Reconstructing the EU Discourse on Migration: A Cosmopolitan Perspective

Bachelor Thesis

By: Abraham Naous
University of Twente
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Supervisors:
Dr. Marinus Ossewaarde
Dr. Herman Oosterwijk

Abstract

This paper aims to analyse the ideological position in political speeches of the European Commission towards the migrant and the refugee within the context of the ongoing 'refugee crisis' in Europe. As a consequence of the recent influx of migrants in Europe and following chaotic events, the unknown and unfamiliar forms a sort of risk and unease, in our human nature, for the peoples of Europe and the leaders of the Member States alike. For that reason, leaders of the Member States can take advantage of that fact and exploit those fears and anxieties of their audience for the purpose of their, often nationalist and populist, agendas. Accordingly, the question arises whether the Commission's ideological position nourishes that sort of exploitation, or expresses a rather cosmopolitan attitude towards migrants that puts their audience's fears at ease instead of fuelling them. The latter was found as was expected while answering the main research question of this paper, which is *To what extent is the migrant, in the European Commission speeches within the context of the 'refugee crisis' in the time frame of 2014 until 2016, being addressed in accordance with cosmopolitan values?*

Keywords: Refugee; Migration; Cosmopolitanism; European Commission; Crisis-labelling

Contents

"[...] the Constitution draws inspiration 'from the cultural, religious and humanist inheritance of Europe, from which developed universal values of the inviolable and inalienable rights of the human person, freedom, democracy, equality and the rule of Law'. The Preamble goes onto define Europe in cultural terms as a 'continent open to culture, learning and social progress' and that 'the peoples of Europe are determined to transcend their former divisions, and united ever more closely, to forge a common destiny' in a Europe that is a 'great venture which makes of it a special area of human hope' (Delanty, 2005, p. 406)."

1. Introduction

The recent 'migration crisis', caused by an influx of refugees in Europe "pushed by the rule of arbitrary violence" and conflict in the Middle East "to abandon their homes (Bauman, 2016, p. 6)", has ignited a discourse on issues surrounding addressing the migrant (Bauman, 2016; Thym, 2016; Morris, 2015) and refugee. Bauman (2016) argues and provides insight on how politicians have exploited fears and anxieties that have become widespread for the purpose of their own, often nationalist, agendas. Anything that is unknown and unfamiliar creates a sort of risk and unease for the people, including politicians of Member States, and that is in our human nature. Politicians can take advantage of that fact vis-à-vis crisis-labelling as well to cultivate their own agenda, especially with the rising populism (Bauman, 2016), which can include points of building [metaphorical] walls and closing borders (Bauman, 2016; Long, 2014). This thought, introduced by the status quo of academic literature, is the driving force and main reason that led me to question whether Commissioners, under the Jean-Claude Juncker leadership, are also doing the same in their speeches in terms of exploiting the fears of their audience, or rather the opposite; the sort of opposite that can be referred to as cosmopolitan (Nussbaum, 1997; Skrbis & Woodward, 2013). The migration crisis, therefore, serves as an excellent case to find out whether cosmopolitanism indeed plays a role, and the extent to which cosmopolitan values hold. Furthermore, concerning the refugee, Lavenex (2001), in her paper about the Europeanization of refugee policies and its implication on refugees, emphasizes the fact that "much of the European integration literature has tended to focus on [...] the tension between state sovereignty and supranational governance", which is a "more vertical dimension of levels of governance, whereas the process of Europeanization also consists of a more substantive dimension which concerns the contents of governance", such as the "tension between internal security considerations and human rights issues (p. 852)." In this paper, the focus will be on the latter. The social relevance this research has to offer is based on the benefits of cosmopolitanism or (potentially) institutionalising cosmopolitanism (Dower, 2010), since many scholars argue, including Nussbaum (1997) and Beck (2007), that cosmopolitanism can potentially reduce the growing global discord and hence solve some of the fundamental problems and crises in the world (Naseem & Hyslop-Margison, 2006; Skrbis & Woodward, 2013), notwithstanding the critique of cosmopolitanism by several others (Dower, 2010). Starting with the fact that the EU is an established entity and a recognized global actor (in spite of its many weaknesses and blend of ongoing crises (Beck and Grande, 2007)), academics look up to the EU with [cosmopolitan] expectations or guarantees (Hansen, 2009), and so it sets an example for the rest of the world to follow.

After having the main issues, and what can be built on the state-of-the-art academic literature, identified, the main research question is therefore, articulately, as follows:

To what extent is the migrant, in the European Commission speeches within the context of the 'refugee crisis' in the time frame of 2014 until 2016, being addressed in accordance with cosmopolitan values?

After proposing the main research question, which is a descriptive one, it has been decided that qualitative content analysis (Babbie, 2013; Norris, 2003) is the most appropriate research design in this type of research for answering it. Similar research designs and issues have been found through a review of the state-of-the-art of the body of scholarship. In terms of scientific relevance, the paper 'Position Taking in European Parliament Speeches' by Proksch and Slapin (2010) is a part of the most recent research done vis-à-vis conducting content analysis as a research design on analysing ideological positions in political speeches. The authors used a new computer-based technique called Wordfish to analyse content of speeches from the European Parliament. "The technique uses an explicit parametric model of word counts and simply scales the word counts to reduce the data to a single dimension (Proksch and Slapin, 2010, p. 594)." Whereas, the research design of content analysis used in this paper is specifically called conceptual content analysis (Carley, 1990), in which not only the appearance of words is coded but also phrases of text or even paragraphs and their relationship with actors and concerns, which requires a degree of interpretation to identify concepts or categories present in the speeches during the coding process (Busch & Paul, 2013; Popping, 2000; Cheng, et al., 2008). Moreover, Proksch and Slapin (2010) argue that "the Wordfish algorithm is not the only computer based content analysis technique that can be applied to study ideology in political text (p. 595)." The aim of this paper, therefore, is to build on the existing body of scholarship by analysing speeches from the Commission to find out whether, and to what extent, Commissioners express cosmopolitan ideological positions in addressing the migrant and the refugee.

According to Van Dijk (2011), "[...] an anti-immigration stance may not only be based on a racist ideology [...] but also on a nationalist or xenophobic ideology that aims to defend 'our' nation (and its language, custom, and culture) against the arrival and large-scale settlement of *any* strangers (pp. 380-381)." The EU is not a nation state, in the first place, to be having a nationalist ideology and it is also well known from its mission and values that it seeks to break down the borders and not the opposite; however, it is also argued that "political groups like the EU are not borderless, but establish their own 'fortress' for their own members. Cosmopolitanism seeks to sack the fortress (Ossewaarde, 2007, p. 382)." Accordingly, the EU abolished the borders internally between its member states, yet it is still enforcing its

borders externally. Therefore, questions arise on how open the EU is to the 'outside'. Thus, in that sense the EU, although it has an anti-nationalistic identity, fits well within the criteria for questioning whether and to what extent it endorses cosmopolitanism – and most precisely in relation to the refugee and migrant. However, this paper is about the European Commission's current attitude in its speeches towards refugees and other forms of migrants, where the migration crisis is an excellent case, as mentioned earlier, for this research. A cosmopolitan ideological position of the Commission may be under pressure from leaders of Member States as a consequence of the recent chaotic events including terrorist attacks and the influx of migrants, therefore another area of focus in this paper, as a follow-up sub-question question to the main research question is centred on finding out whether the Commission remains persistent in its ideological position promoting the spirit of cosmopolitanism, or takes a somewhat non-cosmopolitan stance in its speeches towards refugees and other migrants because of such pressures. Additionally, the speeches of the Commission will be analysed for their consistency – in terms of consistency of occurrence of [cosmopolitan] ideological features derived from the coding scheme (Chapter 3.2: Figure 3.1) – from one speech to the other, and the speeches consistency with the Commission's agenda on migration posted on the Commission's website.

This paper will proceed as follows. The second chapter will provide a conceptual and a theoretical framework, where the ways certain forms of migrant are being addressed by the EU in academic literature will be explored, and chosen cosmopolitan theories will be clarified, theorizing the research question. In the third chapter, the methods used for answering the research question will be presented. The fourth chapter of this paper will point out the findings (data analysis) of the content analysis on the speeches, where a comprehensive data analysis will be carried out pointing out the observations on [cosmopolitan] ideological positions in addressing the migrant, and the means by which the observations can be interpreted. Finally, a concluding chapter will be in order to sum up the findings, point out the limitations of this paper, and give an explicit answer to my research question, and recommendations for further research.

2. Concepts of Addressing Migrants

This chapter explores four types of migrants, and those are the refugee, the irregular migrant (European Commission, 2016), the economic migrant (Bauman, 2016), and EU citizens in the context of intra-EU mobility (European Commission, 2016), and how those migrants are being addressed and treated by the EU in academic literature. The reason specifically those four types of migrant where chosen to be analysed is because those types are the most addressed by the EU. This chapter starts with a section offering a theoretical framework clarifying the term cosmopolitanism, and narrows down certain cosmopolitan theories that are believed to be the most useful ones when put into practice not only in theoretical terms but also in political systems in the 'real world'. The reason many other theories or cosmopolitan visions will be left out of this paper is mainly because of their considerable critique and also impracticalities in the 'real world'. One example would be cosmopolitan visions regarding world citizenship, for instance, where it is proven to be impractical or even impossible with the absence of a world state. As Skrbis & Woodward (2013) put it:

> "Philosophers and sociologists alike find it notoriously difficult not only to define the term but also to agree on just who befits the label 'cosmopolitan'. We understand and are sympathetic to the definitional complexities around cosmopolitanism, but as sociologists we cannot accept that an agreement on the attributes of 'cosmopolitan' is so elusive that engagement becomes pointless (p. 2)."

Nonetheless, the first section of this chapter titled, 'The Discourse of Cosmopolitanism', will narrow down certain values of cosmopolitanism an entity (potentially the European Commission), adopting such an ideological position, would advocate. After the first section of this chapter, follows four sections, titled: 'The First Form of Migrants: The Refugee', where I will offer a brief background of how the refugee crisis is being handled and how the refugees are being addressed and dealt with in the European Union; The Second Form of Migrants: The 'Irregular' Migrant, as termed by the EU Commission; The Third Form of Migrants: The economic migrant, which illustrates how 'gifted' and highly skilled migrants, which include expats, international students and tourists, are being addressed and treated in the EU, once first admission (Visa) granted and before first admission; The Fourth Form of Migrants: Intra-EU Migrant in the Context of 'Mobility', as termed by the Commission, within the EU', where also the emergence of a 'Cosmopolitan Europe' will be explained by going through the different forms and stages that contributed in the making of what Europe is today. This section slightly drifts away into the vertical dimension of levels of governance, where it also tackles topics of cultural significance of Europeanization and its relationship with cosmopolitanism, while the focus of this paper is more on the horizontal dimension of

contents of governance (Lavenex, 2001). The purpose of this chapter is to form a foundation, in means of what other scholars have found concerning addressing migrants, for conducting the main research of this paper.

2.1. The Discourse of Cosmopolitanism

"What may have been a liberating ideology yesterday may be an oppressive one today. For instance, whereas classical liberalism was once an ideology that advocated individual freedom and motivated the struggle against feudalism, today it may be adhered to by those who are against the freedom of racial or ethnic Others who want to migrate to 'our' country (Van Dijk, 2011, p. 380)."

First of all, to shed light on the origins of the term cosmopolitanism, in simple words, it is an ideology that denotes that all human beings belong to a single community, founded on a shared morality (Nussbaum, 1997). The word cosmopolitan derives from the Greek word *kosmopolites,* which is a formation from the word 'cosmos' and the word 'citizen', which literally means citizen of the world or the globe, according to Britannica Encyclopedia. However, for the purpose of the research of this paper, certain types of cosmopolitanism will be conceptualised. This will enable us to construct a relationship between certain cosmopolitan values and the ideological position of the Commission speeches later in this paper. Delanty (2006) illustrates three types or dimensions of cosmopolitanism, namely, moral, political and cultural cosmopolitanism, and provides a comprehensive theoretical framework as he guides us through several theories and applications of cosmopolitanism. The first type is termed moral cosmopolitanism, which is the dominant conception of cosmopolitanism because of its strong emphasis on the universalism of the cosmopolitan ethic or morality, where a person's loyalty is given to the universal human community. Marta Nussbaum works as a contemporary example of cosmopolitanism as a moral universalism. As part of conceptualising the concept of cosmopolitanism, Nussbaum's (1997) concept, Stoic cosmopolitanism, is about regarding "[...] our deliberations as, first and foremost, deliberations about human problems of people in particular concrete situations, not problems, growing out of a local or national identity that confines and limits our moral aspirations (Nussbaum, 1997, p. 7)." Recognizing the fact that anyone could have been born anywhere, cosmopolitanism is about not allowing differences of nationality or class or ethnic membership or even gender to erect barriers between us and our fellow human beings. Cosmopolitanism is about recognizing humanity wherever it occurs, and giving its primary ingredients, reason and moral capacity, our utmost loyalty and respect. In this sense, according to Dower (2010) "the cosmopolitan at least wishes to assess how well or badly nation states, and the international system, deliver on the goals that the cosmopolitan accepts or advocates. As such the cosmopolitan will tend to advocate better and larger aid

programs, more open and generous immigration and refugee policies, stronger measures to deal with environmental problems, reductions in armaments together with the general promotion of peace anywhere, concern about human rights violations elsewhere and appropriate responses to them, and so on (p.13)." However, the main disadvantage of moral or ethical cosmopolitanism is that, according to Delanty (2006), to this point it lacks a nuanced sociological dimension and assumes a too strong universalistic sense of universal humanity.

The second type is termed political cosmopolitanism:

> "The revival of cosmopolitanism in recent times is due to the rise of an explicitly political conception of cosmopolitanism relating to citizenship and democracy. [...] Strong conceptions of cosmopolitanism can be found in notions of world polity as advocated by John Meyer or notions of cosmopolitan democracy as put forward by David Held and others. These approaches generally take globalization as the basis for a new conception of a transnational democracy beyond the nation-state. [...] There is also a firm commitment to universalism in these approaches [...].It is in reconciling the universalistic rights of the individual with the need to protect minorities that the cosmopolitan moment is most evident. In this context cosmopolitan citizenship is understood in terms of a cultural shift in collective identities to include the recognition of others. Such developments have arisen as a result of cultural pluralization arising from migration, ethnic multiculturalism, cultural diversity of all kinds and the growing demands for the recognition of different life choices (Delanty, 2006, pp. 29, 30)."

The third type, termed cultural cosmopolitanism, takes a largely strong form in current theory where many social theorists have put effort to reconceptualise the notion of society in regards to cosmopolitanism. There are several examples of cultural cosmopolitanism which can be found in theories including, Manuel Castells's conception of networks, Urry's alignment of cosmopolitanism based on the fact of mobilities, Latour's notion of hybridity, and the idea of modernity itself as plural, which is the predominant concept that has extensive possibilities in relation to cosmopolitanism (Delanty, 2006). Delanty (2006) argues that "from a wider historical sociology cosmopolitan possibilities are increasingly being noted in modernity itself in terms of the interaction of different modernities":

> "It will suffice to remark in conclusion that theories of multiple modernity have led to a new conception of cosmopolitanism that gives particular emphasis to post-universalism. A post-universal cosmopolitanism is critical and dialogic, seeing as the goal alternative readings of history and the recognition of plurality rather than the creation of a universal order, such as a cosmopolis. This is a view that enables us to see how people were cosmopolitan in the past and how different cosmopolitanisms existed before and despite westernization. It may be termed 'cultural cosmopolitanism', that is a plurality of cosmopolitan projects by which the global and the local are combined in diverse ways. In this sense cosmopolitanism would be mostly exemplified in Diasporas and in transnational modes of belonging (Delanty, 2006, p. 35)"

In this logic, cosmopolitanism is seen in the recognition of the differences of the 'Other' in plurality and living alongside the differences through acceptance rather than the formation of a universal order. In the end, in simpler words, having communicative models of world openness is the utmost broad conclusion of cultural cosmopolitanism (Delanty, 2006).

"The idea of a cosmopolitan Europe will be defended against the alternatives, which are a 'national Europe', that is a Europe of nations, on the one side and on the other, 'global Europe' where an internationalist EU-led Europe plays a major role in the world. A cosmopolitan Europe [...] is a more accurate designation of the emerging form of Europeanization as a mediated and emergent reality of the national and the global. Underlying it is a dynamic of self-transformation (Delanty, 2005, p. 406)."

2.2. Four Cosmopolitan Ways of Addressing Migrants

2.2.1. The First Form of Migrants: The Refugee

The refugee is the migrant that possesses the right to asylum, and, in accordance with universal principles and UN resolutions, which all countries must conform to, must never be rejected or sent back to his unsafe country of origin where they fled from (Goldenziel, 2016). Instead, the refugee must always be offered protection and life essentials by universal law (Goldenziel, 2016). In this part, I will provide a brief background of the refugee crisis and give a perspective of how EU and Member States are handling it. I will explain the resettlement and relocation [of refugees] mechanisms as well and how they are embedded in universal principles, as Suhrke (1998) puts it, it starts from the thought that helping refugees is a mutually held moral duty and obligation under international law. The term 'crisis' will be briefly clarified along with its possible implications.

The European Commission constantly and persistently calls for collective action instead of leaving it to the Member States (European Commission, 2016) and even, in some cases, to third countries (i.e. Turkey) alone. This is shown evident though the resettlement and relocation mechanisms within the EU for the current refugee crisis, which constitutes the essence of collective action and responsibility sharing and can be associated with cosmopolitanism. Suhrke (1998) introduces the concept of burden-sharing during refugee emergencies and how it originated: "An early proposal for global sharing was promoted by legal scholars in the late 1970s. The idea was to assign refugees worldwide by matching refugee preferences with host countries ranked according to an index of wealth and population density (Suhrke, 1998, p. 397)". Later on, at the time of the 1997 Albanian crisis, the Commission of the EU, accordingly, developed a proposal for responsibility-sharing in

order to be prepared in case of a mass overflow of refugees. This mechanism does not only serve as a burden reducer for some host-counties, but also better serves the people in need of refuge; hypothetically speaking, it avoids the tendency for weaker and poorer states in the South to restrict asylum if the richer states do not take their 'fair share' of refugees . "By guaranteeing that a state will not alone face a refugee or migration emergency, the insurance scheme is also a reasonable guarantee that the institution of asylum will be kept intact since states are more likely to offer protection if they can share the burden (Suhrke, 1998, p.398)."

The EU is works on a stronger policy for identifying and sending third-country (non-EU citizens) 'irregular' migrants (European Commission, 2016) back to their countries of origin, with the notable exception of refugees and asylum seekers. Identifying irregular migrants is an issue, sending them back is an issue, and processing asylum seekers for resettlement and relocation among the Member States is another. Therefore, with the sudden overflow of migrants seeking entry in European borders, the situation can pose quite a challenge, since the EU is not a nation-state; it requires a lot of cooperation and reaching consensus between the Member States and other endless matters. In this sense crisis-labelling might be justified. However, Jeandesboz and Pallister-Wilkins (2014) assess and critique the purpose behind crisis labelling by European "professionals of politics" during the recent Arab uprisings and the migration 'crisis' that followed. Jeandesboz and Pallister-Wilkins (2014) believe a migration 'crisis' has been invented or made-up so that certain adoption and practice of emergency measures could be facilitated which could not have been made possible before such labelling. In their article, they begin by defining crisis and what it does as a category of practice. They further explain how having a 'crisis' can enable new patterns of action or justify the persistence of established ones. "[...] the framing of an issue in security terms leads to its removal from the scope of normal politics and opens the possibility for emergency or exceptional measures (Jeandesboz and Pallister-Wilkins, 2014, p.2)". Furthermore, they draw attention to how astonishingly crisis labelling shifted without doubt from the "stability of autocratic allies in the war on terror and neoliberal expansion" into crisis labelling about migration "before even the first boat landed on Lampedusa", which reveals the constantly slack nature of crisis labelling. The issue of crisis-labelling is interesting and can also be discussed whether it has an anti-cosmopolitan connotation or not, however, it drifts away from my main topic and goes beyond the scope of this paper.

2.2.2.   The Second Form of Mgrants: The Irregular Migrant

The term, irregular migrant, is used in the EU to describe migrants who migrate to the EU but do not possess the right to asylum; such migrants come from countries that are marked 'safe' in the EU, and because they are not refugees, the EU's policy towards them, like any other sovereign state, is to send them back to their country of origin. The irregular migrant can as well be related to Nail's (2015) figures of migration, which include the nomad, the barbarian, the vagabond, and the proletariat. According to Elizabeth Collett (2016, March), from the Migration Policy Institute webpage, "EU law currently allows for returns under two circumstances. First, individuals who do not apply or do not qualify for asylum are considered "irregular migrants" and are eligible to be returned to Turkey [in the example of the Turkey-Greece border] under an existing readmission agreement with Greece (pending the implementation in June 2016 of a readmission agreement between the European Union and Turkey). Second, individuals who submit asylum claims but are determined to have arrived from a country where they had or could have claimed protection (a "safe third country" or "first country of asylum," the EU criteria for which include the right to *nonrefoulement* and the ability to both request *and* receive protection) are considered inadmissible to the European Union and eligible for return (Collett, 2016, March)." By this we understand that even refugees, in practice, might not be allowed to enter the EU and as well be returned as irregular migrants if they migrate straight from another 'safe' third country to the EU. In this case the EU is giving the responsibility to the refugee's first country of asylum by returning back to it to take care of them, instead of opening their doors. Such practices and loopholes in universal law used by the EU, which are fit to be questioned, whether they comply with the moral aspects of cosmopolitanism (Nussbaum, 1997) or not, will be briefly compared later in this paper to what is being said in the Commission speeches.

2.2.3.   The Third Form of Migrants: The Economic Migrant

The economic migrant (Bauman, 2016), is often given labels such as 'expat' in the media, (for EU citizen economic migrants, given the term 'labour migrants' by the European Commission), tourist and international student. First admission (Thym, 2016) or Visa, is usually granted for such a migrant based on a certain criteria. For example, an international student must first be admitted to an educational institution (i.e. University) in the foreign country (destination) to which they had provided certain documents and diplomas to prove their level of education, in order to be granted a Visa for the purpose of study. All forms of economic migrants must as well prove they have sufficient means before being granted a Visa, and a clean criminal record. International students also have the opportunity to work in

the foreign country where they graduated, and might as well be granted a permanent residence permit or even citizenship for being highly skilled migrants. High-skilled non-EU citizens can obtain The Blue Card, which is an approved EU-wide work permit and allows them to live and work in any Member State that is subject to the proposal (European Union Council Directive 2009/50/EC).

Moreover, Thym (2016) argues, as long as, for instance, first admission is concerned (admission of third-country nationals to the EU by granting them a visa: no free entrance or movement to third-country nationals) the cosmopolitan outlook invites European societies to welcome long-term residents (migrants who had had first admission by visa procedures and been given a residence permit to reside in the EU) as equal members with equal rights, and, yet, it does not replace citizenship by universal personhood (Thym, 2016)

2.2.4. The Fourth Form of Migrants: The EU Citizen – the Migrant in Intra-EU 'Mobility'

Nationals of the Member States of the EU are also European citizens. Thym (2016) gives an example on the use of language, where the Commission prefers labelling intra-EU movements as 'mobility' rather than 'migration', as a way of emphasising its 'domestic' character. Within intra-EU mobility, however, "even an unemployment rate of 25% would not allow [Germany, for instance] to refuse the entry of EU workers; it is the individual right of each [EU] citizen whether to seek employment in Bucharest or in Helsinki. Similarly, states cannot require language skills. A Portuguese worker may spend his entire life in Marseille without speaking a single word of French (Thym, 2016, p. 4)." "What happens when you remove race, class, ethnicity, inequality, borders, barriers, and cultural disadvantage from immigration? Answer: you get 'free movers' (Favell, 2009, p. 177)." Such EU migrants, however, are still small in numbers. Studies show that nowadays around 1 in 50 Europeans lives outside of their Member State of origin, which is much less than non-EU-citizen immigrants. Favell (2009) continues to argue, "The 'Eurostars', [as he calls them according to the EU flag] are at the heart of the EU Commission's efforts to build Europe through dynamic mobility policies; the talk nowadays is not about moving coal miners and factory workers [as it dates back to 1957] [...], the talk at heart [...], rather, is the movement of professionals, the skilled and the educated (p. 178)." This also applies, in section 2.2.3 of this chapter, to the economic non-EU-citizen migrant, where it is seen quite evident that first admission (Visa) and long term residence permits are easily granted to high-skilled migrants as well.

From the legal perspective, Thym (2016) presents examples on how 'citizens' and 'foreigners' are being treated in EU law, and to what extent migration law has a cosmopolitan outlook. "Europe's domestic mobility regime is regularly referred to as a model in theoretical accounts of transnational or post-national citizenship (Thym, 2016, p. 1)." Thym (2016), however, addresses what is missing in many studies, and that is the legal regime for people without the nationality of an EU member state, with the notable exception of refugees. It is known as a fact that the EU, like any nation-state's immigration policy, seeks to send 'irregular' migrants, back to their countries of origin. Thym's academic analysis contributes in his paper to the reconstruction of what 'citizenship' and 'alienage' mean in contemporary EU law. He argues that third-country nationals (non-EU citizens) and migrant EU citizens have something in common: they both live in a country of which they do not possess nationality. The difference is that "every migrant has rights, but not all migrants are citizens (p. 16)." Moreover, Thym (2016) forms a conclusion in his paper from his legal perspective, concerning all forms of non-EU-citizen-migrants, that there is always room for "intermediate solutions, which may be conceptualised as the cosmopolitan outlook of EU migration law", where it is neither about "full citizenship with equal rights nor alienage without legal protection (p. 16)." In this context, the EU reaches out beyond the boundaries of citizenry and accepts all people, in their alienage, as moral persons with rights.

2.3. Concluding Remarks

Historically speaking, Europe now is a product of consequential migrations all through history (Bauman, 2016). "Europe has been made, unmade, and remade through the movements of peoples. [...] contemporary Europe has essentially emerged out of a crucible of local, regional, and international population movements over the centuries. (Favell, 2009, p. 167) The EU consists of nations of different cultures and identities. Increasingly with the emergence of the EU, Ulrich Beck argues, according to Morris (2015), "[...] that transnational forces are reshaping the nature of the nation state, blurring the boundaries between migrants and citizens, and shifting the locus of legitimacy from the national to the transnational level (p. 3)." In view of that, and as a follow-up to the discussion on modernity as plural brought by Delanty (2006) in the first section of this chapter, "European cultural and political modernity was formed out of the interactions and mutual interpenetration of different models of modernity, in particular the French and German, but also the British and later American modernity. It may be suggested that in the present time European modernity is undergoing a further cosmopolitan transformation arising from the encounter with the non-European world, as a result of migration, multiculturalism, globalization (Delanty, 2006, p.41)."

In this chapter, three types of cosmopolitan theory has been clarified, namely, moral/ethical, political, and cultural cosmopolitanism, and four selected types of migrants in Europe have been illustrated and shown through existing literature the extent they are being addressed in a cosmopolitan manner by the EU. Additionally, this chapter drew attention to various studies and literature on the extent to which the EU has a cosmopolitan outlook, which included sociological, legal and political perspectives. It has been revealed in this chapter the vicious circle, and that is how the migrant (in the broad sense of the term), has an impact on the emergence of a Cosmopolitan Europe, and at the same time how Europe being cosmopolitan affects the migrant in general. In the next chapter, it is intended to test whether the European Commission endorses a high degree of cosmopolitanism in its speeches in addressing the refugee and the other types of migrants, which is an opposite approach to exploiting the fears and anxieties of its audience.

3. Methodology

This chapter is about how the research of this paper will be conducted to test whether and to what extent the Commission addresses the migrant in a cosmopolitan manner. The methods used in this paper focus on the four types of migrant mentioned earlier in this paper in the context of the refugee crisis within the time frame of 2014 until 2016. For that reason, the chosen method to carry out this research is conceptual content analysis (Carley, 1990). Content analysis has been proven to be an appropriate research design for analysing ideological positions in political speeches (Proksch & Slapin, 2010). A content analysis on the speeches from the European Commission (see Chapter 7: Appendix) will enable us to understand the language used by various Commissioners contained in their speeches, and therefore help us uncover whether the Commissioners are exploiting the fears and anxieties of their audience or the opposite that is contained in the values of cosmopolitanism. The reason why Commission speeches were chosen is because of the significance behind who produces them and who consumes them; speeches of the European Commission are produced by the executive arm of the EU that is the Commission, which is supposed to have an influential power over several political actors, and those speeches are mainly consumed by politicians of the Member States (European Commission, 2016), leaders who are capable of influencing change in their national governments. The occurrences of certain agreed-upon cosmopolitan language (Beck, 2007; Delanty, 2006; Dower, 2010; Nussbaum, 1997; Ossewaarde, 2007; Skrbis & Woodward, 2013) and its frequencies will enable us to draw conclusions. This chapter introduces the data collection methods where the speeches collected will be described, and the methods of content analysis.

3.1. Methods of Data Collection

The reason the scientific method of this paper is restricted to the European Commission is because of the fact that it is considered the executive arm of the EU. The Commission's leadership plays a significant agenda-setting role in the EU and the 'European Project', and therefore is a good starting point for a larger-scale analysis, for instance, of political speeches' consistency with EU practices and other possible comparative studies. My strategy for choosing to analyse the content of European Commission speeches (see an overview of the speeches in Chapter 7: Appendix) specifically, instead of other types of documents, such as Press Releases, is because the speeches are the direct words of politicians and richer with examples of language use; other forms of documents, such as press releases of the Commission, are merely reports of, for instance, how much money spent on project funding or humanitarian aid (European Commission, 2016), but contain no

actual discourse where the intention also matters. By intention it is meant an explicit intention of certain Commissioners for saying or stating something, found within the speeches, since any implicit intentions would mean hidden agenda and are almost impossible to measure. For instance, if there is a phrase as such advocating any of the aforementioned indicators to cosmopolitanism but followed by another phrase that can be an indication for a motive such as 'boosting our national economy' that suggests values that are either against or not associated with cosmopolitan values, this will open the way for interpretation whether the intention was cosmopolitan or just plainly better for the economy or other strategic decision that might go along with any notion like nationalism. Moreover, the speeches of Commissioners are mainly consumed by politicians and leaders of the Member States, members of the European Parliament and European Council, which are the main audience of the Commission. Therefore, the significance of this is that the language used in the speeches will be influential mainly for such audience (policy makers of Member States). Those speeches, however, are accessible for everyone of interest as well.

The data collection methods are mainly through using the search engine offered in the European Commission's website. The process of finding Commission speeches related to the migration crisis was difficult. Certain tactics were specifically used in searching for Commission speeches because they were hard to find. For instance, the keyword 'SPEECH' in capital letters had to be used in the search engine of the European Commission and Google search, as it is exactly written by the Commission, in order to find only speeches and not other forms of documents including press releases and fact sheets. Moreover, the keywords, 'EU', 'Commission', 'migration crisis', and 'refugee', were used next to the keyword 'SPEECH', within the time frame of '2014 until 2016', to gather the speeches with related content. After searching for the aforementioned keywords the relevant speeches were found among a list of other irrelevant results. Speeches were chosen from every year within the past 3 years that is 2014, 2015 and 2016. An amount of 20 documented Commission Speeches from various Commissioners were selected, which were the only ones that could be found on the issue of the recent migration crisis specifically, however, at the same time they quantify to a sufficient sample size for this research.

It has been revealed that the selected speeches of Commissioners all include content that relate to or represent the categories mentioned in the coding scheme (Figure 3.1), and each one of the categories is represented by the content (phrase or paragraph) at least once. In other words, all of the features of cosmopolitanism according to the coding scheme were found in the content. All the content of all the speeches turned out to be cosmopolitan in addressing the refugee and asylum seeker. The other forms of migrants are not addressed as comprehensively and as often in the speeches collected and analysed, which is more

likely because of the fact that only speeches that are related to the migration crisis were selected. Some of the analysed speeches, however, also consisted of parts where other matters – such as solving economic and welfare issues for instance – were discussed. Parts or sections of speeches that are not related to migration were not coded accordingly because of their inapplicability to this study.
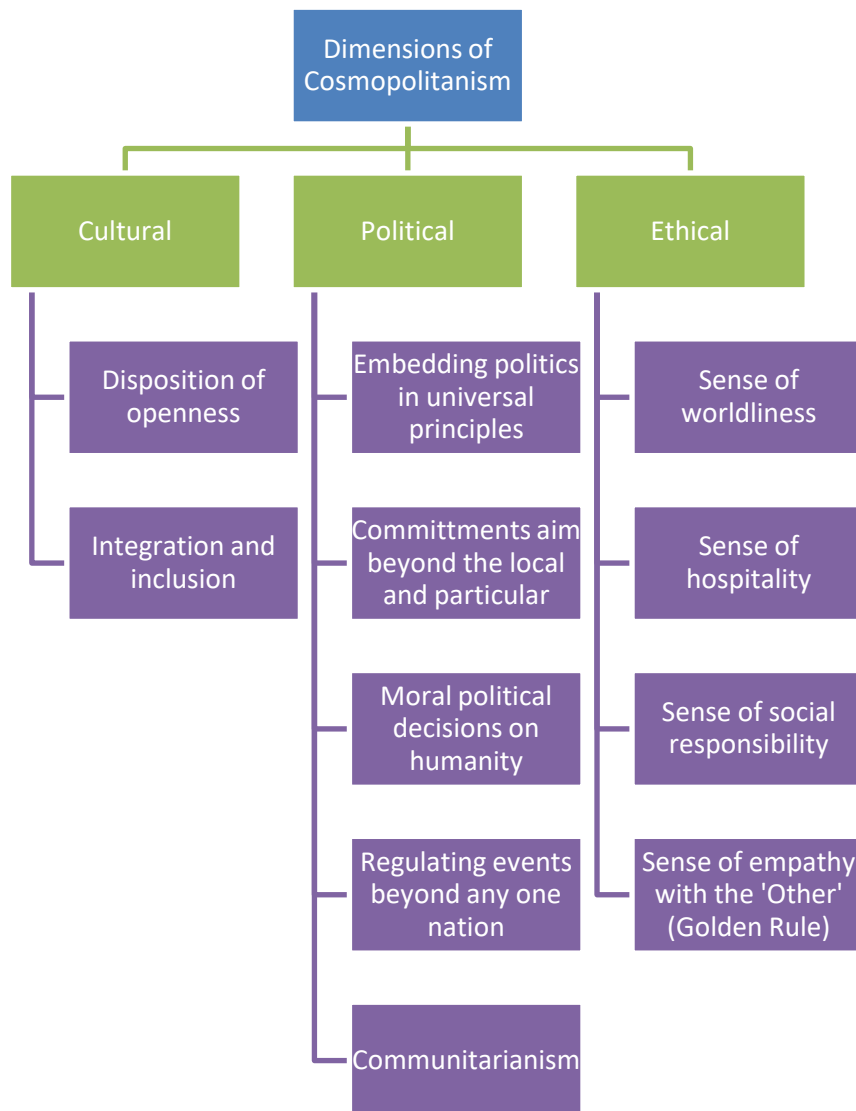
3.2. Methods of Content Analysis

Referring to Ossewaarde's (2007) example on the two 'strangers' mentioned in his paper; one 'stranger' was perceived and therefore treated as a solution to a conflict, while the other, in a different scenario, was perceived and treated as a source of conflict. In this context and accordingly how is the migrant and the refugee being addressed? Are the migrant and the refugee being addressed like the first 'stranger' seen as a solution and a source of hope, or as the second 'stranger' who was seen as a source of conflict? Offering a preliminary answer to those questions prior to the actual analysis of the speeches, the refugee crisis is seen as a challenge on the one hand, which had as well contributed to the reasons why they are calling it a crisis. In this case, crisis-labelling can reflect to what might have been intended and that is putting emphasis on the challenge of receiving refugees rather than the advantage, which can relate to 'exploiting' the fears and anxieties of their audience. On the other hand the speeches show, besides conveying how challenging it is, that Europe must be up to the challenge, and are willing to look at the bright side of migration instead, which is encouraging and quite the opposite of taking advantage of, and nurturing, people's insecurities and fears of newcomers especially refugees.

On this foundation, the 'categories' in the coding scheme for content analysis are developed based on phrases in the texts that imply any of certain features of cosmopolitanism. Evidently, qualitative data is used for this kind of research. There are terms that can be open for interpretation, such as 'crisis' labelling, whether, from an eagle's eye point of view, they endorse cosmopolitanism or form an obstacle to it instead. Crisis-labelling, however, is not part of the coding scheme, but it will be observed and the context it was used in will be interpreted in accordance with the coding scheme. For that matter, a study of the intention behind crisis labelling must be in order, for making a better judgement while interpretation.

The dimensions and categories are based on a text by Skrbis & Woodward (2013): "Cultural dimension: concurring with Nussbaum, there are different ways of being cosmopolitan, but what most cosmopolitans share is a disposition of openness to the world around them. The

conception of openness is for us an epistemological principle of cosmopolitanism: it limits and fixates the definitional horizon by reminding us that beyond openness lies a sphere of all things un-cosmopolitan. Political dimension: cosmopolitan commitment is also a political commitment, which encourages us to appreciate and recognize difference, embed our politics in universal principles and commit ourselves to the dethronement of one's unique cultural identity. This dimension extends into institutional and global domains when cosmopolitan political commitments aim beyond the local and particular and morph into institutionally committed cosmopolitan principles. At this global level cosmopolitanism refers to an ambition or project of [developing] regimes of global governance, and legal-institutional frameworks for regulating events and processes, which reach beyond any one nation. Ethical dimension: this dimension is integral to cosmopolitanism in all its forms and is defined by and inclusive ethical core that emphasizes worldliness, hospitality and communitarianism. In this book we will specifically address the question of cosmopolitan ethics in relations to two highly controversial social phenomena. The first relates to the way in which refugee issues are currently being dealt with. This case is instructive because it goes to the very core of the notion of hospitality towards migrants and how cosmopolitan openness is tested in practice (Skrbis & Woodward, 2013, p. 2)."

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                    ┌─────────────────┐
                    │  Dimensions of  │
                    │ Cosmopolitanism │
                    └─────────────────┘
          ┌───────────────┼───────────────┐
    ┌──────────┐    ┌──────────┐    ┌──────────┐
    │ Cultural │    │ Political│    │ Ethical  │
    └──────────┘    └──────────┘    └──────────┘
```

Cultural	Political	Ethical
Disposition of openness	Embedding politics in universal principles	Sense of worldliness
Integration and inclusion	Committments aim beyond the local and particular	Sense of hospitality
	Moral political decisions on humanity	Sense of social responsibility
	Regulating events beyond any one nation	Sense of empathy with the 'Other' (Golden Rule)
	Communitarianism	

Figure 3.1: Coding Scheme for Content Analysis

In order to carry out a conceptual content analysis (Carley, 1990), identifying frequent and indicative group of texts and statements throughout the set of documents is necessary. Merely the occurrence or existence of concepts is informative but quite limited; however, the frequency shows where there is more emphasis as well. The frequency of categories in general might be higher in speeches from 2015 than 2014 and 2016, simply because more speeches were collected from 2015 (11 speeches) than 2014 (5 speeches) and 2016 (4 speeches). After the coding process for content analysis, the occurrences and frequencies of categories have been documented. Manifest and latent content is analyzed (Babbie, 2013). A certain pattern in the language used has been found evident. Drawing conclusions from qualitative data, involves a certain degree of interpretation of the pieces of text collected as well, however that does not undermine the scientific method used to ensure a representative

interpretation of the categories. What the phrases imply, in what context they have been held, and how they can be related to my conceptualized notion of cosmopolitanism and its categories is all part of the process of manual (by hand instead of using a software) content analysis. The reason I intended to carry it out by hand was to ensure that phrases where said in the appropriate context, as well as the fact that I am coding for phrases or even paragraphs and not merely words. Furthermore, since statements and sometimes whole paragraphs could represent certain categories, it was more proper to carry it out by hand, in order to avoid any misleading errors in coding and misinterpretation. For instance, the use of metaphors and jargon can also count as examples where the need for interpretation is at hand, and in such cases sometimes it needs to be clarified which side of my argument are they on (pro- or anti- cosmopolitanism).

Starting with clarifying the category 'disposition of openness', it is based on the notion of the recognition of the 'Other'. As Delanty (2006) put it, "[...] against notions of globalisation and universality, on the one side, and plurality and particularism on the other, the cultural dimension of cosmopolitanism consists more in the creation and articulation of communicative models of world openness in which societies undergo transformation (p. 35)." Disposition of openness therefore is a rather broad category; however it is considered the heart of cultural cosmopolitanism. The context of integration and inclusion in my coding scheme is not in means of seeking to change the 'Other', but instead by accepting the 'Other' the way they are. In this sense, any integration and inclusion policies or statements mentioned in the documents (speeches) must comply with this meaning of integration in order to fit under this category, and thus be counted as cosmopolitan. Taking a hypothetical statement as an example that seeks to integrate migrants into the European education system, labour market... etc so that migrants can, on the one side, benefit from being treated as equals, and on the other contribute to the society of their destination. Embedding politics in universal principles is mainly about complying with the charter of human rights and UN resolutions concerning universal law, such as the right to asylum and international protection for refugees fleeing from unsafe countries and areas of conflict, violence and oppression. The category 'commitments aim beyond the local and particular' implies that the Commission is committed to solve issues with the 'Other' abroad in unparticular areas outside of Europe. For instance, when the Commission makes commitments to countries, like Jordan, Lebanon, or any other territory in the Middle East affected by the Syrian conflict, for providing them with financial aid and support schemes to help reduce their burden and challenges in times of a refugee crisis, would be an example. Moreover, cooperating with transit countries such as Turkey and Northern African countries also falls under this category. 'Moral political decisions on humanity' include policies for increasing humanitarian

aid where needed, working on voluntary humanitarian admission schemes, or any other decisions and resolutions that emphasize the importance of human safety, dignity and wellbeing. Moreover, for instance, since irregular migrants do not possess the right to stay in Europe, nonetheless making decisions on treating them with dignity and in compliance with their rights and human rights in general also counts under this category. An example of 'regulating events beyond any one nation' is when, for instance, the EU works closely with countries abroad in projects involving the creation of suitable refugee camps, educational, humanitarian, or any other supportive facilities in their counties of origin. Furthermore, this category can highly relate to 'Communitarianism' in Intra-EU context, however, Communitarianism more precisely applies to the relationships between the EU and its Member States, and the Member States with each other. Deciding on regulating events beyond any one nation in an Intra-EU context, such as having a common European asylum policy/system, from a collectivist approach at the European level as a community where solidarity and responsibility sharing are essential, fits both categories. A sense of worldliness is rather a broad category that covers statements showing a sense of connectedness and interest to worldly issues and events. An opposite of this category would be isolation. Exerting a sense of hospitality is about being explicitly welcoming to migrants, especially refugees in my case, along with the implications that come with it such as the willingness to providing them with life essentials upon arrival including appropriate shelter and so on. As it comes to having a sense of social responsibility, being socially responsible is about taking the initiative for acting on solving global social problems. Conveying a sense of social responsibility involves taking responsibility in solving social issues inside and outside of the EU; for instance, feeling responsible in ending inequality and starvation in the world is considered as socially responsible. However in this case, social responsibility will be more precisely related to issues of refugees, without leaving out the rest. Last but not least of the categories is being adorned with a sense of empathy. Revealing a sense of empathy is an additional concept, one that is not often expected to be found among politicians nowadays. Be that as it may, a sense of empathy is not only about conveying or expressing feelings of compassion and pity for the sufferings of the 'Other', but also putting, most importantly, one's self in the shoes of the 'Other'. Moreover, the Biblical Golden Rule is attached to this category, which states 'do as you would be done by', because it goes hand in hand with empathy. Therefore, any phrases in the speeches that qualify this conceptualisation of empathy will fall or be counted under this category as well.

In addition, statements or phrases may fall under a combination of categories. For example, various statements found in the Speeches that portrayed a sense of empathy also showed a disposition of openness, for instance. Statements as such include "Our common history is

marked by millions of Europeans fleeing from religious or political persecution, from war, dictatorship, or oppression [...] imagine it were you, your child [...] sleeping in the streets, in the rain [...] (SPEECH/15/5614)." Another example, the statement, "these are global issues, and we need to face them together, in partnership (SPEECH/16/365)," would fall under both categories 'sense of worldliness' and 'communitarianism'. Finally, analysing the Speeches in accordance with the coding scheme that I have created will allow me to measure the extent of cosmopolitanism the Speeches endorse in addressing the refugee, and thus help generate a final answer to my research question. It will also provide a guideline in analysing the other forms of migrant studied in this paper.

3.3. Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, the methodology was clarified on how this research is conducted. All the issues concerning my methods of data collection and content analysis were explained. In the next chapter, my findings will be presented. Observations in the speeches analysed will be stated, which will be open for interpretation and reasoning.

4. Findings (Data Analysis)

This chapter is mainly about what has been observed in the documented speeches collected in terms of addressing migrants in accordance with cosmopolitanism and its interpretation. The Commission is shown to express different cosmopolitan values for addressing each type of migrant – the refugee, the irregular migrant, the economic migrant, and Intra-EU Migrant. For instance certain features of cosmopolitanism can be adopted in addressing one form of migrant but not the other, for practical and legal reasons. In this chapter the different cosmopolitan ways of addressing those four types of migrants will be analyzed; the aim is to show the different phases and issues of cosmopolitanism and how, for instance, the degree of cosmopolitan emphasis can be different when addressing one type of migrant (i.e. the refugee) compared to another type of migrant (i.e. the irregular migrant).

According to the European Commission's (2016) webpage for priorities on the migration agenda, headlines include: 'saving lives and securing internal borders'; 'reducing the incentive for irregular migration'; 'a strong common asylum policy'; 'a new policy on legal migration'. Those headlines can be considered as a summary of the policy areas discussed in the Speeches collected on the issue of migration. However, a full analysis of the speeches will provide more detail and depth concerning the frequency and existence of the categories (coding scheme) in the speeches and whether the speeches differ from each other. This chapter of data analysis will be split into four sections, accordingly: Cosmopolitan Addressing of the Refugee; Cosmopolitan Addressing of the Irregular Migrant; Cosmopolitan Addressing of the Economic Migrant; and Cosmopolitan Addressing of the EU Citizen – the Migrant within Intra-EU 'Mobility'. But before analysing how each migrant was addressed separately, first, it is important to point out what is observed in the results of the coding process in accordance with the scheme (Figure 3.1).

The following table (Table 4.1) shows the frequency of occurrences of each of the coding-scheme categories in the European Commission speeches within the time frame of 2014 until 2016. The columns total indicates the sum of frequency of occurrences of the categories all together. The frequency of occurrence in Table 4.1 signifies a level of persistence of categories, and provides, all-in-all, a certain measure to the degree of cosmopolitanism the European Commission endorses in its speeches. Certain trends are found in the table. The categories are sorted in descending order (downward) in terms of frequency of occurrences. The category 'Communitarianism', for instance, occurred 104 times, which is the most frequent of all.

Category	Frequency of occurrence
Communitarianism	104
Regulating events beyond any one nation	82
Disposition of openness	73
Sense of social responsibility	66
Commitments aim beyond the local and particular	58
Embedding politics in universal principles	50
Sense of worldliness	47
Moral political decisions on humanity	40
Integration and Inclusion	31
Sense of hospitality	25
Sense of empathy with the 'Other'	21
Total	**597**

Table 4.1: Frequency of occurrences of cosmopolitan categories in the Commission speeches

One way to interpret constantly calling for a communitarian approach is that it can imply two intentions; supranational state-building, and Nussbaum's (1997) cosmopolitan notion of a shared community. The Commission, therefore, in the speeches, when it calls for common approaches for further solidarity and responsibility sharing it goes hand in hand with Nussbaum's (1997) notion of moral cosmopolitanism. Yet, at the same time, when the Commission calls for a common approach, such as having a common European asylum policy, it can imply supranational governance in the direction of supranational state building, which is not necessarily cosmopolitan (Eriksen, 2007). The Commission shows to have a supranational leadership style in guiding the Member States but the content of governance and the context it was held in, such as 'more solidarity and responsibility sharing', is cosmopolitan most of the times, as was observed. Beck and Grande (2007) also agree with the thought that harmonizing the policies and eliminating national differences is not cosmopolitan, but recognizing them is, which further supports the idea that having a common European asylum policy within the context of communitarianism may not be very cosmopolitan from Beck and Grande's (2007) perspective.

It also appears from Table 4.1 that regulating events, such as humanitarian activities, beyond any one nation state, is the second most frequent concept. The frequency somewhat shows how important a category is to the Commission. 'A disposition of openness', which is rather a broad cultural dimension of cosmopolitanism, and 'a sense of social responsibility' come next. 'A sense of empathy' is the least frequently occurred category. However, a sense

of empathy is expected to occur less than other categories because empathy is only needed when there is an emotional reaction, which leaves the priority to other categories in most other cases, as a form of interpretation. Emotional reactions usually happen when there are crises in whatever context, however, further research is required on the issue of empathy and its psychological impact.

4.1. Cosmopolitan Addressing of the Refugee

Commissioner Avramopoulos states that "Openness and security are two equally important pillars of the European edifice. *One* of the reasons for so many lost lives is that *it is too difficult* for people seeking protection to enter the EU *legally* (SPEECH/14/1601)." Similarly, President Juncker calls for "...opening legal channels for migration [because] if there are more, safe and controlled roads to Europe, we can [...] make the illegal work of human traffickers less attractive (SPEECH/15/5614)."

It is observed from the words of Commissioner Avramopoulos and President Juncker that they both seek to open legal channels for migrants and refugees as opposed to closing borders, but with having better control over the borders. The reason for opening legal channels, as observed, is mainly for making it easier for migrants and refugees to reach Europe safely, and by this also lowering the demand for the services of illegal human traffickers.

One way to interpret this observation, since many statements concerning strengthening the external borders of the EU were found, strengthening external borders and enhancing control does not necessarily mean calls for closing borders, however, there is a strong focus on tackling human trafficking and migrant smuggling in order to, on the one hand, safeguard migrants' lives (whether refugees or irregular) by putting an end to perilous ways for people migrating to Europe, and on the other hand, tackle the issue of irregular migration by enhancing the capacity to identify and stem the flows of migrants entering European soil through irregular channels and determine whether they qualify for asylum and international protection, or plainly irregular migrants coming from 'safe' countries of origin who do not possess the right to stay in Europe. The issues surrounding irregular migrants in relation to cosmopolitanism will be discussed in more detail in section 4.2. Nonetheless, those statements express certain cosmopolitan features or values and fall under the coding-scheme (Figure 3.1) categories 'disposition of openness', 'sense of social responsibility', 'moral political decision on humanity', and a disputable 'sense of hospitality' – disputable because it not shown in this observation any guarantee that those migrants are welcomed to

stay; opening legal channels does not imply that, once migrants have reached Europe, they will not be denied entry for some reason.

According to Vice-President Frans Timmermans, "We need to make sure that we provide more support for people to be able to live decent lives in dignity in the camps where they are in Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey. We need to make sure that we help those countries to afford these people the opportunity to work, to take up jobs, and one of the major elements we need to look at is to provide education for children – that is of the greatest importance (SPEECH/15/6079)."

Statements as such, expressing a sense of social responsibility, worldliness, and regulating events beyond anyone nation where also commitments aim beyond the local and particular, were found several times in the speeches. This shows that the Commission has a sense of responsibility not only for events happening within the borders of the EU but also for people – especially refugees in this case – in need of life essentials including protection, education and employment opportunities. This can also be related to statements found in the speeches concerning reaching Europe's 2020 poverty targets which show a sense of social responsibility and worldliness. Nussbaum (1997) and Skrbis & Woodward, (2013), as argued in chapter 2.1, strongly support those moral values of ethical cosmopolitanism, in relation to helping people with their problems regardless of their locality or nationality. Yet, again, this study does not analyse the practices and what is actually being done, which can diminish the rosy picture painted here; however it reveals rather the ideological position and intention of the Commission expressed in the speeches, which is the aim of this research.

Commissioner Cecilia Malmström, in her speech in 2014, said "I will focus on a fundamental right that is very close to my heart, one that is easy to proclaim in theory, but more complicated to defend in practice: the right to asylum (SPEECH/14/244)."

This is a very interesting observation. Commissioner Malmström confirms my argument concerning the possible discrepancy between speeches and practice. When Commissioner Malmström states that the right to asylum is easier to proclaim in theory than to defend in practice, she implies that what has been said is not necessarily what has and will be done. However, stating this can also mean that the Commission puts an effort in advocating cosmopolitan values, however, the extent to which those values hold highly depends on complications, which can be caused by pressures from the Member States, and whether the Commission can handle such pressures while trying to preserve unity in the EU against the rising populism. Furthermore, Thym (2016), in chapter 2.1 of this paper, briefly argues how complicated it is determining who qualifies the right to asylum and its legal loopholes. There is a thin line separating returning irregular migrants back to their countries of origin and

refoulement (forcible return of refugees or asylum seekers that is against international law), since it is argued that refugees lose their right to asylum in the EU once they have been admitted in a 'safe' country, such as Turkey, on their way to Europe (Collett, 2016, March). Moreover, when Commissioner Malmström used the words "very close to my heart", she expressed her own personal conviction about the importance of the right to asylum. For instance, if she said only that the right to asylum is easier in theory than in practice without making it personal, we could not see how she personally felt about it. The feeling or conviction she expressed towards the right to asylum helped us indicate which side she is on – the cosmopolitan one.

President Juncker reminds us in a speech he gave in Strasbourg of the times, many Europeans were once migrants and refugees; "Our history is marked by millions of Europeans fleeing from religious or political persecution, from war, dictatorship or oppression. [...] It is Europe today that represents a beacon of hope, a haven of stability in the eyes of women and men in the Middle East and in Africa. That is something to be proud of and not something to fear. [...] Imagine for a second it were you, your child in your arms, the world you knew torn apart around you. [...] Think of the families sleeping in parks and railway stations in Budapest, in tents in Traiskirchen, or on shores in Kos. What we will become of them on cold, winter nights? (SPEECH/15/5614)"

An interpretation to this observation is that President Juncker is trying to be empathetically convincing by stating that Europeans also were once refugees and by this he makes the European refugees in the past equal to the non-European refugees today. He is eliminating the "Us" and "Them" from the equation by reminding us that Europeans' history is marked by millions of European refugees fleeing conflict, war and oppression. Juncker is encouraging Europeans to be rather proud of their territory, the EU, for being a safe haven for the oppressed and persecuted. He expresses a strong sense of empathy and a disposition of openness among other cosmopolitan values represented in the coding scheme (Figure 3.1). By saying so, President Juncker is doing exactly the opposite of exploiting the fears and anxieties of his audience. Bauman (2016) agrees with this statement by means of, instead of capitalizing on the anxiety caused by the influx of migrants, encouraging the audience of this speech to feel with those in need and providing them with help and protection rather than fearing them. Nussbaum (1997) also concurs with her moral cosmopolitan values towards humanity.

Several other statements found in the speeches show a strong sense of empathy as well with the refugee and even people in need of protection outside of the EU. The EU is a reputable global entity and thus obliged to take lead in sticking to universal principles and

UN resolution concerning taking refugees in. However, apart from this obligation, the Commission, especially under the leadership of President Juncker, is showing high incentive and enthusiasm for taking in refugees and offering them protection. Being empathetic is not under universal law and therefore is not an obligation; however, the Commission conveyed empathy many times in the Speeches.

Avramopoulos stated that "[...] we have to proactively ensure that the newly arrived who receive protection are enabled to fully participate in our societies (SPEECH/16/76)."

This can be interpreted in relation to the category inclusion and integration. Allowing newly arrived refugees to participate in European societies can imply ensuring, on the one hand, prevention of issues for their own advantage such as culture shock, unemployment, discrimination, education and language barriers. An example of that would be having information billboards and signs translated to Arabic for refugees in places such as train stations. A statement as such can also be related to similar other statements found in the speeches that call for promoting equal opportunities, fighting racism and xenophobia. On the other hand, allowing newcomers, more precisely refugees in this case, to fully participate in society is also beneficial for the state hosting them in terms of letting newcomers contribute positively to the economy by employment, and by this also avoiding possible social problems such as exclusion, poverty and crime. The concept of inclusion is very important in cosmopolitan terms, referring to the idea that all human beings belong to a single community, and must be treated accordingly, as mentioned earlier in chapter 2.

President Juncker stated in a speech in 2015: "And this is why today we are proposing a second emergency mechanism to relocate a further 120,000 from Italy, Greece and Hungary (SPEECH/15/5614)."

A statement as such may be seen as an example of one of the moral benefits of crisis-labelling. Crisis-labelling is complex topic and does not fit within the scope of this paper. Jeandesboz and Pallister-Wilkins (2014) assess and critique the aim behind crisis labelling, as mentioned earlier in chapter 2.2. Nonetheless, one of the things that had been observed in the speeches is that crisis mode sometimes begs for emergency mechanisms and measures that can serve certain values of cosmopolitanism well. For instance here it emphasizes the urgency for further cooperation between the Member States in order to lessen the burden and relieve some of the pressure on receiving countries including Greece and Italy by sharing the burden (Suhrke, 1998) through the relocation and resettlement mechanisms. In cases in the speeches as such, crisis-labelling is giving the sense of urgency to act positively in line with cosmopolitanism. Moreover, there is a high sense of

communitarianism persistently emphasized in the speeches which could also have been prompted unusually by the thought that there is a 'crisis'.

"I cannot stress enough the importance of working together – with collective responsibility (SPEECH/15/5751)." It has been observed that phrases as such, however not in the exact sequence of wording, as well as the words "solidarity" and "right to asylum" have been most frequently and persistently mentioned throughout the speeches.

"Working together" and "solidarity" in an EU context stress the need to deal with issues from a common approach as a community, which falls under the coding-scheme category communitarianism. Emphasizing on the words "solidarity" and "right of asylum" together in the same paragraph can be leading to the idea of having a European Common Asylum Policy. Whereas Lavenex (2001) argues against its implications in regards to refugees, but that is not fully explored in this paper. Nevertheless, mentioning the "right to asylum" persistently stresses the need to comply with international law and universal principles, which a serves an important dimension of cosmopolitanism.

4.2. Cosmopolitan Addressing of the Irregular Migrant

Commissioner Avramopoulos said: "The other side of the coin is those who cannot remain on EU territory. Their return must always be carried out in full respect of the fundamental rights of the individual, including the most vulnerable ones (SPEECH/14/1601)."

Different issues and colours of cosmopolitanism show up in relation to different forms of migrants. In the case of addressing the irregular migrant it seems that the Commission's speeches do not comply with most of the cosmopolitan features presented in the coding scheme (Chapter 3.2: Figure 3.1) because of its return policy, and yet, there still appears a certain degree of cosmopolitanism in addressing the irregular migrant. Statements concerning sending irregular migrants back to their 'safe' countries of origin and making irregular migration less attractive to prospective irregular migrants, which have been found multiple times in the speeches may convey an anti-cosmopolitan character from the broad sense of the term's values; however, in line with certain features of cosmopolitanism, the Commission still stands a chance. This statement by Commissioner Avramopoulos is an example that represents certain cosmopolitan features in accordance with the coding scheme. "Full respect of the fundamental rights of the individual" is represented by the category embedding politics in universal principles. This is one category out of eleven other cosmopolitan features (Figure 3.1) represented, which shows a low a degree of

cosmopolitanism by the Commission in addressing the irregular migrant. On the other hand, the fact that no other country in the world 'accepts' 'irregular' migrants makes the Commission not any less cosmopolitan towards irregular migrants. Therefore, if anything, the Commission can only have the chance to endorse a higher degree of cosmopolitanism than the rest.

"[...] we do not want to create "Fortress Europe". We do want to reduce irregular entry of migrants, but we also want to ensure legal and safe pathways towards the EU. This is the best way to ensure that people do not undertake perilous journeys to reach our shores. [...] how to protect vulnerable migrants falling outside the 'refugee' definition? (SPEECH/16/365)"

Several other statements involving working closely with FRONTEX and having a European Coast Guard, in the context of this observation, were also explicitly closely related to saving lives on the spot by employing better trained external-border European security guards. In this sense, there is a degree of cosmopolitanism found in this statement towards irregular migrants. A statement as such can fall under the category "a sense of social responsibility" in protecting irregular migrants and qualified refugees alike as they sail through together in the same unsafe boats (or other unsafe means of transport) to Europe. Ossewaarde (2007) argues that cosmopolitanism seeks to sack the 'fortress', and therefore, on the one hand, agrees with this statement of not wanting to create "Fortress Europe", but on the other, Ossewaarde (2007) argues that Europe is already a fortress, to some extent, by opening the borders only between its own members.

4.3. Cosmopolitan Addressing of the Economic Migrant

"[...] keeping in mind demographics and our ageing population, we want to make the EU more attractive for foreign talent. We want to make it easier and more attractive for highly skilled migrants to come work and settle in the EU. But we also want to make our continent more attractive for students, researchers and seasonal workers (SPEECH/16/365)."

The economic migrant has been addressed under legal migration. The Commission seeks to make the EU an attractive place for prospective legal migrants, which are mostly likely gifted in terms of financial means or talent. This colour of cosmopolitanism expressed here can be subject to controversy within the discourse of cosmopolitanism. The incentive behind it is not very clear from what is observed. On the one hand, it is economically beneficial, but on the other hand, it is not necessarily the main intention behind it. The intention might as well be, partly, in accordance with Delanty's (2006) notion of modernity as plural, to promote the

interaction of different maternities, and in this case through 'economic' migration. This portrays, in terms of cultural cosmopolitanism, a disposition of openness (Delanty, 2006).

"We need to provide credible alternatives for irregular migration and enhance our legal channels. That is why we will propose a revision of the Blue Card (SPEECH/16/76)."

This observation, on the one hand, tackles irregular migration and seeks to put an end to it; while on the other hand, it opens the door (welcoming) for migrants seeking to enter the EU legally. The Blue Card mentioned in the speech, also clarified earlier in this paper, is an approved EU-wide work permit that allows migrants having it to live and work in any Member State (Thym, 2016) that is subject to the [Council] proposal. Economic migrants (Bauman, 2016) are good for the economy; the high-skilled migrant (often given the label of 'expat') fills the void and missing talent in domestic labour force and some might as well start up their own businesses creating employment; the international student is also considered as an investment, a prospective high-skilled migrant, among many other advantages for the receiving country including cultural and socio-political ones. Students are entitled to the same rights as labour migrants, especially when they earn their degree; students often get granted an orientation year residence permit in the EU once they have graduated from a European university, which allows them to live and work as they please like EU citizens with equal treatment. The speeches analysed contain various statements promoting legal migration and making Europe a more attractive destination for knowledge and high-skilled migrants. The tourist is not even remotely related to the Blue Card mentioned in this observation, however, fits well under the economic migrant category and is considered to be good for the economy (by being a consumer). Depending on the country of origin the tourist comes from, it is known that Visa procedures often require a proof of sufficient financial means and a 'stable' socioeconomic status for the tourist, especially if they're coming from a third-world country, to ensure that such migrant is only coming to Europe for the purpose of tourism and not intending to stay longer than it is illegal. Tourists are also protected by human rights and universal law in the EU.

"EU law grants labour migrants equal rights to EU citizens in nearly all aspects of social security and working conditions. Such an inclusive approach is essential for building strong societies and sustainable economies (SPEECH/14/1601)."

Once non-EU labour migrants are granted first admission and long-term residence in the EU, they will have equal rights to EU citizens in nearly all aspects of social security and working

conditions, as this observation shows. Giving equal rights mainly falls under cultural cosmopolitanism through showing a disposition of openness and fostering integration and inclusion. However it also somewhat fits under making moral political decisions on humanity, and Nussbaum's (1997) ethical cosmopolitanism in a sense that human beings belong to a one community adorned with a sense of social responsibility and hospitality to a certain degree.

4.4. Cosmopolitan Addressing of the EU Citizen – the Migrant within Intra-EU 'Mobility'

"If we neglect the protection of our external borders, Member States will want to create more protection on the internal borders and that will lead to a cascading effect that will, without any doubt, have serious consequences for Schengen and also for the internal market in the long run (SPEECH/15/6079)."

This statement portrays the pressures the European Commission is being put under. It reveals a certain balance that needs to be created by the Commission between pleasing the leaders of the Member States and at the same time staying persistent with its ideological position. As mentioned earlier in section 4.1, it is important for the EU to gain stronger control over its external borders, which does not necessarily means closing them. In cases as such the Commission is obliged to compromise perhaps on certain aspects of its ideological position in order to protect other principles of cosmopolitanism, such as communitarianism. With the rising populism (Bauman, 2016), the EU 'mobile' citizen is also being at stake. It is interesting to point out the fact, regardless of its triviality, that the Commissioners are Intra-EU migrants themselves, coming from different Member States (i.e. Dimitris Avramopoulos is coming from Greece and President Jean-Claude Juncker is coming from Luxemburg) to 'set agenda' in Brussels for the European Union. Therefore, the positions being taken by the Commission, concerning tackling irregular migration for instance, are there to prevent closing the internal borders and maintain and protect Intra-EU 'mobility' – free movement of persons and goods – and the Schengen. Moreover, Member States closing internal borders would only be a start for something even worse, such as having countries leave the EU officially like the example of UK ('Brexit').

President Juncker said in his speech from 2014, "I will defend that principle. Free movement is an opportunity, not a threat (SPEECH/14/567)."

The Member States seem to, not only be sceptical about irregular migration and the inflow of refugees, but also with the rising populism, some are entertaining certain myths about the downfalls of Intra-EU labour mobility. For that reason, which has also been evident in the speeches, the Commission seeks to protect the internal free movement of labour from the Member States themselves, where nationalism and populism, nourished by the fear of their citizens, may be on the rise. Free movement of workers has always been one of the key-pillars of the internal market. The European Union and free movement of citizens must not be taken for granted, as it can all collapse one day – taking the UK leaving the EU as a point of evidence, where many Europeans perhaps were not expecting it and yet it actually happened.

Summary of the main observations and interpretations in Chapter 4	
Observation	**Interpretation**
"Openness and security are equally important"	Opening legal channels for migrants with enhanced control and security measures over the borders, as opposed to closing borders
"More support for refugees in camps outside of the EU to live decent lives"	A sense of social responsibility
"The right to asylum is easier to proclaim than to defend in practice"	This may confirm the discrepancy between what is being said and what is actually being done
"It is Europe today that represents a beacon of hope, a haven of stability in the eyes of women and men in the Middle East and in Africa. That is something to be proud of and not something to fear"	This is the extreme opposite of exploiting the fears and anxieties of the Commission's audience towards refugees.
"Imagine for a second it were you, your child in your arms, the world you knew torn apart around you"	A strong sense of empathy, in a sense that we are all humans having the same needs and life essentials
"[...] ensure that the newly arrived [refugees] are enabled to fully participate in our societies"	Stressing the importance of integration and inclusion
"mechanism to relocate a further 120,000 from Italy, Greece and Hungary"	Burden and responsibility sharing between the Member States – communitarianism
The "return [of irregular migrants] must always be carried out in full respect of the fundamental rights of the individual"	Complying with universal principles and human rights
"How to protect vulnerable migrants falling outside the 'refugee' definition?"	A sense of social responsibility is shown towards illegal migrants by seeking to ensure their safety
We want to make it easier and more attractive for highly skilled migrants to come work and settle in the EU. But we also want to make our continent more attractive for students, researchers and seasonal workers	Two sides of the coin: first, it is beneficial for the economy, and second, it may be perceived as culturally cosmopolitan in means of promoting the idea of 'modernity as plural' with a disposition of openness (Delanty, 2006)
"EU law grants labour [economic] migrants	This falls under several features of cultural,

equal rights to EU citizens in nearly all aspects of social security and working conditions"	political and ethical cosmopolitanism
"If we neglect the protection of our external borders, Member States will want to create more protection on the internal borders and that will lead to [...] serious consequences for Schengen and also for the internal market"	This statement protects the principle of communtarianism but at the same time it points out the possible negative economic implications for the internal market. Therefore, in a sense it can be cosmopolitan but also not.

Table 4.2: summary of the main observations in the findings and their interpretations

4.5. Concluding Remarks

Four types of migrants in Europe have been narrowed down in this chapter. The different ways of cosmopolitan addressing those migrants by the European Commission have been observed. The European Commission has proven to be, in different ways, cosmopolitan in addressing the four types of migrants in the speeches. A very high degree of cosmopolitanism – in accordance with the proportion of coding-scheme-categories (Figure 3.1) found in the speeches and the frequencies of their occurrence (Table 4.1) as a measure – was found in addressing the migrant and refugee. Different colors and abundance of cosmopolitan values have been revealed in the speeches in addressing the refugee, which include empathy, hospitality and a sense of social responsibility, compared to the other forms of migrants; whereas the 'irregular migrant' has been addressed the least in a cosmopolitan manner. The cosmopolitan way the 'irregular migrant' has been addressed in is that of embedding treating the irregular migrant in accordance with universal principles and human rights and dignity – with a sense of social responsibility in seeking to protect them from harm on their way to Europe such as drowning in the sea and issues with human traffickers – while sending them back to their countries of origin. However, no disposition of openness or sense of hospitality was shown towards them in the speeches. Concerning the economic migrants, a sense of hospitality – as in welcoming – has been evident towards them in the speeches, under the umbrella of 'legal migration' while making it more attractive or appealing. Statements and words such as 'we need more Europe' and 'we need more Union in this Union' imply the need for protecting and maintain Intra-EU mobility. Accordingly, the Commission expressed a high level of cosmopolitanism towards the EU-Citizen, by showing a disposition of openness, a sense of hospitality (for the Member States), promoting further integration and inclusion, expressing a sense of social responsibility for a 'more social Europe' in terms of welfare and other social issues, and communitarianism including several other aspects of cosmopolitanism. It has been observed as well that the cosmopolitan ideological position of the Commission is persistently maintained throughout the speeches with a considerable degree of consistency.

5. Conclusion

Indeed, the European Commission, through the speeches of Commissioners within the time frame of 2014 until 2016, does not take advantage of the recent migration panic and exploit the fears and anxieties of its audience. If anything, the European Commission, with its cosmopolitan ideological position, which was found evident in the speeches, tries to put such fears at rest by encouraging its audience to be open and proud of their territory (the EU) for its capacity of being a "safe haven" and "a beacon of hope" to refugees and the other migrants. Moreover, it was found quite evident that the European Commission remained persistent in its cosmopolitan ideological position, in addressing the four types of migrant analysed in this paper, throughout the speeches with a certain level of consistency. This paper filled a small gap in the existing body of literature by analysing the dimension which concerns the contents of governance (of the European Commission in this case) rather than the vertical dimension of levels of governance, such as the tension between state sovereignty and supranational governance, on which an abundance of studies is focussed (Lavenex, 2001), in the existing body of scholarship.

The Commission has expressed itself, in addressing the refugee, by a certain disposition of openness; promoting integration and inclusion; embedding politics in universal principles; making commitments that aim beyond the local and particular; entertaining and making moral political decisions on humanity; regulating events beyond any one nation; promoting working together with the Member States as a community; and having a sense of worldliness, hospitality, social responsibility and empathy towards the 'Other'. The degrees and types of cosmopolitanism expressed by the Commission speeches varied from one type of migrants to the other. Nonetheless, the speeches were consistent in their cosmopolitan agenda. They were all somewhat repetitive and persistent in advertising cosmopolitan values. The speeches were also consistent with the Commission's agenda on migration in the Commission's webpage (European Commission, 2016). It is difficult to give an exact measure of the degree of cosmopolitanism the Commission endorses, because of the fact that a qualitative research is conducted, whereas a quantitative method, in contrast, would provide us with a precise figures or numbers. Nevertheless, the fact that all the categories (Figure 3.1) were reflected in various statements in the speeches showed a considerable degree of cosmopolitanism towards all four types of migrants mentioned in this paper. Moreover the language used in addressing refugees emphasized the importance and urgency of the matter, which gave another angle to the extent of being cosmopolitan. The frequency of coded statements also provided us with an idea of how important those matters are to the Commission and emphasized a degree of persistence. For instance, according to

Table 4.1, the concept of "communitarianism" was most frequently occurred in the speeches, which may indicate that the Commission values the principle of communitarianism the most. One of the main measures in this paper was the frequency of occurrence of concepts derived from the coding scheme (Figure 3.1), where the frequency of occurrences in Table 4.1 is sorted in descending order, starting with the most frequent to the least frequent concepts.

Cosmopolitanism in Europe has always been and still is a process, rather than an end result. 'It is a dynamic of self-transformation' as Delanty (2005) calls it. The creation of the European Union or the 'Coal and Steel Community' before that, by itself can be considered as a big step forward in the direction of an ever more cosmopolitan Europe (Kochenov and Amtenbrink, 2013). Now with the recent events including the migration crisis and numerous terrorist attacks, the European Union has a priority to maintain the Union together and keeping the internal market and free movement of citizens, and for this reason it aims at strengthening its external borders while implementing other security measures particularly for getting a better grip on irregular migration, in order to recreate a sense of stability and maintain faith among the Member States. In this context, the European Union (not the Commission per se), can be said, may be obliged to act less cosmopolitan. However, even though the Commission might be obliged to act less cosmopolitan under the current pressures, and yet it only shows its highly cosmopolitan values in its speeches towards refugees. A discrepancy between the Commission's practices and speeches, in terms of addressing migrants and refugees, may be present. However, it is not within the scope of this paper to find out whether such a discrepancy exists, which can be a suggestion for further research. Nonetheless, briefly mentioning recent practices of the EU to provide insight, the refugee-deal between the EU and Turkey, would be an example that shows a big paradox, according to a commentary article/report by Elizabeth Collett (2016, March) from the Migration Policy Institute, compared to the cosmopolitan content found in the speeches analysed in this paper:

> "[...] the agreement aims to address the overwhelming flow of smuggled migrants and asylum seekers 37ravelling across the Aegean from Turkey to the Greek islands by allowing Greece to return to Turkey "all new irregular migrants" arriving after March 20. In exchange, EU Member States will increase resettlement of Syrian refugees residing in Turkey, accelerate visa liberalization for Turkish nationals, and boost existing financial support for Turkey's refugee population. [...] However, the deal has also unveiled a paradox for a European Union that has spent several decades preaching its own high asylum standards to neighboring countries. To achieve its self-imposed goal—a significant reduction in arrivals and an increase in returns to Turkey—policymakers will have to drastically cut legal corners, potentially violating EU law on issues such as detention and the right to appeal (Collett, 2016, March)."

This reveals quite evidently an inconsistency between what the EU preaches and what it actually does. But at the same time, we shouldn't overlook the fact that this EU-Turkey refugee deal was made out of reaching consensus between the 28 Member States, and therefore it is not purely an act of the Commission or even whether the Commission was involved. For that reason, I can conclude that if the Member States, and all the pillars of the EU including the Commission itself, practice what the Commission preaches in the speeches analysed, the EU can most certainly, at that point, be set as an example of an entity adorned by a high degree of cosmopolitanism for many political actors and leaders to follow.

Additionally, according to Hansen (2009), in his article 'Post-national Europe—without cosmopolitan guarantees', he points out the critique to an EU-based cosmopolitan promise, focussing mainly on asylum policy. This cosmopolitan promise, being criticised in his paper, is about the idea that "[...] 'more Europe', as in more supranational EU integration, is said to be the key solution, paving the way for a progressive, human rights-based 'cosmopolitan Europe' capable of transcending the vices of a national self-interest (Hansen, 2009, p. 20)." While on the contrary, Hansen argues, when it comes to a common European asylum policy, which is connected to a certain degree to communitarianism, there are absolutely no cosmopolitan guarantees to that effect (Hansen, 2009). I do not fully agree with Hansen's (2009) statement "absolutely no cosmopolitan guarantees", however, this sheds light on the possible 'hidden' intentions or agenda, discussed earlier which could not be computed in my methodology part, behind certain decisions that may seem cosmopolitan; not being able to identify such hidden intentions through analysing the speeches, reveals a certain weakness or incapability of carrying out only content analysis on the speeches. This shows that a content analysis proves to be useful only in analysing the language used and the explicit intention behind it (the intention that is explicitly mentioned in the speeches), however, in order to get the bigger picture of the discrepancy between EU practices and Commission speeches, it is necessary to further research the implications of certain EU policies and their effect on people (refugees and other areas of interest), through analysing media, news reports and statistical reports, for instance, as different measures. Finally, I conclude that, either the Commission is only advertising a high degree of cosmopolitanism by the rhetoric in its speeches, or that the non-cosmopolitan practices done by the EU do not purely fall within the Commission's purview. Moreover, a suggestion for an interesting further research would be analysing speeches from 15, 10 and 5 years ago to observe whether the Commission's attitude towards migrants has changed over the years until our present day, since a change in attitude was not analysed in this paper. Another suggestion would be analysing speeches from various leaders of Member States, and comparing the results with the ideological position of the Commission.

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7. Appendix

	Overview of the European Commission speeches collected			
#	Speaker	Title of speech	Date of speech	Speech code
1	Cecilia Malmström EU Commissioner for Home Affairs	Common European Asylum System: challenges and perspectives	24 March 2014	SPEECH/14/244
2	László Andor European Commissioner for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion	Labour mobility in the EU: challenges and perspectives for a genuine European labour market	24 June 2014	SPEECH/14/491
3	Jean-Claude Juncker Candidate for President of the European Commission	A new start for Europe	15 July 2014	SPEECH/14/567
4	Dimitris Avramopoulos Commissioner for Migration, Home Affairs and Citizenship	Fundamental Rights: the Pillar for EU Migration Policy	10 November 2014	SPEECH/14/1601
5	Dimitris Avramopoulos Commissioner for Migration, Home Affairs and Citizenship	Opening Statement during the European Parliament plenary debate on Migration	25 November 2014	SPEECH/14/2140
6	Jean-Claude Juncker President of the European Commission	Speech at the debate in the European Parliament on the conclusions of the Special European Council on 23 April: 'Tackling the migration crisis'	29 April 2015	SPEECH/15/4896
7	Dimitris Avramopoulos Commissioner for Migration, Home Affairs and Citizenship	"A European Response to Migration: Showing solidarity and sharing responsibility"	14 August 2015	SPEECH/15/5498
8	Jean-Claude Juncker President of the European Commission	State of the Union 2015: Time for Honesty, Unity and Solidarity	9 September 2015	SPEECH/15/5614
9	Commissioner Johannes Hahn	Remarks on the EU's support for Western Balkans, Turkey and neighbourhood in the addressing the challenges of refugee crisis	17 September 2015	SPEECH/15/5670
10	Jean-Claude Juncker President of the European Commission	Speech by President Juncker at the Conference "EU Budget focused on Results"	22 September 2015	SPEECH/15/5696
11	Jean-Claude Juncker President of the European Commission	Managing the refugee crisis: Remarks by President Juncker	23 September 2015	SPEECH/15/5702
12	Commissioner Marianne Thyssen	Speech by Commissioner Marianne Thyssen: EU funds in support of the refugee crisis	25 September 2015	SPEECH/15/5720
13	Commissioner Marianne Thyssen	Speech by Commissioner Marianne Thyssen at Roundtable with Civil Society	1 October 2015	SPEECH/15/5751

		organisations: Forging common action to achieve the Social Triple A for Europe		
14	Dimitris Avramopoulos Commissioner for Migration, Home Affairs and Citizenship	Remarks of Commissioner Avramopoulos at the Press Conferences of the Justice and Home Affairs Council	8 October 2015	SPEECH/15/5803
15	Jean-Claude Juncker President of the European Commission	Speech of President Juncker in Passau, Germany – Discussion 'Menschen in Europa': "Euro, Russia, Refugees – which perspective for the European Union?"	8 October 2015	SPEECH/15/5824
16	Frans Timmermans First Vice-President	Speech of First Vice-President Frans Timmermans at 'Prague European Summit' Conference	13 November 2015	SPEECH/15/6079
17	Dimitris Avramopoulos Commissioner for Migration, Home Affairs and Citizenship	Remarks by Commissioner Avramopoulos to the LIBE Committee at the European Parliament	14 January 2016	SPEECH/16/76
18	Dimitris Avramopoulos Commissioner for Migration, Home Affairs and Citizenship	Keynote Speech by Commissioner Avramopoulos at the 2016 Harvard European Conference: Europe at the Crossroads of the Migration and Security Crises	20 February 2016	SPEECH/16/365
19	Dimitris Avramopoulos Commissioner for Migration, Home Affairs and Citizenship	Remarks by Commissioner Avramopoulos at the launch of the European Migrant Smuggling Centre	22 February 2016	SPEECH/16/391
20	Jean-Claude Juncker President of the European Commission	14th Norbert Schmelzer lecture – Lecture by European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker, 'The European Union – a source of stability in a time of crisis'	3 March 2016	SPEECH/16/583