding migration, drafted by the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic. Given that the Ministry of Interior is a key player in the field of migration in both countries setting the direction of migration policy on conceptual, legislative and implementation level, it enters a discursive field of migration by offering its own understanding of migration, which has a great impact on the policymaking in the area of migration, migration practice and consequently on the life of migrants. Despite the fact that both Slovakia and Czech Republic have one of the lowest share of foreigners within population in the whole European Union, we have identified the dominant role of security discourse in the analysed documents. Despite the different context in both countries, the rationality behind the security discourse of the Ministries of Interior is almost identical. Migrants are primarily perceived as a threat to national security, which is given by their culturally conditioned characteristics that are seen as inherent and therefore incompatible with “our traditional way of life”. This may consequently result in “negative social phenomena” that may undermine the security of the country. However, the producers of the document regard this security threat as manageable. By linking migration and security concerns, they have been legitimizing the securitising moves in a form of strengthening the control mechanisms as well as changes in legislation in the direction of making it harder for foreigners to come, live or work in Slovakia or the Czech Republic. The security discourse regarding the issue of migration has become embedded within an institutional and legal framework of the two countries long before it was enacted by politicians and media at the beginning of 2015. The refugee crisis even reinforced the dominant role of security discourse regarding migration in both countries and provided the basis for further securitisation of migration. Given their advantaged position over the definition of security threats, the Ministry of Interior of Slovakia as well as the Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic confirmed their position of the providers of security as alternative voices providing counter-securitisation claims were dismissed.

Master's Thesis proposal

Introduction, societal and academic relevance of the topic

Migration has increasingly become a major issue for European politicians and citizens due to a growing concern for migration as a matter of security. The nexus between migration on one hand and security concerns on the other has become prominent after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. The concept of securitisation has first been brought into the agenda of security studies by the Copenhagen School of Security Studies (Buzan - Weaver - de Wilde, 1998). In last two decades, the study of security has been mainly inspired by social constructivism and poststructuralism with most of the researchers focusing on the study of language and thus on the analysis of security discourse. The thesis *'The Effects of Securitising Migration: The Cases of Czech Republic, Slovakia and Denmark'* focuses on 'practical' securitisation and thus on daily bureaucratic practices of various actors within security community, which together form certain social environment and provide conditions for specific understanding of (in)security, in this case in relation to migration. The thesis proposes a critical approach to security studies - *International Political Sociology* that is based on the study of security as practice and therefore offers a more complex understanding of how security is constructed and performed beyond political discourse.

Theoretical/Conceptual framework

The thesis builds on *securitisation theory* and its classical formulation drawn up by the Copenhagen School subjects to criticism of other authors. The thesis then proposes a critical approach to security studies - *International Political Sociology* that builds on discursively oriented Copenhagen School, sociologically oriented Paris School (e.g. Bigo), and Welsh School (e.g. Ken Booth) emanating from neomarxist critical theory tradition. *International Political Sociology* presupposes that security is constructed not just by discourse, but also by a variety of dispersed formal and informal practices and technologies that together form certain social environment for specific understanding of security threats.

In order to describe the logic of security practices and understand the power relations, the thesis uses Pierre Bourdieu's concept of *field* and *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1984). Field is defined

as structured, rule-governed social sphere in which the positions of agents are unequal. Agents within such social sphere then fight over certain *capital* that defines their position in the social field (such as economic or symbolic capital or political influence). Bourdieu's field analysis takes as its object the formal and informal practices within a social field, which are essential for understanding power relations. The concept of habitus describes the logic of behaving and decision-making of individuals and their subjective dispositions or understandings of particular social field. These are largely habitual and not reflected in nature but also very essential in order to understand power relations.

Research aims:

The aim of the thesis is to understand the context in which security is exercised and to describe the practices of the agents who are involved in construction of security and security threats, in this case, in relation to migration. The thesis looks at how is migration securitized in each state by a number of different practices apart from political discourse. This leads us to the following hypothesis:

Migration is constructed as a security threat not just by discursive acts but also by daily bureaucratic practices of various actors within security community, which together form certain social environment and provide conditions for specific understanding of (in)security.

Methodology and operationalisation:

To be able to answer the research questions and assess the validity of the hypothesis, the thesis uses Bourdieu's field analysis. There are three necessary steps for field analysis (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992a: 105):

1. 'the analysis of the position of the field vis-à-vis the field of power' (background research on the institutions, discourses, and positions in particular area, which is hypothesized to be part of the same field),
2. 'mapping out the objective structure of the relations between the positions occupied by the agents or institutions who compete for the legitimate form of specific authority of which this field [is] the site' (through discourse, policy, historical and legal research),
3. 'analysis the habitus of the agents, the different systems of dispositions they have acquired by internalizing a determinate type of social and economic condition, and which find a definite

trajectory within the field under consideration a more or less favorable opportunity to become actualized' (participant observations, interviews).

Structure of the thesis:

Introduction

1. Theoretical/Conceptual framework

 Theory of securitisation

 International Political Sociology

2. Securitising migration: The practice turn

 Analysis of social fields and habitus

 Czech Republic

 Slovakia

 Denmark

3. Comparative analysis

Conclusion

Literature review:

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