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## Migration – a key concept in the EU’s enlargement process

A conceptual analysis of migration within the European Commission’s Enlargement Package

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# Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to interpret and analyse how migration has played a role in the European Union's enlargement process in the period of 2014-2018. By undertaking theoretical and methodological concepts from Reinhart Koselleck, the study takes a conceptual historical approach to answer the question: What conceptual development has migration undergone within the European Commission's annual enlargement package between 2014 and 2018? By focusing on the conceptual use of migration within specific enlargement documents, this study shows that migration has developed into a negative association of security-related problems. Concerns regarding security escalated alongside the perception of a high influx of migrants in 2015 and subsequently affected the people whom the Commission referred to when talking about migrants. In summary, contextual circumstances have allowed migration to undergo conceptual developments, which had direct impacts on the enlargement process. The Commission's experiences with migration have primarily shaped its expectations of a future enlargement process that values the strategic importance of cooperation in the area of migration. The conceptual use of migration is thus predicted to continue to play an essential role in future enlargement processes.

**Key Words:** European Commission, EU-enlargement, Helge Jordheim, migration, Reinhart Koselleck, Temporalization of concepts, Western Balkans and Turkey.

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# 1 Introduction

The European Union has grown rapidly over the past decades. Nevertheless, enlargement is not by any means finished and it continues to be one of the Union's main political priorities in spite of the many challenges it poses. There are currently seven countries that the European Union has offered the prospect of a potential future membership: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Turkey. As part of the enlargement process, the European Commission annually publishes the *European Commission's Enlargement Package*.<sup>1</sup>

The Commission's most recent enlargement package, published in February 2018, puts migration as a central point of debate and expresses a variety of forecasts and analyses concerning migration.<sup>2</sup> The Commission presented how any prospective enlargement will require an increased focus on migration, especially with regards to the Western Balkans and Turkey which are physically embedded in the European continent and with which the European Union will share external borders of an enlarged Union. Border controls, the control of migration flows, visa policies and measures to combat the illegal employment of foreigners will according to the Commission require a more precise legislation and effective implementation procedures.<sup>3</sup>

Based on the above discussion, it is possible to conclude that there currently is a link between the enlargement process and the political developments regarding migration. However, a complex concept such as migration is loaded with different values and temporalities, and has a conceptual history. This thesis discusses the conceptual history of migration and developments within the enlargement process of the Western Balkans and Turkey.

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<sup>1</sup> European Union, last update: 10/4/2018, "EU Enlargement – State of play", European Union Newsroom, [https://europa.eu/newsroom/highlights/special-coverage/enlargement\\_en](https://europa.eu/newsroom/highlights/special-coverage/enlargement_en), (accessed 10/4/2018).

<sup>2</sup> European Commission, 6/2/2018, "Q&A: A credible enlargement perspective for and enhanced EU engagement with the Western Balkans", European Commission Press Release Database, [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_MEMO-18-562\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-18-562_en.htm), (accessed 12/4/2018).

<sup>3</sup> European Commission, 2018, *A credible enlargement perspective for and enhanced EU engagement with the Western Balkans*, Strasbourg, COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS, 6.2.2018 COM (2018) 65 final, p. 1.

## 1.1 Problem statement, purpose and research questions

The Western Balkans and Turkey could be next to join the European Union. However, by looking at migration through the broader framework of the European Commission's most recent enlargement package, it appears as if the issue of migration will play a role in the candidate's prospect of gaining membership. From a conceptual history point of view, there is a need to identify how social processes characterise concepts to critically evaluate a concepts different temporalities.<sup>4</sup> This raises questions about the conceptual developments of migration within the European Commission's Enlargement Package and what role migration has played in the past, present and potentially also the future enlargement processes.

Through the lens of Reinhart Koselleck, one of the most prominent scholars with- in conceptual history, this thesis aims to interpret the conceptual use of migration within specific enlargement documents during the timeframe of 2014-2018. Interesting to re- flect upon is how the Commission's experiences related to migration has unfolded into future oriented expectations regarding the current enlargement process.

This thesis thus has the purpose to interpret and analyse how migration plays a role in the European Commission's Enlargement Package, which implies an understand- ing of the changes over time associated with the ideas of migration. This thesis is guid- ed by the following research question:

- What conceptual development has migration undergone within the European Commission's annual enlargement package between 2014 and 2018?

The research question will be answered by analysing and discussing the importance of the past in relation to the future, which includes an understanding of enlargement via Koselleck's thesis about temporalities and in particular the change in relationship be- tween experience and expectation.

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<sup>4</sup> Koselleck, Reinhart, 2004[1985], *Futures past, on the semantics of historical time*, translated and with an introduction by Keith Tribe, Columbia University Press, New York, [Electronic resource], p. 11.

## 1.2 Material and scope of investigation

The time period of 2014-2018 is known for being a dynamic and challenging time period for the European Union. Internal and external events, such as the migration crisis, the growing support for nationalistic or far-right ideologies and the British referendum caused instability and insecurities within the European Union.<sup>5</sup> Consequently, the European Union produced lots of rich political language, containing a number of arguable aspects from a conceptual history point of view. The primary materials used for this research focus on the contemporary historical concepts used with regard to the European Union's enlargement process. The focus of the study has been the European Commission's conceptual use of migration in the enlargement package concerning the current and potential candidates: Western Balkans and Turkey during the time period of 2014-2018.

### 1.2.1 Primary material

The European Union's enlargement process with the Western Balkan and Turkey takes place within a special framework known as the *stabilisation and association process*.<sup>6</sup> The prospect for a candidate country to gain a membership has its outset on how well each candidate fulfils the commitments agreed upon in its respective stabilisation and association agreement. Through this framework, the European Commission carries out an assessment of progress made by the candidate countries, which they subsequently publish as an annual *enlargement package*.<sup>7</sup>

The European Commission thereby plays a vital role in the enlargement process. Before any membership negotiations can begin, the Commission has to have carried out an assessment and concluded if a candidate is ready to initiate membership negotiations

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<sup>5</sup> European Union, 06/2016, *Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger European Union, A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy*, European Union, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> European Commission, 21/06–2003, EU-Western Balkans Summit Thessaloniki, 21 June 2003 Declaration, C/03/163, 10229/03 (Presse 163), p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> European Commission, last updated: 06/12/2016, "Stabilisation and Association Process", European Neighbourhood Policy and Enlargement Negotiations, [https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/policy/glossary/terms/sap\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/policy/glossary/terms/sap_en), (accessed 20/4/2018).

or not.<sup>8</sup> Although no membership negotiations are finished until every government within the European Union express their approval of a candidate's progress, discussion and potential decisions are based on the Commission's assessment published in the annual enlargement package.<sup>9</sup>

The annual enlargement package consists of several documents which explains the Commission's views on the current enlargement process. The package includes a *Communication of EU Enlargement Policy* which sets out a comprehensive evaluation of each candidate country and potential candidate. Furthermore, the document describes what the candidates have achieved over the last year since the last evaluation and sets out guidelines on reforms that according to the Commission should be prioritised.<sup>10</sup>

The primary material used in this study will be the Commission's Communication of EU Enlargement Policy from 2014-2018. The research thereby extends from the 8<sup>th</sup> of October 2014, until 6<sup>th</sup> of February 2018. However, there is no document from 2017, and subsequently no analysis of 2017. This is due to the fact the Commission in 2016, shifted the timeframe for publishing the next enlargement package from the autumn of 2017 to the spring of 2018, to better align it with the upcoming of economic reforms.<sup>11</sup>

Each of the documents mention migration, although in different extent. Since concepts go through slow and gradual changes, there are not any "breaking points" that govern the analysis. Instead of discussing so-called breaking points, the primary material will be used in order to discuss conceptual changes in terms of different temporal dimensions, which could be interpreted as overlapping with each other. It is therefore possible to view 2014-2018 as a range of time upon which migration could be interpreted as undergoing slow and gradual conceptual changes. Consequently, the five years that constitute the frame of analysis should not be viewed as a clearly limited

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<sup>8</sup> European Commission, last updated: 06/12/2016, "Steps towards joining", European Neighbourhood Policy and Enlargement Negotiations, [https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/policy/steps-towards-joining\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/policy/steps-towards-joining_en), (accessed: 25/4/2018).

<sup>9</sup> John O'Brennan, 2014, On the Slow Train to Nowhere? The European Union, 'Enlargement Fatigue' and the Western Balkans, *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 19 (2). p. 226.

<sup>10</sup> European Commission, last updated: 06/12/2016, "Strategy and Reports", European Neighbourhood Policy and Enlargement Negotiations, [https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/countries/package\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/countries/package_en), (accessed: 25/4/2018).

<sup>11</sup> European Commission, 2016, *2016 Communication on EU Enlargement Policy*, COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS, Brussels, 9.11.2016 COM (2016) 715 final, p. 9.

timeframe, but as a basis of history upon which one can interpret and illustrate the conceptual development of migration.

### 1.2.2 Secondary material

The secondary material utilised in this thesis builds on the historical and contextual background of enlargement, with the aim of supporting how this thesis operationalise theory and method. The material therefor mainly consists of official EU-sources, which clarifies the contextual circumstances of the current enlargement process. Contextual circumstances are an important element since concepts are (re)produced or/and undergo changes in their context.<sup>12</sup>

Secondary material has partly been collected by looking at how representatives from the Commission have commented regarding the current candidate's future within the Union. The material thereby includes statements made by key actors, such Federica Mogherini, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, and Vice-President of the European Commission, and Johannes Hahn, Commissioner for European Neighbourhood Policy and Enlargement Negotiations.<sup>13</sup>

In addition, other official EU-sources have been used to identify migration role in the prospect of the candidates gaining membership. The European Union's Global Strategy *Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe* has been used to map out contextual circumstances and the Unions strategic choices following the crises within and beyond the European Union's borders in 2015-2016, which pushes for a European Union of security and defence.<sup>14</sup> Further on, the European Commission made a number of changes in 2015 to the enlargement package, compared to previous years. In 2015, the Commission adopted an overarching multi-annual strategy as part of the enlargement package, which covers the mandate of the current Commission. This document

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<sup>12</sup> Helge Jordheim, 2003, *Läsningens vetenskap. Utkast till en ny logik*, Anthropos: Gråbo, p. 128.

<sup>13</sup> European Commission, 2014, "The Commissioners, The European Commission's political leadership", European Commission, [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/commissioners/2014-2019\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/commissioners/2014-2019_en), (accessed 20/4/2018).

<sup>14</sup> European Union, 06/2016, *Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger European Union, A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy*, European Union.



confirms the "fundamentals first" approach and addresses the migration crisis.<sup>15</sup> It is important to highlight that this change did not affect the primary material in any considerable extent except the fact that the annual assessment has a multiannual strategy which functions as a supplement to the already consisting enlargement framework.

### 1.3 Scope of investigation

Context is important when undertaking a conceptual analysis. Therefore, this thesis bases its scope on investigation to the timeframe of 2014-2018.<sup>16</sup> This period of time is recognized of being a dynamic and challenging time period, with both internal and external events, such as the migration crisis.<sup>17</sup> From a conceptual history point of view, concepts go through slow and gradually changes in relation to social changes in their respective historical contexts. The contextual circumstances during 2014-2018 thereby justifies the chosen timeframe.<sup>18</sup>

Conceptual history is also, in similarity to other academic discipline within history, classified as empirical science. It can therefore only be applied as a methodological approach upon material that empirically can be classified as discussing the concept one aims to analyse, in this case migration.<sup>19</sup> This means that discussions regarding for example gender and ethnicity cannot be discussed since it does not constitute a foundation of the communication documents. This is in itself a restriction considering this thesis theoretical and methodological approach. A statement, such as the enlargement package, could however be discussed as constituting elements of social, cultural and political changes. However, this thesis only intends to look at the conceptual changes related to the political dimension of the enlargement documents.

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<sup>15</sup> European Commission, 10/11/2015, "European Commission - Fact Sheet What's new in the 2015 enlargement package?" European Commission Press Release Database [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_MEMO-15-6040\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-15-6040_en.htm), (accessed: 25/4/2018).

<sup>16</sup> Reinhart Koselleck, 1996, *A Response to Comments on the Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, Hartmut Lehmann & Melvin Richter (red.), *The Meaning of Historical Terms and Concepts: New Studies on Begriffsgeschichte*, German Historical Institute, Washington, s. 64.

<sup>17</sup> European Union, 06/2016, *Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe, A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy*, European Union, p. 3.

<sup>18</sup> Reinhart Koselleck, 2004[1985], p. 10-13.

<sup>19</sup> Anna Fridberg, 2012, *Demokrati bortom politiken En begreppshistorisk analys av demokratibegreppet inom Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti 1919–1939*, Atlas, p. 20.

Lastly, the analysis does not intend to limit itself to any exclusionary definitions. Yet, it seeks to offer a range of potential understandings, useful for the analysis of how the conceptual use of migration plays a role in the enlargement process. This will mainly be discussed with respect to European Commissions central objectives, and not the Member States different political viewpoints regarding the current enlargement process.

## 1.4 Source criticism

In all scientific work it is necessary to critically evaluate the information available in the material. This thesis primary material could be criticised by the fact that it represents a boreoarctic product and thereby might not be considered constituting the most suitable material when attempting a conceptual analysis. However, despite the fact that the primary material is a boreoarctic product, it does not reflect in the language. Through the lens of Koselleck, the understanding of the material is that it is visionary, with references to bad and good experiences which lays the foundation for future-oriented expectations. The material is therefore suitable for implementing a conceptual analysis that focuses on a concepts temporality.

## 1.5 Key words

- **Enlargement:** The key components used in this paper are basic: the full membership-based accession of new countries into the political framework known as the European Union.<sup>20</sup> It is important to stress that EU-enlargement ought to be conceptually de-coupled from *European Integration* within this thesis.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> European Union, 13/12/2007, *Treaty of Lisbon Amending the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty Establishing the European Community*, 2007/C 306/01, Article 49.

<sup>21</sup> European Commission, 2015, *The European Union Explained: Enlargement*, European Commission, Directorate-General for Communication Citizens information, Doi: 10.2775/809205, p. 5-6.

- **Hermeneutics:** Meaning the theory of interpretation, i.e. the theory of achieving an understanding of texts, utterances etc.<sup>22</sup> In this thesis, hermeneutics is mainly represented by the twentieth-century philosophical movement of hermeneutics, in particular conceptual history.<sup>23</sup>
- **Migration:** Key components of migration is gathered from the European Migration Network Glossary. The European Migration Network is a network within the European Union which consists of migration and asylum experts with the aim to provide objective and comparable policy-relevant information, such as a glossary.<sup>24</sup> Their glossary define migration as:

In the global context, movement of a person either across an international border (international migration), or within a state (internal migration) for more than one year irrespective of the causes, voluntary or involuntary, and the means, regular or irregular, used to migrate.<sup>25</sup>

- **Migrant:** The key components of a migrant is also gathered from the European Migration Network Glossary, which define a migrant as:

In the global context, a person who is outside the territory of the State of which they are nationals or citizens and who has resided in a foreign country for more than one year irrespective of the causes, voluntary or involuntary, and the means, regular or irregular, used to migrate.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Helge Jordheim, 01/05/2012, “AGAINST Periodization: Koselleck’s Theory of Multiple Temporalities”, *History and Theory* no. 2: 15, p. 59.

<sup>23</sup> A more detailed explanation of the twentieth-century philosophical movement of hermeneutics will take place in “Methodology”.

<sup>24</sup> European Commission, Last update: 01/05/2018, “About the EMN”, European Commission Migration and Home Affairs, [https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/content/about-emn-0\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/content/about-emn-0_en), (accessed: 01/05/2018).

<sup>25</sup> European Commission, Last update: 12/04/2018, “Migration, definition(s)”, European Commission, Migration and Home Affairs, [https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/content/migration-0\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/content/migration-0_en), (accessed: 12/04/2018).

<sup>26</sup> European Commission, Last update: 12/04/2018, “Migrant, definition(s)”, European Commission, Migration and Home Affairs, [https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/content/migrant-0\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/content/migrant-0_en), (accessed: 12/04/2018).

## 2 Background history of enlargement

The European Union has grown rapidly over the past decades. Since the Union was founded in 1951, it has expanded from six Member States to twenty-eight.<sup>27</sup> However, the enlargement is most likely to continue due to the fact that many countries still desire to enter the European Union. There are currently five candidate countries and two potential candidates to whom the European Union has offered the prospect of a potential future membership. The candidates are: Turkey and Macedonia since 2005, Montenegro since 2010, Serbia since 2012 and Albania since 2013. The potential candidates are: Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo.<sup>28</sup> This group of candidates is usually referred to as the Western Balkans and Turkey, both by the Union as well by individual Member States.

The process of joining the European Union broadly consists of four stages.<sup>29</sup> The first step is that the country itself has an accession perspective and applies to become a member of the European Union. A valid application triggers a series of evaluations in the light of the so-called Copenhagen criteria.<sup>30</sup> The country can thereby become an official candidate for a membership.<sup>31</sup> The next step is formal membership negotiations, which have developed and changed over the years. Today's accession process is recognized as being more comprehensive and primarily focusing on addressing the “fundamentals first”, i.e.: rule of law, economic governance, democratic institutions, funda-

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<sup>27</sup> European Union, last update: 07/04/2018, “About the EU, Countries”, Europa.eu, [https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/countries\\_en](https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/countries_en), (accessed: 07/04/2018).

<sup>28</sup> European Union, last update: 08/04/2018, “EU Enlargement – State of play”, Europe.eu, [https://europa.eu/newsroom/highlights/special-coverage/enlargement\\_en](https://europa.eu/newsroom/highlights/special-coverage/enlargement_en), (accessed: 08/04/2018).

<sup>29</sup> European Commission, 13/10/2017, “Western Balkans enlargement: common destination”, [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/western-balkans-enlargement\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/western-balkans-enlargement_en.pdf), (accessed: 08/04/2018).

<sup>30</sup> European Council, 21-22/6/1993, *Conclusions of the Presidency - Copenhagen*, SN 180/1/93 REV 1, Copenhagen, p. 2.

<sup>31</sup> European Commission, Last updated: 06-12/2016, “Conditions for membership”, European Neighbourhood Policy and Enlargement Negotiations, [https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/policy/conditions-membership\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/policy/conditions-membership_en), (accessed: 01/05/2018).

mental rights, good neighbourly relations and regional cooperation.<sup>32</sup> Overall, the Commission cover 35 chapters across all policy areas to ensure that candidates are fully prepared to become members. When negotiations and accompanying reforms have been completed to the satisfaction of both sides, an Accession Treaty is finalised and ratified, and the country can join the European Union.<sup>33</sup>

The current candidates already benefit from substantial EU-assistance, mainly from the Stabilisation and Association Agreements which provide candidates with far-reaching access to the internal market by having established a free-trade area and views on how to stabilise the region.<sup>34</sup> Although the Union has demonstrated an active commitment and support towards the candidate countries, the Commission expresses how the enlargement process goes hand in hand with a strict and conditional accession.<sup>35</sup>

## 2.1 Political and academic explanations

The enlargement of the European Union is a key political process both for the organization itself and the international relations of Europe in general. Consequently, a lot of literature has been produced with the attempt to explain the process and outcome of EU-enlargement.<sup>36</sup> This thesis has chosen literature from John O'Brennan and Frank Schimmelfennig. Their work, combined with official EU-sources has the sole purpose to clarify contextual circumstances. These sources will therefore not be used to problematise the enlargement process, which is neither the purpose of this thesis.

John O'Brennan has done extensive research on the European Union's deepening relationship with the Western Balkan and Turkey and he has specifically analysed the

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<sup>32</sup> European Commission, 10/11/2015, "Western Balkans and Turkey: enlargement process key to strengthened economic and political stability in the region", European Commission - Press release, [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_IP-15-5976\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-15-5976_en.htm), (accessed: 03/05/2018).

<sup>33</sup> European Commission, last updated: 06/12/2016, "Steps towards joining", [https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/policy/steps-towards-joining\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/policy/steps-towards-joining_en), (accessed: 25/4/2018).

<sup>34</sup> European Commission, 13/10/2017, "Western Balkans enlargement: common destination", [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/western-balkans-enlargement\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/western-balkans-enlargement_en.pdf), (accessed: 08/04/2018).

<sup>35</sup> European Union, 06/2016, *Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe*, p. 9.

<sup>36</sup> Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier, 2011, The study of EU enlargement: theoretical approaches and empirical findings, *Living Reviews In European Governance* 6, no. 1: p. 97.

different ways in which the enlargement process has had an impact on the region.<sup>37</sup> O'Brennan's work states that the European Union's engagement with the Western Balkans and Turkey is proving to be uneven and unsatisfactory. O'Brennan's research takes outset from how enlargement has increasingly become associated with the Western Balkans and Turkey.<sup>38</sup>

However, it is important to bear in mind that enlargement is not a new phenomenon. Although enlargement as a concept has not always been used, it is associated with "year by entry", "widening", and "deepening", which can be traced back in time in the European Union's history. The easiest way to illustrate this is by exemplifying how the Union has increased size-wise. When European countries started to cooperate economically in 1951, only Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands participated. Over time, more and more countries expressed their desire to join and the Union currently exists of 28 Member States, with the accession of Croatia on 1 July 2013 being the latest.<sup>39</sup>

The history of enlargement is further on characterised of opening up for debate. When the United Kingdom was a candidate, France rejected their membership application twice. The so-called Big Bang of 2004, which was followed by the European Commission's announcement of Romania and Bulgaria being allowed to join by 2007 also opened up for debate and triggered a lot of criticism based on the opinion that the candidates were not ready to join. Croatia, being one of the first Western Balkan country to accede to the European Union, is yet another example as their accession meant that the European Union was not only a direct neighbour of the Western Balkans, but physically embedded in the region.<sup>40</sup>

The enlargement process of the Western Balkans and Turkey has also opened up for debate. The Western Balkans and its unique history of ethnic wars fought in the 1990's are characterised by its reputation of lawlessness and still constitutes a main source of debate both on the national level and on the Union's level.<sup>41</sup> Commissioner

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<sup>37</sup> John O'Brennan, 2014, 'On the Slow Train to Nowhere?' *The European Union, 'Enlargement Fatigue' and the Western Balkans*, *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 19 (2). p. 222.

<sup>38</sup> O'Brennan J., 2014, p. 223.

<sup>39</sup> European Union, last update: 07/04/2018, "About the EU, Countries", Europa.eu, [https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/countries\\_en](https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/countries_en), (accessed: 07/04-2018).

<sup>40</sup> O'Brennan J., 2014, p. 223.

<sup>41</sup> European Union, 11/07/2017, *Factsheet: EU Engagement in the Western Balkans*, European Union, External Actions, UNIQUE ID: 170711\_4.

Hahn stated that the European Union will not be “importing instability to the EU,”<sup>42</sup> and “never again accept a state with unsettled border disputes.”<sup>43</sup> In relation to the release of the annual Enlargement Package 2018, Hahn has also expressed that Turkey “in the area of fundamental right has taken significant steps backwards.”<sup>44</sup> These statements align with what O’ Brennan calls “enlargement fatigue”, which is a growing phenomenon during crises and confirms the “fundamentals first” approach.<sup>45</sup>

Schimmelfenig regard the European Union as a community organization upon which a membership should be viewed as something exclusive for countries who are ready to share.<sup>46</sup> The possible consequences of this perspective are that it creates an institutional exclusionary framework in which a we-conception among Member States – i.e. “insiders” – is used to exercise political power and influence over candidates, – i.e. “outsiders”. Whether conveyed by Member States, candidates or at EU-level, this constitutes a different dimension to the nature of the debates surrounding both those actors who seek to discourage as well as encourage enlargement to the Western Balkans and Turkey.<sup>47</sup>

In spite of the debates, it is clear that a European perspective of the Western Balkans remains as one of the Unions main political priorities. The prospect of future enlargement is underlined in the Commission’s annual enlargement package, in which the Commission express their commitment to a European future of the region.<sup>48</sup> This is also confirmed by Mogherini, who stated: “the EU reiterates its unequivocal support to the European perspective of the Western Balkan countries. The future of the Balkans is

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<sup>42</sup> European Commission, 12/06/2017, “Remarks by Johannes Hahn on Western Balkans and Eastern Partnership”, Brussels, [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/commissioners/2014-2019/hahn/announcements/remarks-johannes-hahn-western-balkans-and-eastern-partnership\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/commissioners/2014-2019/hahn/announcements/remarks-johannes-hahn-western-balkans-and-eastern-partnership_en), (accessed: 13/04/2018).

<sup>43</sup> European Commission, 12/06/2017, “Remarks by Johannes Hahn on Western Balkans and Eastern Partnership”, Brussels, [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/commissioners/2014-2019/hahn/announcements/remarks-johannes-hahn-western-balkans-and-eastern-partnership\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/commissioners/2014-2019/hahn/announcements/remarks-johannes-hahn-western-balkans-and-eastern-partnership_en), (accessed: 13/04-2018).

<sup>44</sup> EU in Turkey, [online video], 24/4/2018, Commissioner Hahn’s message: 2018 Report Turkey, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2a-pJQDxYB8>, (accessed 20/04–2018).

<sup>45</sup> O’ Brennan J., 2014, p. 222.

<sup>46</sup> Frank Schimmelfenig, 2004, “Liberal Intergovernmentalism”, *European Integration Theory*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 90.

<sup>47</sup> O’ Brennan J., 2014, p. 225.

<sup>48</sup> European Commission, 2018, *A credible enlargement perspective for and enhanced EU engagement with the Western Balkan*, p. 1–2.

within the European Union.”<sup>49</sup>. This European perspective is thus intended to lead to membership and full incorporation in the institutional and policy regimes of the European Union.<sup>50</sup>

[...] And I say European Union perspective - I do not say European perspective - because we have to start from the simple, self-evident truth that the Western Balkans are European already. It is Europe. It is part of Europe - historically, geographically. If you look at the borders, the Western Balkans are within the Member States of the European Union. We share one cultural heritage. We share the same interests at present. We share some of the challenges at present. And we will share a common future inside our European Union.<sup>51</sup>

The European perspective is partly administrated through the concept of *credibility*, which constitutes as one of the four key words that govern the enlargement process alongside with consistency, commitment and courage.<sup>52</sup> The Commission tries to reflect credibility by offering the Western Balkan countries and Turkey a credible roadmap towards a future European Union membership.<sup>53</sup> The Commission’s promise of a future membership for the current candidates thereby has to be a credible one if accession-driven reforms are to succeed.

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<sup>49</sup> European Union, 06/02/2018, Speech by High Representative/Vice-President Federica Mogherini at the European Parliament Plenary Session on the Western Balkan Strategy, Strasbourg, 06/02/2018 - 20:23, UNIQUE ID: 180206\_36.

<sup>50</sup> European Commission, 21/05/2003, *EU-Western Balkans Summit Thessaloniki, 21 June 2003 Declaration*, C/03/163, 10229/03 (Presse 163).

<sup>51</sup> European Union External Actions, 06/02/2018, Speech by High Representative/Vice-President Federica Mogherini at the European Parliament Plenary Session on the Western Balkan Strategy, Strasbourg, 20:23, UNIQUE ID: 180206\_36.

<sup>52</sup> O’Brennan J., 2014, p. 236.

<sup>53</sup> European Union, 2016, *2016 Communication on EU Enlargement Policy*, p. 9.



### 3 Theory

This thesis requires a theory that uncovers migrations conceptual history within the European Union's enlargement process. Reinhart Koselleck, who is considered to be one of the most important historians of the twentieth century, has particularly studied the history of concepts. Although there are varied fields within the science of hermeneutic, Koselleck represents *Begriffsgeschichte*. *Begriffsgeschichte*, translated as "conceptual history", is an established German approach to political and social language, which charts the transformation of political language in terms of the leading concepts deployed in such language.<sup>54</sup> Koselleck's theoretical perspective pays a particular interest in analysing the distinction of word and concept and the fact that a concept might be represented by more than one word, or by different meanings over the course of time.<sup>55</sup> His theoretical framework is thus considered to be a suitable perspective for analysing how migration has undergone a conceptual development in the European Commission's annual communication document during 2014-2018.

Koselleck's theoretical position represents one of the perspectives which were developed and established in the modern period. The work of Koselleck is associated with the German hermeneutic tradition, which alongside with the *Cambridge School*, counts as one of the most prominent conceptual practices. Even though both practices locate concepts within political events, there are a number of significant differences. The distinct idea of conceptual history is analysing the development and change of human consciousness in distinct concepts, whereas the historians of the Cambridge School study linguistic contexts in their entirety.<sup>56</sup>

So why has this thesis chosen Koselleck, a theoretician from the German hermeneutic tradition, instead of a leading representative from the Cambridge School, such as Quentin Skinner? Skinner, who is regarded as one of the founders of the Cambridge

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<sup>54</sup> Reinhart Koselleck, 2004 [1985], p. 81.

<sup>55</sup> Jordheim H., 2003, p. 130–131.

<sup>56</sup> Dvora Yanow and Peregrine Schwarz-Shea, 2006, *Interpretation and Method: Empirical Research Methods and the Interpretive Turn*, Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, p. 73.

School, aims to analyse speech acts during single and particular historical events. His theoretical perspective is therefore neither suitable for this thesis' chosen material or the purpose of this thesis.<sup>57</sup> In contrast, Koselleck directs his attention towards sole terms and their relation to history.<sup>58</sup> According to Koselleck, terms reflect historical experiences and knowledges and its encounter with the present and the future. Peoples actions, their sociocultural structures and ideas are gathered and united within the terminology.<sup>59</sup> Koselleck's theoretical perspective thereby contributes to how this thesis could interpret and analyse the conceptual developments of migration.

Although Koselleck's approach stands within the German hermeneutic tradition, his approach also differs in other important aspects. By founding *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, translated as "basic concepts in history", Koselleck gained a unique position and reputation within the German hermeneutic tradition.<sup>60</sup> Subsequent to this research, he started to develop the idea of the need for a theory of historical time, in particular the idea of temporal layers.<sup>61</sup> Koselleck's theoretical perspective on temporality has been selected as the most suitable for this thesis material and purpose. In alliance with this thesis' purpose, Koselleck's theoretical perspective on temporality has been chosen as the most suitable. This will be explained further in the following chapter.<sup>62</sup>

### 3.1 Koselleck and the concept of temporality

Although Koselleck is distinguished within the German hermeneutic tradition, it is hard to categorize him as he does not prioritise his extensive list of theories, empirics, philosophy and history. This thesis, is restricted to Koselleck's more recent work on temporality, in particular how temporality can be analysed by looking at experience and expectation in everyday life and within social processes. Koselleck elaborates on his

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<sup>57</sup> Yanow D., and Schwarz-Shea P., 2006, p 74.

<sup>58</sup> Rudolf Valkhoff, 2006, SOME SIMILARITIES BETWEEN BEGRIFFSGESCHICHTE AND THE HISTORY OF DISCOURSE, *Contributions to the History of Concepts*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 84-85.

<sup>59</sup> Koselleck R., 2004 [1985], p. 75.

<sup>60</sup> Koselleck Reinhart, 2011, Introduction and Prefaces to the *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, College of Staten Island, Translated by Michaela Richter, City University of New York, *Contributions to the History of Concepts*, Volume 6, Issue 1, p. 5.

<sup>61</sup> Niklas Olsen, *History in the Plural: An Introduction to the Work of Reinhart Koselleck*. n.p.: Brooklyn, NY : Berghahn Books, p. 224.

<sup>62</sup> Valkhoff R., 2006, p. 83.

theoretical perspective regarding experience and expectation in numerous of his published work, upon which this thesis has chosen to mainly base the theoretical perspective from the book: *Futures Past- On the Semantics of Historical Time*.<sup>63</sup> The book gathers some of Koselleck's most important work and reoccurring theories about temporality.

In order to understand Koselleck's conceptualisation of temporality, two main characteristics will be described to deepen the understanding of how this thesis will utilise Koselleck's theoretical concept in the analysis. First and foremost, it is important to understand that Koselleck views language as a reflection of collective experiences that derives from certain perspectives of the relationship between the past, the present and the future.<sup>64</sup> Temporal dimensions thereby reflect the idea that history consists of and unfolds in the interaction with the past, the present and the future. Koselleck outlines that ideals of history should be viewed as a supreme form of instruction, one that consequently directs everyday lives in the present with the help of specific cases.<sup>65</sup> Koselleck also argues that analysing the past, functions as a way of connecting history with everyday life. Koselleck uses the term *Zeitschichten*, translated as "layers of time", in order to describe temporal dimensions and further on the understanding of the plurality in history.<sup>66</sup>

Hence, at the core of Koselleck's work is the attempt to replace the idea of linear, homogeneous time with a more complex, heterogeneous, and multi-layered notion of temporality. History thereby becomes transnational, multi-lingual and filled with varieties of temporalisations. Temporal uniqueness, temporal routine and presumably timeless normative horizons are neither bound by national space alone, nor expressed in merely mono-lingual ways.<sup>67</sup> The functioning of the European Union thereby falls in line with his theoretical perspective, since it is characterised of neither being bound by national space alone, nor expressed in merely mono-lingual ways. Further on all material that the Union produces has the same characteristic and the chosen primary material thereby aligns with Koselleck's theoretical assumptions.

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<sup>63</sup> Reinhart Koselleck, 2004 [1985], *Futures past, on the semantics of historical time*, translated and with an introduction by Keith Tribe, [New ed.], Columbia University Press, New York, [Electronic resource].

<sup>64</sup> Koselleck, 2004 [1985], p. 48.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid. p. 113.

<sup>66</sup> Jordheim H., 2012, p 157.

<sup>67</sup> Jordheim H., 2012, p. 165.

Another characteristic is Koselleck's concept of specific experiences being generated by modern condition. His theoretical perspective thereby opens up for the discussion on how awareness of time is a way to analyse how human beings and/or organisations have configured and reconfigured their understanding of not only themselves, but also the world. His theoretical perspective thereby opens up to analyse not only specific human beings, but also communities and societies.<sup>68</sup> The European Commission's enlargement package is therefore a valid object for applying his theoretical perspective.

Koselleck uses the term *Sattelzeit*, translated as "saddle-period", to hypothecate the historical changes a concepts temporalisation.<sup>69</sup> The term aims to describe how horizon of expectations is disconnected from the space of experience. Social-political language is not oriented towards the past, but loaded with future-oriented expectations. However, in order to analyse this, focus needs to be directed towards relations between the space of experience and the horizon of expectations.<sup>70</sup>

### 3.1.1 Space of experience and horizon of expectations

Time should be viewed as an important prerequisite that enables human beings to participate in society and participate in politics in order to realize our interests and wishes.<sup>71</sup> According to Koselleck, our awareness of time is generated through the tensions between experience and expectation, everyday life and social process.<sup>72</sup> These are historically variable and contingent. During the course of modernity and late modernity, experience and expectation have become increasingly divergent.<sup>73</sup> Their separation should affect how we think about historical time in relation to everyday life and the span of a generation and a lifetime.<sup>74</sup>

So what significance does the horizon of experience in comparison to the space of expectation constitute? Initially it is important to highlight that Koselleck does not con-

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<sup>68</sup> Jordheim H., 2012, p 165.

<sup>69</sup> Edward Q. Wang, Franz Fillafer, 2007, Chapter 19 The Enlightenment on Trial: Reinhart Koselleck's Interpretation of Aufklärung, in *The Many Faces of Clio: Cross-cultural Approaches to Historiography*, Berghahn Books, University of Rochester Press, p. 323.

<sup>70</sup> Olsen N., 2012, p. 185.

<sup>71</sup> Koselleck R., 2004 [1985], p. 133, 151.

<sup>72</sup> Koselleck R., 2004 [1985], p. 30

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.* p. 48.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.* p. 63.

sider these two conceptual pairs to be opposite or mutually exclusive categories.<sup>75</sup> These two categories are however fundamentally different and they fulfil different functions when analysing a concepts temporality. However, experience does not exist without expectation or vice versa.<sup>76</sup>

No expectations without experience; no experience without expectation.<sup>77</sup>

Koselleck defines *Erfahrung* (experience) as being “present past” while *Erwartung* (expectations) is defined as “future projected in the past”.<sup>78</sup> To elaborate, experience is a concept whose function is to describe the temporal dimensions and further enables an analysis that elaborates how experiences due to its presence in the present orients the interpretations and actions of human beings.<sup>79</sup> Experiences are conveyed through either generations or institutions and thereby experiences remain preserved. Consequently, history has since the beginning of time been perceived as the science of someone else’s experiences. It is first when experiences start being directed towards future actions that they turn into expectations.<sup>80</sup>

The horizon of expectations might initially appear to be similar; however, it is important to remember that Koselleck finds them to be fundamentally different. No matter if it is personal or interpersonal, expectations arise in the present and further on become reality in the future. Factors such as hope and despair, wish and will, worry and rationality etc., all contribute to shaping expectations. Conceptually, horizon is related to possible future predictions, which in itself is derived from our experiences. Since Koselleck views historical time as being generated through the tensions between experience and expectation, it is not a question of “if”, but a question of “what” interpretations the space of experience and horizon of the future one can bring out from a chosen material.

The value of analysing the meaning of historical concepts lies in the simple fact that the concepts we use when talking about the past have consequences for the way we understand it, both in itself and in its relations with the present and future. As Koselleck

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<sup>75</sup> Olsen N., 2012, p. 224.

<sup>76</sup> Reinhart Koselleck, 2004, *Erfarenhet, tid och historia: om historiska tidens semantik*, Daidalos, Göteborg, p. 170–172

<sup>77</sup> Koselleck R., 2004 [1985], p. 270

<sup>78</sup> Koselleck R., 2004 [1985], p. 196.

<sup>79</sup> Jordheim H., 2003, p.131.

<sup>80</sup> Jordheim H., 2003, s. 175.

puts it: “No event can be narrated, no structure represented, no process described without the use of historical concepts which make the past conceivable.”<sup>81</sup>.

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<sup>81</sup> Koselleck R., 2004 [1985], p. 112.

## 4 Methodology

Since the purpose of this thesis is to interpret and analyse how migration plays a role in the communication documents, this thesis needs a methodological approach which considers sole concepts and their relation to history. For this thesis, the most relevant and inspiring attempts of analysing concepts have been proposed by Koselleck. As explained in the previous chapter, Koselleck believes that concepts can be loaded with different values, upon which he tries to give concepts their meaning through the light of human experiences from time and temporality.<sup>82</sup> In this way, concepts are not only capable to alter and change, but also serve as an indicator of change.

Koselleck did not aim to construct an all-encompassing methodological system. Rather, he “offered something like a toolbox of compatible assumptions of what historical writing is and what can be done with it”<sup>83</sup>. The chosen methodological approach is limited towards analysing and discussing how space of experiences and the horizon of expectations are gathered and met in the concept of migration. This means that the thesis will carry out an analysis of how the Commission’s conceptual use of migration inherent a consideration of political changes, which have been developed through the annual communication documents in the time period of 2014-2018.

While discussing space of experiences and horizon of the future as historical categories, this thesis will not analyse migration’s conceptual origins. This is a choice that is commonly made when applying Koselleck’s theoretical and methodological perspective.<sup>84</sup> The systematic analysis and the claims will therefore be based of the interpretations of migration’s temporal dimensions within the annual communication documents during 2014-2018.

Koselleck’s theoretical framework requires a method that focuses on both the features within text and context as well as the interaction that occurs between them. The work of Helge Jordheim thereby becomes crucial as he has done extensive research on

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<sup>82</sup> Koselleck R., 2004 [1985]. p. 11.

<sup>83</sup> Olson N., 2012, p 233.

<sup>84</sup> Koselleck R., 2004, p. 167.

the theoretical and methodological implications of Begriffsgeschichte and the work of Koselleck. In his book *Läsningens Vetenskap*, Jordheim provides a systematic comparison of the most eminent theoreticians within the field of conceptual history: Koselleck, Foucault and Skinner.<sup>85</sup> This thesis is restricted to Jordheim's theorization of Koselleck, with the ambition of clarifying how to comprehend that the communication documents possess a complex, heterogeneous and multi-layered notion of temporality.

## 4.1 A holistic reading of text and context

Jordheim promotes a holistic reading as a way of practicing the hermeneutic component of Koselleck. A holistic reading means allowing the enlargement documents to remain as a whole text and yet retaining an analytical distance. Since texts do not speak by themselves, focus needs to be directed towards both language and context as well as the interaction between them.<sup>86</sup> Jordheim's methodological approach thereby promotes a systematically reading of specific text and its interaction with the surrounding context. This works best on materials that extend over a longer time period. Therefore, this thesis' primary material becomes suitable.<sup>87</sup>

When applying a holistic reading, one needs to bear in mind the basic premises within conceptual history, which views language as a social construction and proceeds on the basis that there is a clear distinction between a concept and a word.<sup>88</sup> A concept is always a word, however a word is not always a concept.<sup>89</sup> Within conceptual history, a word is recognized as being unilaterally, while a concept is ambiguous and more abstract. Consequently, Koselleck states that "the meaning of words can be defined more exactly, concepts can only be interpreted."<sup>90</sup> Migration is an example of both a word and a concept, upon which its conceptual character is highly debatable and politically charged.<sup>91</sup> A concept with the following characteristics is within conceptual history de-

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<sup>85</sup> Jordheim, H., 2003, p.128.

<sup>86</sup> Jordheim, H., 2003, s. 252.

<sup>87</sup> Jordheim, H., 2003, s. 252.

<sup>88</sup> Jordheim, H., 2003, s. 160.

<sup>89</sup> Jordheim, H., 2003, s. 168.

<sup>90</sup> Otto, Brunner, Werner Conze, Reinhart Koselleck, (red.), *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, Studienausg., 1 Aufl. dieser Studienausg. mit beigefügten Korrigenda., Klett-Cotta, Stuttgart. p. 23.

<sup>91</sup> Jan Ifversen, 2003, "Om den tyske begrebshistorie", *Politologiske Studier*, vol 6, no. 1, 19.



scribed as a *fundamental concept*.<sup>92</sup> Even though this characteristic imposes different interpretations, it postulates a necessity for carrying out an analysis of a concepts social and political disputed content.

There is also another element of holistic reading. A statement constitutes elements of political changes.<sup>93</sup> A holistic reading thereby looks at if a concept could be interpreted as an attempt of affecting a specific political situation towards an intended future political direction. This means that statements, such as the communication documents, represent interpretations of experiences and expectations, with the power to influence current political situations. Concepts can contain different values and with their ability to change meaning, concepts can change our understanding of the outside world.<sup>94</sup> A holistic reading thereby enables an interpretation of migration's conceptual use as a reflection of political dimensions, temporal dimensions and conceptual changes.<sup>95</sup>

However, according to Koselleck, experiences and expectations can only be grasped by also looking at the linguistic terms of *synchrony* and *diachrony*.<sup>96</sup> Koselleck was inspired by the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, who theorized the concept of synchrony and diachrony dimensions in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Synchrony and diachrony are two different and complementary viewpoints which within Koselleck's theoretical approach helps to identify the multi-layered notion of temporality within a concept and grasp a given concepts meaning in its context. Synchrony and diachrony thereby helps to detect both the features within text and context as well as the interaction that happens between them. It thereby goes beyond a concepts literal meaning, which usually can be found in its key components, by showing how a concept can be applied to the world and what is done by it. All these dimensions of a concept's meaning are deeply rooted in the respective synchronic and diachronic dimensions.<sup>97</sup>

Synchronic fills the purpose of studying a concept at a given point in time, syn = same; chron = time. A diachronic analysis helps putting the concept of migration into a historical context, Dia = throughout; chron = time.<sup>98</sup> Although both a synchronic and diachronic approach has its advantages, the purpose of this thesis is to detect migra-

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<sup>92</sup> Ifversen J., 2003, p. 23-24.

<sup>93</sup> Jordheim H., 2003, s. 201-202.

<sup>94</sup> Jordheim H., 2003, s. 130, 175.

<sup>95</sup> Friberg A., 2013, s. 56.

<sup>96</sup> Koselleck R., 2004 [1985], s 25-27.

<sup>97</sup> Koselleck, R., 2004, p. 25-27.

<sup>98</sup> Jordheim, 2012, p. 156.

tion's conceptual development. Having said that, the methodological approach will be limited to only analyse migration's diachronic dimensions.

## 4.2 Diachronic dimensions

Since concepts are capable of change, a diachronic analysis helps detect the interplay of temporal dimensions. A diachronic analysis pays more interest to historical events and linguistic changes and thereby fills the purpose of studying a concept's development through time. Since there are patterns which simply cannot be discerned without looking at a language at multiple points in time, a diachronic analysis helps putting the concept of migration into a historical context, analysing the linguistic changes of the conceptual use of migration in the enlargement policies between the years of 2014-2018.<sup>99</sup> This helps to interpret if historical events, such as the migration crisis, has had an influence on the Commissions conceptual use of the word migrant within the enlargement process.<sup>100</sup>

Conceptual meanings do not only succeed each other chronologically, but co-exist, overlap, or come into conflict with one another and thus enter into a synchronic, multilayered structure. [...] The diachronic element reappears within the concept or the text itself, as a structural relationship between past, present, and future.<sup>101</sup>

Since a diachronic analysis focuses on studying the evolution of language units, it also establishes the signification of how a concept can be tied up with implicit or explicit associations. This is within conceptual history referred to as a *semantic field*. To clarify, the concept "friend" often relates with words such as "acquainted", "companion", "loved" etc. A diachronic analysis thereby also helps mapping out the relationship between words or concepts that are similar to each other in different times and clarify associations between certain linguistic expressions.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Göran Bergström, Kristina Boréus, 2012, (red.), *Textens mening och makt: metodbok i samhällsvetenskaplig text- och diskursanalys*, 3., [utök.] uppl., Studentlitteratur, Lund, p.184-187.

<sup>100</sup> Jordheim, 2003, s. 188.

<sup>101</sup> Jordheim, 2012, p. 169.

<sup>102</sup> Sally Boyd, 1980, The semantic field of Swedish friendship terms, *Papers in Anthropological linguistics*, Institutionen för lingvistik, Göteborgs Universitet. p. 12.

Lastly, the diachronic analysis will be based on the assumption that every concept has key components.<sup>103</sup> This means that there at a certain point of time has been established what context the concept can be used within. This is a logical necessity related to the practical use of a concept. If one would remove the key components of a concept, the concept would no longer make sense.<sup>104</sup> This means that although social conditions affect a concept, this change is never so radical that it eliminates the key components. However, this does not mean that key components could carry a concept in its entirety, and thereby a concept cannot be reduced into only its key components. Key components are able to change; however, this usually happens over a longer amount of time in comparison to a concept's semantic fields.

The European Union's current terminological definition of migration will be used as key components of migration.<sup>105</sup> The following definition is chosen since it is the definition the Commission used when talking about migration in the communication documents. It is recommended to have key components as a starting-point when attempting a conceptual analysis.<sup>106</sup> With this in mind, the thesis will consider migration's key components when carrying out the diachronic analysis.

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<sup>103</sup> Koselleck R., 1996, p. 64.

<sup>104</sup> Koselleck R., 1996, p. 63.

<sup>105</sup> Key components can be found in chapter "Key words".

<sup>106</sup> Allwood, 1989, Om begrepp – deras bestämning, analys och konstruktion, Göteborgs Universitet, Institution för filosofi, lingvistik och vetenskapsteori, p. 54.

## 5 Previous research

Concepts have a history and thus their meaning change due to its context. The conceptual history of migration is no exception to this. The conceptual history of migration can be studied in many different ways and there is almost a limitless amount of literature available. To understand migration's wider hermeneutic context, this chapter will summarise some of the scholars interested in migration conceptual history. Although as previously mentioned, this thesis does not attend to analyse the conceptual origins of migration, as not all of them are relevant to the research. The thesis therefore relies on research that primarily contributes to understanding the conceptual complexity of migration and the conceptual use of migration in policies, especially during times of crisis.

In other words, the previous research is explicitly focused on the conceptual history of migration and not on the enlargement process. This is a choice that derives from the fact that this thesis does not intend to problematise the current enlargement process, but instead study the conceptual developments of migration within it.

### 5.1 The conceptual use of migration

Scholarly analyses generally agree that migration is a complex concept, which represents the complicated global phenomenon of population change.<sup>107</sup> However, there is no universal conceptual basis of migration which is applicable in all scenarios, such as local, regional, nation and international. The lack of a universal basis becomes clear when viewing prominent theoreticians with a particular interest in migration. Clarke, J.I said "there is no unanimity over the meaning of migration"<sup>108</sup>. Trewartha, G.T emphasises that migration is a concept with various shades of meaning, upon which a restrictive

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<sup>107</sup> Demko, G. J.-Ross, H.M Schnell, G.A. 1970, *Population Geography: A reader*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, pp. 286-287.

<sup>108</sup> Clarke, J.I, 1965, *Population Geography*, Pergamon Press, Oxford, p. 123.

definition would exclude different types of human mobility.<sup>109</sup> Demko, G. J.-Ross and H.M-Schnell, G.A. view the conceptual use of migration as being based on change in residence.<sup>110</sup> Eisenstandt defines migration as a physical transition from one society to another.<sup>111</sup>

Based on the above discussion, there appears to be no unanimity among scholarly analysis of migration's conceptual meaning. Further complications originate from factors such as (a) the lack of internationally accepted concepts or standard of time scales and (b) if only permanent change of residence should count as migration. Migrations conceptual deficit thereby results in different scholar approaches and conceptual definitions. Thus the question remains - who is a migrant and who is not a migrant?<sup>112</sup>

## 5.2 The conceptual use of migration within policies

Laying down the framework for this thesis, Mary M. Kritz' research constitutes the main inspirations on how to interpret migration conceptual use in policies. Kritz view international migration policies as being under constant modification and change.<sup>113</sup> This originates from the fact that if a perception of experiences relates to migration change, the conceptual use of migration changes to correspond with the present.<sup>114</sup>

The link between the conceptual use of migration and policies is best illustrated in the case of illegal migration. Since states possess sovereignty, they can assess which migrants meet the conditions imposed by their legislation. The general tendency is that with a growth of illegal migration, states and other public authorities often implement efforts to restrict immigration.<sup>115</sup> Illegal migrants in European countries are also increasing substantially as we have seen a higher influx of asylum seekers. Difficulties in coor-

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<sup>109</sup> Trewartha, G.T, 1969, *A Geography of Population: World Pattern*, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, p. 136.

<sup>110</sup> Demko, G. J.-Ross, H.M Schnell, G.A, 1970, p 286.

<sup>111</sup> Eisenstandt, S.N 1953, Analysis of Patterns of Migrations and Absorption of Immigrants, *Population studies*, London School of Economics, London, pp. 167-170.

<sup>112</sup> Sinha, B.R.K, 2005, Human Migration: concepts and approaches, *Földrajzi Értesítő*, LIV, évf. 3-4, füzet, p. 408.

<sup>113</sup> Mary. Kritz, 1987, International Migration Policies: Conceptual Problems, *The international Migration Review*, Vol. 21, No. 4, p. 947.

<sup>114</sup> Kritz M., 1987, p. 950.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid. p. 957.

dination enforcements often result in illegal migrations and rejected asylum applications remaining illegally in states.<sup>116</sup>

The conceptual use of migration within policies is characterised of conceptual deficit and different approaches. Interest in migration has a long history and policy measures dates back to the emergence of the nation state system in Europe. However, key conceptual issues have rarely been addressed, resulting in policies containing conceptual deficit. The conceptual difficulties have become more evident in combination with the given scale of mass displacement in the mid-20th century.<sup>117</sup>

### 5.3 The conceptual use of migration during crisis

The given scale of mass displacement and migrants whose needs go unrecognized by governments and influential actors has encouraged state authorities, influential policy-makers and funding bodies to convey more humanitarian politics.<sup>118</sup> Despite the conceptual deficit of migration, actors have the tendency to undertake migratory policy projects to convey a more humanitarian political approach during crisis. This includes actors that wants to be portrayed as a normative superpower, such as the European Union.<sup>119</sup>

Defining crises and theorizing their role in policy-making is not an easy endeavour, especially when the conceptual understanding of migration during crisis-related situations is also considered a crisis. For instance, the growing influx of migrants in 2015 was conveyed as a “migration crisis” by both policy-makers and observers alike. The possible consequence of associating migrant crises to flows rather than to their causes, is that policies tend to focus on reducing the migration flows rather than tackling the roots that triggered the migration.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Kritz M., 1987, p. 958.

<sup>117</sup> Chimni, B.S. 2009. "Birth of a Discipline: From Refugee to Forced Migration Studies, The [article]." *Journal Of Refugee Studies* no. 1: 11. p. 14.

<sup>118</sup> Richard Black, 2001, "Fifty years of refugee studies: From theory to policy." *International Migration Review* 35, no. 1: p. 67.

<sup>119</sup> Dawn Chatty and Philip Marfleet, 2013. "Conceptual problems in forced migration." *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 32, no. 2: p. 7.

<sup>120</sup> Jean-Michel Lafleur, Stanek Mikolaj, 2017. *South-North Migration of EU Citizens in Times of Crisis. [Elektronisk resurs]*. n.p.: Cham : Springer International Publishing : Imprint: Springer, p. 4.

European history is already tainted with several migrant crises and it appears as migrant crises tend to recur periodically.<sup>121</sup> Simas Grigonis, who has done extensive research on the European Union in the times of migrant crises, claims that there is an absence of a comprehensive migrant policy. Following circumstances has constrained the Union's ability to prevent crises and cope with its consequences. Further on, Grigonis has detected that security concerns escalated alongside the perception of a high influx of migrants.<sup>122</sup>

## 5.4 Migration: legitimising security measurements

The securitisation of migration entails conceptual changes that indicate threats against for instance the state or a community's values.<sup>123</sup> It is important to underline that there is a significant difference between securitisation of the political practice and securitisation of the rhetoric. However, just as a concept's temporal dimensions often overlap, these implications are also closely interrelated.<sup>124</sup>

In an article from 2000, Jef Huysmans maps out how migration has developed into a security issue in Europe and how the European Union has attempted to integrate a common migration policy into the wider ability to take on the obligations of a membership. Huysmans claims that the development of a common migration policy in the is embedded in wider political process that indicates an endangered society.<sup>125</sup> By integrating migration policies into an internal security framework, Huysmans maps out the European Union's institutional developments as being shaped by a thematic change in problematising migration. Such a negative association of migration reinforces political responses in which migration is often easily connected to security-related problems.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Simas Grigonis, 2016, EU in the face of migrant crisis: Reasons for ineffective human rights protection, *International Comparative Jurisprudence* Vol. 2, p. 93.

<sup>122</sup> Simas Grigonis, 2016, p. 94–95.

<sup>123</sup> Rheindorf, M., and R. Wodak. 2018. "Borders, Fences, and Limits—Protecting Austria From Refugees: Metadiscursive Negotiation of Meaning in the Current Refugee Crisis." *Journal Of Immigrant And Refugee Studies* 16, no. 1-2: p. 16-17.

<sup>124</sup> Elisabeth Abiri, 2000, The Securitization of Migration: Towards an Understanding of Migration Policy Changes in the 1990s – The Case of Sweden, PhD Thesis, Göteborg University, p. 9.

<sup>125</sup> Jef Huysmans, 2000, The European Union and the Securitization of Migration, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, University of Kent, Vol. 38, No. 5, p. 752.

<sup>126</sup> Jef Huysmans, 2000, p. 770.

# 6 Analysis

The analysis will firstly examine the diachronic dimensions of migration within the separate communication documents. This will be accompanied by looking at migrations semantic field. This analysis will subsequently postulate the analysis of migration's conceptual developments throughout the entire timeframe, which will be executed by looking at the communication documents in their entirety.

The analysis will be executed chronologically in order to maintain the authenticity and the opinions that the enlargement documents conveys. A chronological analysis portrays how the Commission has argued and conveyed the enlargement process over the years. The documents are further on coherent as each publication refers to the progress and proposed guidelines mentioned in the previous document, as well as laying the foundation for future documents by establishing upcoming priorities for the enlargement process. A chronological approach is thereby the most natural course of action.

## 6.1 Diachronic dimensions

### 6.1.1 Communication of EU Enlargement Policy 2014

The communication document of 2014, mentions migration seven times. Migration is first and foremost manifested as one out of three possible strategic benefits of enlargement, upon which cooperation in areas like migration would help improve the quality of people's lives.



Three strategic benefits of enlargement. [...] (2) helps improve the quality of people's lives through integration and cooperation in areas like energy, transport, rule of law, migration...<sup>127</sup>

The conceptual use of migration is further on used to convey how citizens from the candidate countries choose to migrate to Member States, causing the Member States into direct contact with their counterparts. The following migration has mainly derived due to the visa liberalisation process. The visa liberalisation process, with its specific conditions for reform, is briefly conveyed as having helped the countries to better focus their efforts. However, the Commission makes it clear that:

The countries need to step up efforts to consolidate those reforms. The visa-exempt countries need to undertake immediate actions to address any abuse of the liberalised visa regime. Consolidated efforts are needed in the areas of migration and border management.<sup>128</sup>

The abuse of the visa-free travel scheme has mainly been used to seek asylum in the European Union. The Commission formulates a set of recommendations to tackle the push and pull factors which must be addressed in order to stop the irregular migration. The Commission does not target any specific candidate country, instead they address all the candidate countries that benefit or will benefit from visa-free travel to the European Union.

Migration is lastly used as a measurement for a candidate's ability to take on the membership obligations. The Commission sheds particular light on Turkey, and how they continue to align with the what is acquired.

Turkey's strategic location also underlines the importance of further cooperation in the areas of migration policy and energy security.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> European Commission, 2014, *Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2014-15*, COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS, , Brussels, 8.10.2014 COM(2014) 700 final, p. 3.

<sup>128</sup> European Commission, 2014, *Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2014-15*, p. 13.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid. p. 26.

The value of cooperating in the areas of migration have become clear when reflecting over the challenges posed by recent developments in the present time both within and beyond the European border. However, Turkey is mainly given credits for their progress related to regional policies and coordination of structural instruments. It is only briefly mentioned how Turkey has also taken important steps in key areas under chapter 24, which concerns migration and asylum policies. Their work is being praised since they simultaneously have a “very considerable burden represented by the continuous refugee crisis.”<sup>130</sup>. This is the only time migration is mentioned in relation to the refugee crisis. No other candidate is mentioned in relation to either migration or refugees. The reason why only Turkey is mentioned seems to derive from their geographic location: a fore-front country and a potential first destination for migrants traveling across the Mediterranean.

Migration is mainly associated with words such as free movement and visa liberalisation, which thereby becomes its semantic field. The following association underlines the need of cooperation and joint efforts internally between the Member States, as well as externally with the candidate countries. The overall interpretation is that migration did not constitute a burden in the present time, only an aspect that could lead to further improvement. Neither is it conveyed as being the highest priority for the future enlargement process.

### 6.1.2 Communication of EU Enlargement Policy 2015

The communication document of 2015, mentions migration nine times. Migration is one of the first things mentioned in the forewords and quickly sets the tone for the document. The conceptual use of migration conveys how the Union is currently facing a crisis which has a direct impact on the enlargement process. The crisis was caused by events beyond the borders of the European Union, i.e. the civil wars and political repression in the Middle East and Northern Africa, causing a high influx of migrants. The experiences related to migration have illustrated that the Western Balkans and Turkey have been and still are seriously affected by what the Commission calls a refugee crisis.

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<sup>130</sup> European Commission, 2014, *Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2014–15*, p. 47.

The Western Balkans and Turkey have been seriously affected by the refugee crisis. Conflicts such as the civil wars in Syria and Iraq have resulted in substantially increased refugee flows through Turkey and the Western Balkans.<sup>131</sup>

Further on, migration is expressed to have illustrated the urgent need of increasing the cooperation with the candidates in order to “secure the unions external borders and to dismantle criminal networks engaged in people smuggling”.<sup>132</sup> Another dimension of problematising migration as a security-issue, is the financial dimension. Increased investments in security is conveyed as being urgent, however, this requires financial support. The Commission firmly states that the Union will be “providing substantial support to this end.”<sup>133</sup> The Commission express how the Union provides financial support in the present time of the document and how their financial commitment will continue being a priority in order to sort out the crisis and invest in security.

The experiences of migration have revealed how the candidates still have some work to do and they currently lack the ability to take on the obligations of a membership. However, the experiences of migration have also revealed admirable actions taken by some of the candidates, mainly Turkey.

Turkey is a key partner for the European Union. Over the past year, the EU and Turkey continued to enhance cooperation in key areas of joint interest [...] Turkey is also at the forefront of a major refugee crisis and is providing substantial support to more than 2 million Syrian refugees on its territory...<sup>134</sup>

The experiences of the high influx of migrants show how Turkey was a frontline country, while the Western Balkans, in particular the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Serbia, were transit countries. None of the candidates are thereby portrayed as having been destination countries, despite the fact that the Commission proposed that

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<sup>131</sup> European Commission, 2015, *EU Enlargement Strategy*, COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS, Brussels, 10.11.2015 COM (2015) 611 final, p. 3.

<sup>132</sup> European Commission, 2015, *EU Enlargement Strategy* p. 3.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid. p. 13.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid. p. 15.

the European Union's list of safe countries of origin should include all enlargement countries. Establishing the candidates on the list of safe countries is a part of the European agenda of migration. Although safe-listing the candidates did not have any direct impact on reducing the high influx of migrants from the Mideast, it did reduce the candidates abuse of the visa-free travel scheme.

The Commission did however manage to reduce the high influx of migrants by pointing out the fragility of the situation. The Commission organised a conference as a response to the crisis upon which the Eastern Mediterranean and Western Balkans migration route was discussed among representatives from the European Union, its Member- and candidate states. One of the decisions ended up being the closing down of the Western Balkan route, which is expressed as an achievement.

Lastly, there is another element to this document that requires attention. In the forewords the Commission states that:

While there has been important progress by many countries in many areas over the past year, the challenges faced by these countries are such that none will be ready to join the EU during the mandate of the current Commission, which will expire towards the end of 2019.<sup>135</sup>

The Commission thereby highlights how recent challenges have clarified how none of the candidates have proven to be ready to join during the mandate of the current Commission. The link between migration and policy has thus been illustrated due to the experience of what is perceived as an unsustainable influx of migrants. The experiences of migration have thereby had a direct impact on the Commissions future-oriented expectations concerning the enlargement process.

Based on the above analysis, we can conclude that migration is tied up with both implicit and explicit associations to: crisis, conflict, asylum applications and refugees. These associations thereby become migration's semantic field. The semantic field comes in the context of emotionally charged words, which illustrate the seriousness of the situation.

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<sup>135</sup> European Commission, 2015, *EU Enlargement Strategy*, p. 2.

### 6.1.3 Communication of EU Enlargement Policy 2016

The communication document of 2016, mentions migration sixteen times. In the document, the Commission kicked off with expressing how they, as a reaction to the multiple crises in 2015, had adopted a medium-term strategy for European Union's enlargement policy. This strategy covers the rest of the Commission's mandate. The strategy is further on an attempt to maintain the attractiveness of the European Union and not let the candidate's prospect of a future within the Union become affected by internal instabilities.

Multiple crises have a destabilising potential not only in Europe, but also globally. The attractiveness of the EU in the enlargement countries has been partly affected by the economic downturn and scepticism regarding the European project.<sup>136</sup>

Due to migrant's continuing attempts to reach European destinations, the Union states that the migratory pressures remain high. The lack of a shared political vision and common actions in the area of migration has made it hard for the Union to overcome challenges and this can also be seen as one of the reasons as to why there exists scepticism regarding the European Union. The experiences demonstrate the strategic relevance of employing policy measures that have migration high on the agenda. What is perceived as a positive result from the closure of the Western Balkan route is an experience that shows that sharing responsibility and cooperating in the area of migration has desirable results.

The migration crisis has been one of the key issues on the political agenda in the past year. It continued to demonstrate the strategic relevance of enlargement policy in the region. [...] The effective closure of the Western Balkans route by the countries concerned together with the EU-Turkey Statement of 18 March delivered clear results on the ground, with the number of irregular migrants and asylum seekers reaching the Greek islands dropping signifi-

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<sup>136</sup> European Commission, 2016, *2016 Communication on EU Enlargement Policy*, p. 2.

cantly, from several thousand a day to less than 100 per day on average.<sup>137</sup>

The Commission further on devotes a whole page to explain the strategic relevance of taking migration into account during the enlargement process. The strategic relevance can be summarised as follows: the migration crisis must be dealt with in a comprehensive and rights-sensitive way since the experiences of the extensive number of irregular migrants and asylum seekers was perceived as unsustainable. The main ambition is to further reduce the migratory pressures on the Union since migrants continue their attempts to reach Member States. The administrative and enforcement capacity - in particular when dealing with crisis situations – calls for full support.

The Commission portrays migration as a key issue and a future priority. Migration is mainly associated with words such as: crisis, war, border control, asylum, fight against terrorism and lastly humanitarian politics. The following associations thereby become migration's semantic field. Humanitarian assistance is more an implicit association. The Union explicitly connects migration to security-related problems, although it states that these problems must be dealt with in a rights-sensitive way, thereby implicitly conveying a more humanitarian politic. Migration and its semantic field is combined with emotionally loaded words, such as uncertainties, extensive, strong etc. as a way to illustrate the seriousness of the situation.

#### 6.1.4 Communication of EU Enlargement Policy 2018

The communication document of 2018, mentions migration eight times. The Commission begins the document by mentioning how:

It is clear that there will be no further enlargement during the mandate of this Commission and this Parliament. No candidate is ready. But thereafter the European Union will be greater than 27 in number.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> European Commission, 2016, *2016 Communication on EU Enlargement Policy*, p. 4.

<sup>138</sup> European Commission, 2018, *A credible enlargement perspective for and enhanced EU engagement with the Western Balkans*, p. 1.

It is clear that much work lies ahead before conditions and criteria are met. The strategy highlights migration as one of the key-areas where much work needs to be done before the candidates can be granted membership. Although experiences associated with migration have illustrated “the interlinkage and interdependence of the region with the European Union”<sup>139</sup>, it has also caused insecurities within the Union. Migration is one of the elements that has shown that no candidate is ready, which consequently has had a direct impact on the enlargement process and the content of the policy. Due to more instabilities and uncertainties within the Union, migration is established as one of the six flagships. The other six flagships are 1) Strengthened support to the rule of law, 2) Supporting socio-economic development, 3) Increasing connectivity, 4) Launching a Digital Agenda for the Western Balkans, 5) Supporting reconciliation and good neighbourly relations.<sup>140</sup> Concrete actions in these areas must be undertaken and prioritised in order to maintain a credible enlargement perspective and making the “historical opportunity a reality.”<sup>141</sup>

The flagship is named “reinforcing engagement on security and on migration.”<sup>142</sup>. Although the Union expresses that the candidates already have made achievements within this area, strategic and operational cooperation needs to be enhanced in order to address the remaining challenges regarding security and migration. Based on how the Commission conveys migration, it appears to be a clear connection between security and migration. Migration has for example demonstrated the need of reinforcing the Union’s engagement on counter-terrorism and radicalisation. This will partly be taken care of by stepping up the strategic and operational cooperation with the Western Balkans on migration and border management.<sup>143</sup>

Although the Commission conveys the candidates as not being ready, the same goes for the Union itself. The crisis has become so noticeable that the Union already in the foreword expresses how the “Union must be stronger and more solid, before it can be bigger.”<sup>144</sup>. It is clear that there will not be any further enlargement during the mandate of this Commission and Parliament. However, this message is communicated in

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<sup>139</sup> European Commission, 2018, *A credible enlargement perspective for and enhanced EU engagement with the Western Balkans*, p. 1.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid. pp. 10–15.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid. p. 18.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid. p. 10.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid. p. 11.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid. p. 2.

combination with saying that the Union will be greater than 27 in number. The Commission thereby represents a contradictory approach: a firm supporter and a severe critic. A future membership is thereby clearly not ruled out, although it won't be during the current Commissions mandate.

Migration relates to words such as: crisis, securitisation, insecurities and membership. The security concerns have clearly escalated alongside with the high influx of migrants and the migration flows have in themselves been considered constituting a crisis. The semantic field shows how the conceptual use of migration has corresponded to the Commissions experiences with migration.

## 6.2 The conceptual development of migration

The diachronic analysis indicates that migration has played an essential role in the Commissions cooperation with Western Balkan and Turkey, especially during the migration crisis upon which several of the candidate countries played a constructive role. The Union has been supporting the most affected countries, primarily Turkey due to its geographical location, to assist in coping with migration. It is therefore clear that migration continuously has played a big role in the enlargement process.

The fact that this period of time has proven to be dynamic and challenging, characterised with societal and political changes, is in itself the clearest evident on how migration most likely must have undergone conceptual changes. By looking at the material in its entirety, the next step will be to analyse how migration has undergone conceptual developments.

### 6.2.1 Migration, a flagship initiative

Although migration has had political prominence and attention within the European enlargement processes, both before and after the Western Balkans became candidates, it appears to be receiving greater attention. The following outcome is mainly due to the fact that the Western Balkans have appeared ever larger for the European Union as one of the main migration routes that helped trigger a crisis in 2015. The early response to the flow of migrants transiting through the Western Balkans highlighted the absence of effective channels of communication and coordination both with a region that is physi-



cally embedded in the European continent and between EU and non-EU Members more generally.

By viewing the diachronic dimension of migration, it appears as if the migration crisis clarified that enlargement is not just a geo-political unification of countries territories, but a deep integration process that has a social, cultural and political dimension which, just as concepts, are under constant development. Looking at the material, the 2018 strategy stands out due to the fact that it clearly expresses lessons learned and how these should be reflected when discussing fundamental past and future challenges.

Joining the EU is far more than a technical process. It is a generational choice, based on fundamental values, which each country must embrace more actively, from their foreign and regional policies right down to what children are taught at school.<sup>145</sup>

This paragraph is one of the most substantial ones as it shows that the European Union has learned its lessons from all enlargements so far, but has also comprehended what the biggest challenge is, i.e. (re)gaining fundamental values. The lack of mutual fundamental values manifested itself during the migration crisis and revealed institutional flaw, division among the Member States and inadequate cooperation with the candidate countries. The Commission partly suggest a comprehensive and common foreign policy as a solution. The intention is thus to improve the European migration system, ranging across the entire European region. Nevertheless, this could appear as if the accession of the candidates is more demanding than it was in previous waves of enlargement. Taking all this into consideration, it clarifies why the European Commission feels the need to begin the document for 2018 with expressing that the “Union must be stronger and more solid, before it can be bigger.”<sup>146</sup>.

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<sup>145</sup> European Commission, 2018, *A credible enlargement perspective for and enhanced EU engagement with the Western Balkans*, p. 2.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid. p. 2.

## 6.2.2 Migration, a security aspect

The Commission has undergone a securitisation on both the political practise and within its own rhetoric. In 2014, migration was mentioned in regards of migration and visa liberalisation policy, upon which rights-sensitive aspects are highlighted as priorities in order to not only secure, but to improve the quality of people's lives. The security aspect thereby mainly concerns the quality of life. The security assessment is more comparable to an intelligence study, a brief comment and security analysis on worrying developments, such as those occurring in Syria and Iraq. However, considering that the enlargement strategy was published in the autumn of 2014, there is surprisingly little attention given to a situation that would soon unfold to what the Union itself would later on describe as a crisis. In accordance with Grigonis, European history is already characterised by several migrant crises and it appears as if they reoccur periodically. With this in mind, in 2014, the Union should have been more prepared to face the upcoming migrant crisis.

In 2015, the Commission had a completely different communications approach. In the preface, it clearly states that events beyond the borders of the Union caused a high and uncontrolled influx of migrants and refugees. Substantial parts of the document are allocated towards problematising what is perceived as a crisis for the European Union. The crisis is further on conveyed as unsustainable and requires urgent measurements. Challenges concerns the migrants that reach the Union's external boarder and how it has become a security priority to identify the following people, and assist those in need of protection. Other security issues concern safeguarding the European Union's external borders and to dismantle criminal networks engaged in people smuggling. The following security concerns are conveyed as only being possible to solve if the enlargement strategy focuses on increasing the cooperation within the area of migration and security.

The enlargement policy from 2016 continues to express how security should be viewed as a strategic investment. This is partly illustrated by conveying that previous investments in the area of security have resulted in a significant reduction in irregular migration flows and more broadly, the revitalisation of the EU-Turkey relation. Since it is portrayed as an achievement, the interpretation is that a stronger regulation resulting in a decrease of migrants and asylum applications is viewed as a positive thing that the Union aspired to reach. Security is mainly outlined from the perspective of what is best

for the Member States and the candidates, not primarily what is best for the migrants themselves.

The culmination of migration becoming associated with security-related challenges, both for the Union and the candidates, comes in 2018. Here it explicitly states in association with migration that it is essential to address the “existing security and terrorism threats that affect the Union and the Western Balkan region.”<sup>147</sup>. In this document, the Commission recommends to address the security risks by deploying and implementing joint operational activities of the competent national authorities of the European Union’s member states and of the candidate countries together with the European Border and Coast Guard Agency.

The implications of the documents in their entirety, illustrates how the concepts of securitisation of political practice and securitisation of the rhetoric overlap. The securitisation of migration entails conceptual changes that indicates threats against the European Union and reinforces political responses in which migration is often easily connected to security-related problems. The securitisation has just as Kritz theorized become clear as a result of the perceived high influx of migrants. However, the question remains, who does the Commission refer to when speaking about migration in the enlargement documents?

### 6.2.3 *Who* does the Commission refer to when speaking about migrants?

Conflicts beyond the European borders continue to be by far the biggest driver of migration. However, living conditions in the Western Balkans, mainly in Albania and Kosovo, were simultaneously leading people to migrate in hope for new and better lives elsewhere. Both Albania and Kosovo represented the fourth and fifth biggest origins of people applying for asylum in the European Union in 2015. Although the number of asylum requests dropped during 2016, the number of people migrating illegally has continued to grow simultaneously with the enlargement process. However, despite the high

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<sup>147</sup> European Commission, 2018, *A credible enlargement perspective for and enhanced EU engagement with the Western Balkans*, p. 10.

number of requested asylums, the chances of actually receiving asylum were low due as the candidates' origins are listed as safe countries.

The visa liberalisation process, with its specific conditions for reform, is in 2014 described as having helped the countries to better focus their efforts and creating new momentum in their relation with the European Union. However, the Commission simultaneously challenged the candidates to pursue efforts to tackle the negative phenomenon of increased number of unfounded asylum applications. This form of communication continues in the strategy of 2016, as the Commission expresses how the number of unfounded asylum applications, lodged by citizens from the candidate countries, is perceived as remaining high. However, in 2018 the visa liberalisation is hardly given any attention. It is indirectly perceived as if the Commission acknowledged the migratory risks of potential visa liberalisation, however chose to base their communication as conveying the visa liberalisation as either being a condition that fosters a more open European society, or/and unfounded asylum applications. Once again, the Commission represents a contradictory approach: a firm supporter and a severe critic, while neither are directly associated with migrations semantic field.

Despite key components of migration, upon which the Commission bases its communication, it does not seem as if they refer to migrants from Albania and Kosovo when speaking about the migration crisis. Although visa liberalisation is mentioned throughout almost all the documents, it is not conveyed in the same context as migration, with the exception of 2014. The general analysis indicates that visa liberalisation loses its connection to migration's semantic field, while migrants from the Mideast increase their connection to migration's semantic field more and more throughout the time frame. This is quite astonishing considering the amount of asylum applications and migrants with origins from Albania or Kosovo who further on fulfil the key components gathered from the European Migration Network Glossary.

In conclusion, it appears as if migration primarily refers to the high influx of migrants due to events beyond the borders of the European Union, i.e. the civil wars and political repression in the Middle East and Northern Africa. The contextual circumstances have illustrated how the Commission has adopted documents that contains conceptual deficits, which makes it hard to understand who the Commission refers to when speaking about migrants. The conceptual difficulties appear to have become more evident in combination with the given scale of migrants arriving in Turkey, transiting through the Western Balkan route with the ambition to reach Western Europe.

## 7 Experiences and expectations

The conceptual presence of migration has gone from constituting a mere discursive role in the enlargement process to playing a determinative one. The elements of security and crisis appears to become more and more related to the conceptual use of migration and together, these two elements produce a sense of threat that functions as (a) a ‘self-reproduction’ of both elements and (b) to legitimise policy changes. The consequences appear to be that the sense of crisis validates the security measurements, even though it seems to trump the human rights of the high influx of migrants. Furthermore, if the securitisation of migration is being increasingly normalised, it develops from being a temporary measurement to constitute a necessity. Considering the fact that migration’s semantic fields is related to security-issues and less about human right issues it should be viewed as problematic, especially for a community such as the European Union that wants to be portrayed as a normative superpower.

The analysis of migration’s diachronic dimensions has detected the interplay of different temporalities. This analysis will now serve as a mean to discuss the space of experience and horizon of expectations. Experiences and expectations will be the last step in discussing migration’s different temporalities and how migration has undergone a conceptual development as the Commission’s awareness of time has been generated through tensions between experiences and expectations. However, as these historical categories are fundamentally different, the discussion will begin with interpreting the space of experience. This is a choice made due to the fact that in our experiences, the past is gathered and eventually starts being directed towards future actions that turn into expectations.

### 7.1 Space of experience

The Commission’s experience with migration during the time period of 2014-2018 has triggered them to proceed with a comprehensive self-examination of the enlargement process. The self-examination shows how the Commission’s awareness of the past, pre-

sent and future have enabled an elaboration on how their experiences should start being directed towards future actions. The reflections show how the willingness for and capacity to implement enlargements measures is critical, however does remain. But this is not equivalent to a present readiness for enlargement. The willingness and capacity to carry out a strict and conditional enlargement process is therefore superior to experience a present readiness to enlarge the Union. The Commission's experiences of migration constitute a measurement for the Union's readiness of welcoming new members as well as their perception of the candidate's ability to take on the obligations of a membership.

The experiences are further on perceived as having revealed institutional flaws – mainly that the Union did not bear in mind that common external borders require a common protection, as well as a common foreign policy. Progressively, a more united approach to dealing with migration is emerging and thus experiences start being directed towards future actions. This shows how experiences associated with migration, mainly from 2015, was not only considered to be a migrant crisis, but also an institutional crisis. This was perceived as threatening the very existence of the Union and any future enlargement. Thus, since 2015 migration has increasingly developed into a conceptual reference that indicates crises.

The migrant crisis mentioned within the material is not associated with the Yugoslavian wars fought in the 1990's, which currently constitute an obstacle for the European enlargement process and a reason as to why people migrate. The space of experiences only conveys the constant rise in numbers of migrants crossings the Western Balkan route, which was and still is perceived as a crisis. Since today's accession process should be recognised as primarily addressing the “fundamentals first”, not focusing on how history still has a presence in the present, it is a damage to the wider credibility of the enlargement process.

The main conceptual development represents a response to what was perceived as a migrant crisis. The following associations of migration have reinforced political responses in which migration is connected to security-related problems. The securitisation of migration entails conceptual changes that indicates a threat against the European Union and an endangered society. However, if basing the perception of a crisis from Koselleck's dissertation, *Kritik und Krise*, it justifies the Commissions perception of experiences and corresponded conceptual changes, since mass migration of various people should be viewed as a “true and great crisis”.

Based on the above discussion we can conclude that the experiences related to migration and the conceptual use of migration has changed to correspond with the present. Discussing migration's space of experience shows how the past has functioned as a way of connecting certain parts of history with the present. The Commission's experiences have further on been preserved, partly due to the fact that they annually express their experiences in the communication document.

## 7.2 Horizon of expectations

Enlargement still remains a lively force and a relevant topic of discussion. Nevertheless, the European Commission's enlargement policy and requirements towards current and potential candidate countries have changed and so has the process of reporting on their progress. Since 2015, the European Commission has introduced several changes to their approach to enlargement, one of them being the increased highlight of migration as a part of any future enlargement processes. Migration has thus become a key-issue for the Commission, one that is likely to play an essential role in the enlargement policies during the upcoming years.

As migration has become a flagship initiative, the enlargement strategy targets migration as a specific area of interest, which concerns both the European Union and the candidate countries. Although the future is uncertain in many ways, concrete actions in the form of enhanced strategic and operational cooperation in the area of migration is foreseen to happen in the future. Migration will therefore constitute a barrier for any future prospect of accession. To use the terms of Schimmelfenig and Sedelmeier, the Commissions – i.e. “the insiders” – are exercising political power and influence over the current candidates – i.e. “the outsiders”. This is conveyed by the Commission, which clearly executes their political power to promote their future-oriented political expectations of migration.

Although migration is mostly conveyed as a challenge, the Commission executes its political power to encourage an enlargement process that promotes the strategic importance of cooperation with the candidate countries in the area of migration. The candidates have already played an active role in the area of migration, especially during the migration crisis upon which their regional initiatives were seen as positive. Migration will thus continue to play an essential role in the prospect of the candidates gaining

membership. As an encouragement, Commissioners, such as Federica Mogherini, has confirmed the European perspective of the candidate countries and its language has become more and more ambitious and clear: The Western Balkans are promised membership to the European Union, although it will not be during the mandate of the current Commission.

And I say European Union perspective - I do not say European perspective - because we have to start from the simple, self-evident truth that the Western Balkans are European already. It is Europe. It is part of Europe - historically, geographically. If you look at the borders, the Western Balkans are within the Member States of the European Union. We share one cultural heritage. We share the same interests at present. We share some of the challenges at present. And we will share a common future inside our European Union.<sup>148</sup>

Expectations on the prospects of the candidates gaining membership are most explicit in the Commission's most recent communication document. The Commission sets 2025 as an indicative deadline for admission to the European Union of the two most advanced candidates – Serbia and Montenegro. This could incentivise all Western Balkan countries, including those candidates that have not yet started membership negotiation, Macedonia and Albania, and those waiting for candidate status, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo.

The discussions regarding the candidate's enlargement process are a dynamic and relevant topic of discussion, mainly due to the migration crisis upon which the interlinkage and interdependence of the region with the European Union was evident. The experiences of migration are clearly directed towards future actions, aiming to shape a common future. When the Commission used migration to convey expectations, migration comes in the context of emotionally charged words. Thus factors such as hope and despair, wish and will, worry and rationality etc., have all contributed to shaping the Commission's expectations of the future.

Since migration's semantic field is increasingly tied up with securitisation, the future of the European Union is embedded in a struggle for an enlargement that focuses

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<sup>148</sup> European Union External Actions, 06/02/2018, Speech by High Representative/Vice-President Federica Mogherini at the European Parliament Plenary Session on the Western Balkan Strategy, Strasbourg, 20:23, UNIQUE ID: 180206\_36.



on political legitimacy subsequently as securing the Union. However, it aligns with Koselleck's dissertation, *Kritik und Krise*, that the Commission govern its future-oriented expectations by the principle of protecting its subjects.

Future enlargement packages could provide additional opportunities for analysing migrations conceptual development within the framework of the European enlargement process. With its strategy of 6 February 2018, the Commission is considerably more specific about why and how migration constitutes a key-issue for the prospect of any future enlargement. Further research would be interesting to execute following the summit in Sofia, Bulgaria the 17 May 2018 between EU and Western Balkan leaders - the first since 2003 - upon which the prospect of a future membership will be discussed.

## 8 Conclusion

Evidently, the categories “experience” and “expectation” claim a higher degree of generality. But since Koselleck views historical time as being generated through the tensions between experience and expectation, it was never a question of ‘if’, but a question of ‘what’ interpretations the space of experience and horizon of the future could bring out from the material. While being far from exhaustive, this thesis has through Koselleck’s concepts of temporality, in particularly through diachronic dimensions and experience and expectations, presented migration’s conceptual developments, with a particular reference to the European Union’s enlargement process 2014-2018.

By viewing migration through the broader framework of the European Commission’s enlargement package, there has been a continuation of the securitisation of migration as well as a normalisation of this conceptual change. The most evident conceptual changes appear when viewing the enlargement document before and after the migration crisis. The main conceptual changes concern (a) *whom* the Commission refers to when talking about migrants and (b) *what* expectations they associate with the conceptual use. To some extent, who and what are interconnected.

At the core of Koselleck’s work is the attempt of replacing the idea of linear, homogenous time with a more complex heterogeneous and multi-layered notion of temporality. This thesis has, in accordance with Koselleck’s theoretical framework, illustrated the multi-layered notion of temporality by analysing migrations conceptual history within the enlargement process. The Commission’s experiences with migration has primarily shaped their expectations of a future enlargement process that values the strategic importance of cooperating in the area of migration. The conceptual use of migration will thus continue to play an essential role in future enlargement processes.

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