AN ASSESSMENT OF THE INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH TO
IMMIGRATION: POST 9/11 AND SECURITIZED GOVERNANCE OF
IMMIGRATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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ABSTRACT

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Throughout the United States of America's history, immigration has been regarded as an economic and social development component for the country in terms of covering the lowest paying and supposedly lower-class jobs; thus, immigrants were perceived as a necessary workforce for the American economic structure and work atmosphere. It is a fact that even though there were some initiatives in the politicization of migrants in the United States through political, social, and economic restrictions such as exclusion acts and migration quotas, immigrants kept coming to the United States seeking economic and social opportunities. However, playing as a catalyst role for the transformation of the perception of immigrants, the 9/11 attacks have become a milestone for both immigration and US policies stemming from a securitized objective. Therefore, this thesis aims to analyze the institutional and political approaches such as border enforcements, border patrol, legislative changes, and negative political narrative toward immigration in the post-9/11 era in the US by applying the securitization theories of the Copenhagen School and Paris Schools regarding the immigration practices. Lastly, after analyzing the securitized

institutional approach to immigration, this thesis will propose an assessment that analyzes whether this attempted securitized approach through institutional and political changes was utilized or considered as successful

ÖZ

GÖÇE KURUMSAL YAKLAŞIMIN DEĞERLENDİRİLMESİ: 11 EYLÜL
OLAYLARI SONRASI AMERİKA BİRLEŞİK DEVLETLERİNİN
GÜVENLİKLEŞTİRİLMİŞ GÖÇ YÖNETİŞİMİ

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 Amerika Birleşik Devletleri tarihi boyunca göç, ucuz ve sözde alt sınıf işleri kapsaması açısından Amerika Birleşik Devletleri için ekonomik ve sosyal bir kalkınma bileşeni olarak görülmüştür Böylece göçmenler Amerikan ekonomik yapısı ve çalışma ortamı için gerekli bir işgücü olarak algılanmıştır. Ancak, dışlama yasaları ve göç kotaları gibi siyasi, sosyal ve ekonomik kısıtlamalar yoluyla Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde göçmenlerin siyasallaştırılmasına yönelik bazı girişimler olmasına rağmen, göçmenlerin ekonomik ve sosyal fırsatlar aramak için ABD'ye gelmeye devam ettiği de bir gerçektir. Ancak göçmen algısının değişimi için bir katalizör görevi gören 11 Eylül saldırıları, hem göçmenlik hem de güvenlikleştirilmiş bir hedeften kaynaklanan Amerikan politikaları için bir mihenk taşı haline gelmiştir. Bu nedenle, bu tez, Kopenhag Okulu ve Paris Okulu'nun güvenlikleştirme teorilerini teorik analiz temeli olarak alarak, 11 Eylül Saldırıları sonrası dönemde göçe yönelik olarak uygulanan kurumsal ve politik yaklaşımları analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Son olarak, göçmenlik meselesine yönelik güvenlikleştirilmiş kurumsal yaklaşımı analiz ettikten sonra, bu tez, göçe karşı güvenlikleştirilmiş yaklaşım sürecinin etkinleştirilip

etkinleştirilmediğini veya başarılı olarak kabul edilip edilmediğini analiz eden bir değerlendirme sunmayı hedeflemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Göç, Güvenlikleştirme, 11 Eylül Saldırıları Sonrası Dönem, Amerikan Göç Politikası, Diskur Analizi

To my dear partner, Hatice Özşahan,
To my dear family, Ayşegül Özeç, Şakir Özalp, and Doğukan Özalp

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CA	Bureau of Consular Affairs
CBP	US Customs and Border Protection
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
COPRI	Conflict Peace Research Institute
DHS	Department of Homeland Security
ERO	Enforcement and Removal Operations
EU	European Union
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FDNS	The Fraud Detection and National Security Directorate
HSI	Homeland Security Investigations
ICE	US Immigration and Customs Enforcement
INS	Immigration Naturalization and Services
IRCA	Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986
KSM	Khalid Sheikh Mohammed
NCTC	National Counterterrorism Center
NSS	National Security Strategy
NTC	National Targeting Center
SCOPS	The Service of Center Operations Directorate
TPS	Temporary Protection Status
UAVs	Unmanned Aerial Vehicles
US	The United States of America
USCIS	US Citizenship and Immigration Services
WTC	World Trade Center

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The twentieth century has marked many dramatic changes led by globalization, which affected the whole world, including political, societal, and economic spheres. The establishment of the European Union (EU), the collapse of the Soviet Union, and many technological developments shaped and transformed the world. The newly changing world has imposed unprecedented questions about the old presumptions and systems regarding western state understandings, sovereignty, and public order. These new developments significantly have affected the forms and meanings of borders, individual and collective identities, and the sense of state authority and existence as well. Likewise, these changes and forms re-drew the public orders by challenging conventional understanding structures while constituting receptive social arrangements by compounding the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion. Consequently, Western societies encountered the emergence of many existential and conceptual anxieties[1], thus, affecting the understanding and concepts of identity, community, and security. As Martin Heisler[2] stated, migration is correlated with the conceptions of identities, communities, and border and security issues; therefore, the changes and transformations of the new world also affected the migration perception that was demonstrated as a severe threat to societal, political, and economic structures, simultaneously molding the structures and dynamics of politics and practices.

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[1] Ayse Ceylan, Anastassia Tsoukala, "The securitization of migration in western societies: Ambivalent discourses and policies", *Alternatives 27,* Special Issue (2002): 21-39, https://doi.org/10.1177/03043754020270S103.

[2] Heisler, Martin O. "Now and Then, Here and There: Migration and the Transformation of Identities, Borders, and Orders." In *Identities, Borders, Orders: Rethinking International Relations Theory*, edited by MATHIAS ALBERT, DAVID JACOBSON, and YOSEF LAPID, NED-New edition., 18:225–48. University of Minnesota Press, 2001. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/j.ctttst8f.16.

The perception of migration as a serious threat to the societal, political, and economic atmosphere has been compounded by the increase in contemporary international migration that has reached a global scale. As stated, globalization has stimulated new dynamics in the world. Therefore, understanding the relations between globalization and international migration is substantial to examine the new glance on migration. Khalid Koser[3] states that on the one hand, globalization has brought new technologies such as the internet, e-mail, electronic bulletin boards, satellite, and televisions, which Koser defines as a communication revolution that demonstrates the global disparities in development, demography, economy, and democracy -democratic process- between developed and developing countries, therefore, revealing the gap in human welfare between the rich and the poor. People, becoming more aware of these disparities, attempt to protect themselves and their families against the effects of a weak economy, corrupt politics, or volatile markets by migrating to other countries.

On the other hand, globalization has brought new networks by creating a new setting for innovative technologic developments in transportation, communication, and logistics that have facilitated migration, thus, increasing international migration. With globalization and the dramatic increase in international migration, including irregular migration, the intensification of migration studies and politics resulted. It compounded the security concerns on societal, political, and economic grounds. The extension of migration issues and the new security concerns about the dramatic increase in global migration has induced a securitization approach to the migration issue. The extension of the security agenda has resulted in the inclusion of migration into this agenda.

Conventionally, the concept of security was defined around a power struggle and military confrontations -mostly about wars-and existential threats that were intensely linked to the state. A state-centric security understanding, hence, was related to preserving values or enhancing the chance of survival of the state, such as creating an environment where there is an absence of dangers, threats, and risks to the "valuable" one: the state. As Dedeoglu[4] defines it, security creates a covetable sphere where stability, peace, and healthy order exist. The factors and reasons that cause or have the

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[3] Khalid Koser, *International Migration: A Very Short Introduction,* 2nd ed, (Oxford, 2010).

[4] Beril Dedeoğlu, *Uluslararası Güvenlik ve Strateji,* (Yeniyüzyıl, 2014), 23-32.

potential to threaten that stable, peaceful, and healthy order are called security threats. Therefore, security displays utmost importance for the need of the state as well as the people.[5] However, after the 1990s, especially the détente period of the Cold War, there was an inclination of migration toward a political sphere and security frameworks. The collective mobility of people -especially irregular migration- has induced concerns and fear that would cause damage to long-standing cultural identity and belonging - political, societal, and economic order- and hence would deteriorate the state's survival and the survival of the people. As Ole Weaver[6] explains, the politicization of the process of migration and the linking of this process with integration, multiculturalism, citizenship, and welfare[7], has resulted in migration becoming a top security agenda issue; thereby, the threat definition has been enlarged over irregular mobility that creates a securitization approach towards migration. In this matter, a shift of a security perception towards migration has emerged as a result of these; concerns, fear, politicization, and enlargement of security agendas that will lead to securitized governance towards migration in the areas of legislation and politics.

Considering the United States (US) case, the global securitized and threat approach to migration was relatively different since migration is regarded as economic and social development in the United States in terms of covering the cheap and supposedly lower-class jobs, thus; migrants were perceived as a necessary workforce for the American economic structure and work atmosphere. Even though there were some initiatives in politicization of migrants in the United States through political, social, and economic restrictions such as Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA), media representation, and migrant quotas, migrants kept coming to the United States seeking opportunities. However, the 9/11 attacks have become a milestone for both migration and American politics, which led to securitized policies restricting migrants who were coming to the United States through policy initiatives. Eventually, with these new

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[5] Emre Çıtak, "Migration and Securitization: An Assessment in the Context of Human Security", *Yönetim ve Ekonomi Araştırmaları Dergisi,* 3 (2020): 1-24, https://doi.org/10.11611/yead.745781.

[6] Ole Waever, "Securitization and Desecuritization," in *International Security: Widening Security*, vol. 3, edited by Barry Buzan and Lene Hansen, 4 vols. (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2007), 66–99.

[7] Philippe Bourbeau, "Securitized Migration", in *The Securitization of Migration: A Study of Movement and Order*, (London, Newyork, Routledge: 2011), 11-30.

policies and approaches, there has been produced a securitized institutional approach to migration in the US.

Historically, the United States is considered the traditional country of immigration. The multiculturalism of the United States stems from its history of immigration. However, the September 11 Attacks served as a catalyst role, and the United States has developed a securitized approach toward migration. Nowadays, the link between migration and security is established through the threats to society, national economies, border security, regional dynamics, and the international order. In this context, the United States plays an essential role in the area of security. Significantly, in the 9/11 attacks, Al Qaeda played a significant role, and the immigrant and foreigner labels of the terrorists have intensified the withdrawn attitude of the United States under significantly the Bush administration, in which there have been many securitized approaches such as building fences, walls, border patrol enhancements and legislative changes towards migration issues, that would enforce both public and political negative sentiment derived from a negative narrative.

In this regard, this thesis first aims to define the institutional changes under a new securitized objective that was drawn by the 9/11 attacks towards migration under the Bush administration. By doing so, this thesis will apply a securitization theoretical lens to analyze whether these institutional changes were utilized or not in both the US immigration policies and public spheres terms of securitization of migration. To do so, this thesis will examine the policy initiatives in terms of organizational changes, expanded enforcement, visa security, and border control; and will further its analysis of the immigration and asylum laws of the United States by linking the social and public responses toward the migrants through media and political representation of migrants. In terms of institutional changes, this thesis will analyze the transition period -before and right after the 9/11 attacks- enforced by the Homeland Security Act and aims to define the institutional changes such as US Customs and Border Protection (CBP), US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), and US Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS). Yet, solely mentioning the post-9/11 era in the United States would not define the institutional approach and organizational change towards migration. In an attempt to illuminate the stern attitude of the United States towards

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migration in the political, societal, and economic spheres, this thesis will apply a theoretical lens, the securitization theory.

The securitization theory, digressing from the traditional security interpretation, was developed by the Copenhagen School, scholars such as Barry Buzan, Ole Weaver, Jaap de Wilde, and many others. The Copenhagen School aimed to broaden the security interpretation beyond the mere limited glance of political and military understanding by introducing five unprecedented sectors; military, environmental, economic, societal, and political security. Providing a constructivist approach, the securitization theory focuses on the "how" and when" the issue is securitized. Therefore, the theory focuses on the "utterance", by claiming that the issue is securitized by the speech act. As Ole Weaver[8] defines, by speaking security, the securitizing actor steers an issue out of regular politics and thus, moves it into a new area of security. Thereby, the issue carried out in regular politics is legitimized by using unordinary measures in the lens of securitization. However, the approaches of the Copenhagen School are highly criticized by many scholars due to its vague and limited explanation of the concept of securitization. Therefore, a new generation -Paris School- consists of many scholars such as Didier Bigo, Jeff Huysmans, and Thierry Balzacq[9]. The Paris School aimed to extend the explanation of the Copenhagen School by implementing new approaches to speech acts and introducing the practices of institutions and social reflections of securitization. In this matter, this thesis, first explaining in its theoretical framework chapter, will apply the securitization theory by using two generations of security studies. The reason is that the securitization theory is based on the practices and responses of the European Union; thereby, it lacks extensive explanations on the case of the United States. To understand the institutional developments in the United States in the context of securitized migration, this thesis aims to utilize specific methods, such as focusing on the political speeches of the US presidents, focusing on institutional approaches, and public responses. This thesis' data for political speeches primarily benefit from Congressional speeches, public statements of political elites, and radio and social media interviews. Also, for the

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[8] Ibid, 55.

[9] Bourdieu, Bourdieu, Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste, (Taylor & Francis Ltd. 1989), 1-640

institutional approaches, this thesis will examine specific legislative changes such as Immigration Reform and Control Act, especially after the 9/11 attacks, National Security Strategy (NSS), Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), the Patriot and Homeland Security Acts.

In addition, as this thesis's preliminary study and focus, the institutional changes through policy initiatives will be discussed in order to comprehend whether the process of securitization is utilized or not by benefitting polls and surveys to examine the public responses on migration, assessing the audience, while benefiting from the statistics that demonstrate the numbers of immigrants coming to the United States in the post 9/11 era.

In this regard, this thesis will consist of four main chapters: theoretical framework, historical developments in the US in the context of migration, structuring of securitized governance of the US towards migration in the 9/11 era, and discussion on whether the process securitization of migration under institutional change has been utilized or not.

In the first chapter, this thesis will analyze the theoretical framework of the study. This thesis tries to demonstrate the securitized governance of migration in the US from a theoretical lens as its methodology; therefore, the thesis will explain the securitization theory by categorizing it into two main approaches; the Copenhagen School and the Second Generation; Paris School- currently inferred as Critical Security Studies-. In this chapter, the study will first explain the Copenhagen School by analyzing the theory's essential component- the speech act-. Furthermore, in order to redound the profoundness of the securitization theory with regard to the context and content of the thesis, the second generation -the Paris School- will be analyzed by asserting its fundamental approaches, which advert the social cohesion and policy changes and transitions. Examining the two approaches of securitization will allow an understanding of both historical and contemporary developments of the US on the securitization of migration. By combining the two approaches of security studies, this thesis will not only explain the securitized approach through speech acts but also will elucidate legislative changes and public responses to the migration issue. The main aim of this study is to link the attempted securitized governance of the US with the

aftermath of the institutional changes of the 9/11 attacks, yet to demonstrate and analyze whether the securitization of migration has been utilized or not under the influence of 9/11 and institutional changes.

In the second chapter, the United States' history as a traditional country of immigration will be analyzed to understand the conventional approach and perception toward immigration. Historically, as it is stated in the country's motto – *e pluribus unum*- the United States' nation-building process had depended on immigration movements, specifically for the economic development. In this matter, the United States has produced several immigration acts to increase immigration movements by promoting the country's goods and opportunities. Also, this chapter will briefly describe certain historical periods in order to understand the 9/11 attacks' impact on the organizational and political changes in the US towards migrants in terms of politicization of immigration policies.

In the third chapter, this thesis will describe the institutional changes along with the 9/11 events. 9/11 attacks served as a catalyst in the implementation of securitized policies regarding the immigration case. Prior to 2002, there were only three federal departments that had components responsible for advancing these immigration-related issues: 1) The Immigration Naturalization Service under the Ministry of Justice, 2) The US Customs Service within the Treasury Ministry, and 3) Bureau of Consular Affairs. Therefore, the third chapter of this thesis will first focus on the prior institutional structure regarding migration management. Later, this chapter will describe the 9/11 incidents and further developments by the US government in terms of enforcing specific policy initiatives to govern and secure the immigration issues inside and outside of the US. To do so, in this chapter, the transition with the Department of Homeland Security (DNS) will be further discussed, and the configuration of immigration politics and policies will be described. DNS's primary policies, such as preventing terrorism, securing the border, regulating immigration, and setting immigration policy under the new institutions such as CBP, ICE, and USCIS, will be analyzed as well. Ultimately, this chapter will aim to identify the institutional changes in the post-9/11 era in order to analyze further whether these initiatives are considered successes or failures.

In the last chapter, this thesis will apply securitization theory, combining both schools, Copenhagen and Paris, to evaluate whether the institutional securitization of immigration is utilized or not in terms. To do so, the practices, political approaches/initiatives, and political rhetoric of securitization of immigration in the United States will be explained from a theoretical lens. In this matter, first, this thesis will apply the Copenhagen School's approach by revealing the relations between the audience and securitizing actors through speech acts. For instance, especially after the 9/11 incidents, political speeches, media, propaganda, and statements will be presented as speech acts, and their impacts on the audience- American society- will be elaborated through examples. Furthermore, to analyze further, a theoretical lens of the Paris School will be applied to the institutional changes that were enforced with NSS and the formation of DHS. To evaluate whether the securitization of immigration through institutional changes was utilized or not, this thesis will benefit from the figures, statistics, and pre-existing data in terms of numbers of immigrants to highlight some important points such as the impact of immigrants on the US society politics, and the economy.

Additionally, this thesis will be limited to the Bush Administration merely, since this thesis primary focus is to analyze the post 9/11 era's political tenacity of the institutional and organizational changes regarding the immigration and security nexus. To do so, this thesis will utilize the securitization theory -combining two school of thought, Paris and Copenhagen- in order to understand the security-objective discourse creation through speech acts and institutional changes such as Homeland Security and National Security Strategy. Since these changes are considered as a response to the 9/11 attacks, this thesis will cover the period between 2001 and 2008, To analyze whether the securitization of immigration through institutional changes in the post 9/11 era was successfully utilized or not through the political intend of the US in the political and social spheres, this thesis will benefit from the political speeches, statements, and implications made by the government officials during the Bush Administration, and as well as wielding the political initiatives such as border enforcements and legislative changes. What this thesis will not provide is to put a comparison between the later US Presidents such as Barrack Obama, Donald Trump, or the current President Joe Biden. Instead, this thesis will carry out a constructive analysis that aims to understand the underlying attempts, enforcements, and political

narrative of the institutional securitization of immigration during the Bush Administration, in terms of whether it has been utilized or not.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter will discuss the theoretical framework that is based on the concept of security and securitization theory and the theory's different variations; the Copenhagen School and the second generation of securitization theory. The first part of this chapter will focus on the meaning and concept of security and its traditional understanding. The reason why this thesis first focuses on the concept of security is to generate a ground of concept which later be dissected by the securitization theory. Therefore, in the second part of this chapter, this thesis will focus on the Securitization theory from the Copenhagen School perspective; mainly defining the formation of the initial theory and the primary approach of this theory which consists of speech acts as a securitizing instrument and audience which gives consent to the securitizing actor. However, due to tolerably criticism of Copenhagen School's speech act as securitization, the second generation -Paris School- emerges as complementary intellects to improve the theory. The third part of this chapter, thereby, will discuss the approaches of the Paris School to amplify the securitization theory while focusing on the general critiques of the theory. The fourth part of this chapter will try to apply the theory to the United States case. The securitization theory has emerged from the context of European scholars. Therefore, understanding the theory itself and its critics will give a better grasp of understanding the different causes; as such, this thesis' primary approach to identify the securitization of migration in the United States case.

2.1. What is Security

In social sciences, the meaning of security has always been discussed throughout history due to its comprehensiveness and diverse understanding. The concept of security etymologically means "far away from danger", which derives from the Latin words, *"sine cura."* Conventionally, regarding the first definition of security, the foremost scholars who attempted to define the concept of security focused on the definition within the objectivity, subjectivity, and perhaps a universal definition that could clarify the complexity of the term. Objectively, security means a state of non-threat to specific *values*, whereas, subjectively, security means having no fear about the dangers to *values*.[10]

In general, before the discussions over the concept of security, it had a particular understanding and definition, which has a universal meaning, mainly focusing on the international perspective. Given the incidents such as World War I and World War II, security or international security meant defending lands, states, and people from a physical attack. As Giocomo Luciano has defined, "security is the ability to protect itself from the upcoming threats, regarding the military occurrence[11]. Therefore, it was evident that security had a limited definition and understanding regarding its comprehensiveness and conceptual framework.

However, with the détente period of the Cold War, the 1990s, and globalization, the concept of security has changed. Its conventional perspective has been rephrased and has not been bound to a single and vague definition. As it was stated, security had a mostly nation-based approach where the primary focus has always been to protect, secure, or stabilize the state from the upcoming physical threats. Yet, with new scholars such as Barry Buzan, Ole Weaver, Didier Bigo, and such, the concept of security has begun to be discussed and rethought. In this sense, in 1991, Barry Buzan published his valuable study, "New Thinking About the Strategy," where Buzan has

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[10] Sait Yılmaz, International Security, Theory, Practice and Future, (Kaynak Academic, 2017), p.68-109.

[11] Giocomo Luciani, The Economic Content of Security, Journal of Public Policy, Issue 8 (1988), 151-173

amplified the meaning of security.[12] Buzan, in an effort to break free from the conventional perspective and definition of security, has included the political, economic, and social interests' issues in the discussions of the field of security[13]. Basically, security, as a whole, doesn't only include state stability and protection from a possible military or a physical attack but also consists of the preservation of values, stability, and norms regarding economic, political, psychological, sociological, and social atmospheres. To do so, Barry Buzan has introduced the five dimensions of security in order to develop the security concept:

1. Military dimension,
2. Political dimension,
3. Economic dimension,
4. Social dimension,
5. Environmental dimension.[14]

Barry Buzan, in the military dimension, similar to the conventional understanding of security, has described the ability of states' defenses to protect themselves from such threats or forces. However, Barry Buzan, in the following dimensions, has brought a new glance at the reading and interpretation of security. In the political dimension, Buzan has focused on the legitimacy of the ideologies and government systems and the importance of their security through constitutional and legitimate approaches. Further, in the economic and social dimensions, Buzan has tried to highlight the importance of security in protecting the ability to finance and the welfare of the markets, and also the importance of the preservation of values, language, culture, religion, and most importantly national identity. As for the last dimension, Buzan has put focus on the security of our planet, the biological security of the planet.[15] Therefore it is evident that with these new definitions and inclusions, the concept of security has become more diverse, comprehensive, and universal, where the primary approach is

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[12] Barry Buzan, *New Thinking about the Strategy and International Security,* (HarperCollins Academic, 1991), 30-390.

[13] Ibid, 54.

[14] Ibid, 54

[15] Buzan, Barry. (2016) 2016. People, States and Fear. 1st ed. Rowman & Littlefield International. https://www.perlego.com/book/573599/people-states-and-fear-pdf.

to create a state of security within the political, economic, social, and even individual spheres.

Consequently, with these new approaches and definitions, especially after the Cold War era, the concept of international security has become a prevalent debate among scholars and international relations, which led to the emergence of new theories, methodologies, and methods. As this thesis will benefit, the securitization theory based on this new glance at the concept of security has been developed with the Copenhagen School. In the following part, this thesis will discuss the emergence of the Copenhagen School, the securitization theory, by focusing on its origins, approaches, and components.

2.2.   Copenhagen School and Securitization Theory

In the 1990s, securitization theory was developed by the Copenhagen School, scholars under Conflict Peace Research Institute (COPRI) in Copenhagen; Barry Buzan, Ole Weaver, Jaap de Wilde, and more with the publication of *Security: A New Framework of Analysis*[16]. The Copenhagen School has deviated from the traditional interpretation of security and amplified the concept by including environmental, military, societal, political, and economic sectors, as this thesis has discussed in the previous part. The school has aimed to broaden its comprehensiveness and inclusiveness and put an emphasis that security is based on survival[17] yet has gone beyond not only the survival of a state but also the survival of values and norms. Therefore, the school has claimed that security issues are hardly objective and external; instead, issues are determined by actors, and they are intersubjective and socially constructed[18] and thereby securitized. In this sense, the school has proposed two approaches regarding the concept of security and securitization; 1) new five sectors- stated above- and 2) a "more constructivist operational method for understanding and analyzing how and when issues become

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[16] Buzan, Barry, Ole Wæver, and Jaap de Wilde. 1998. Security: a new framework for analysis. Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner Pub.

[17] Skidmore, David. "Security: A New Framework for Analysis. By Barry Buzan, Ole Weaver, and Jaap De Wilde. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1998. American Political Science Review 93, no. 4 (1999): 1010–11. doi:10.2307/2586187.

[18] Ibid, 31.

security issues.[19]" This way, the Copenhagen School has provided a deepened and insightful definition and interpretation of security and issues related to security.

Copenhagen School has approached security studies under three main conceptual pillars: securitization, sectors, and security complexes.[20] However, this thesis will merely benefit from the securitization pillar. It will not analyze in detail the two last pillars, which are developed by Barry Buzan as schemes to analyze regional security configurations[21] since the other two pillars were primarily explaining the traditional security approaches such as military and state power relations. As this thesis will try to analyze the securitization which benefits from a constructivist point of view, therefore, it will only utilize the securitization pillar of the school.

The Copenhagen School did not originate the idea of securitization, and the school has been influenced by scholars such as Arnold Wolfers in the 1950s, John L. Austin in the 1960s, Jacques Derrida, Hannah Arendt, and Pierre Bourdieu, and Judith Butler. Copenhagen School has discussed the process of securitization theory. It has resembled the theory of negotiation between political bodies and people in terms of applying security measures to the constructed security issues. As for the theoretical framework of the Copenhagen School and securitization theory, sociologists and scholars have discussed the productivity, performativity, and power relations between the state and politics by providing a general understanding of security. As Arnold Wolfers defines, security is similar to a negotiation between the state and its people; thereby, it is between a leader/policy maker and citizens.[22] Therefore, the decision-makers are in a position to choose specific values and norms that need or deserve protection or security, and the decision-makers also determine the level of security, and the people, or in this case, the citizens are in a position to give their approval for the issues that are needed to be securitized or protected; thereby constituting a mutual

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[19] Buzan, Barry, Ole Wæver, and Jaap de Wilde. 1998. Security: a new framework for analysis. Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner Pub.

[20] Ibid, 31.

[21] Holger Stritzel, Security in Translation: Securitization Theory and the Localization of Threat, *Discourse & Society*, Issue 1 (206), 11-38

[22] Arnold Wolfers (1952), '"National Security" as an Ambiguous Symbol', Political Science Quarterly, 67, 481-502.

negotiation for both parties[23]. Yet, the definition of Wolfers was a simple one, and it did not include a general or profound definition in terms of what or how securitization takes place. Also, earlier scholars such as Judith Butler and Hannah Arendt have discussed the productive power of language and its assertiveness in terms of applying and implementing particular impact on the power relations and negotiation, which substantiated the speech act of Copenhagen School[24].

Influenced by the scholars mentioned above and combining the thoughts and approaches of such scholars, Copenhagen School has introduced five main components in understanding the securitization theory and its application and implementation in order to propose a broadening agenda and analyze the dynamics and politics of securitized approaches to specific issues:

1. A Securitizing Actor/Agent
2. An existential threat,
3. A referent object,
4. Audience,
5. Speech Act[25]

Copenhagen School's approach rejects the notion of the traditional state-centric security perspective, which is a primary objective and steady entity. It struggles for a more constructivist approach where security is constructed through discourse.[26] Basically, what security means for Copenhagen School is that necessity in reading security should focus on "the context of a state of exception,"[27] which further to the claim that security threats are always existential for the survival of a particular *referent object*, which might be for instance a state or populace or territory or even identity, culture, organizational stability, social order, natural environment, biosphere, or

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[23] Ibid, 502.

[24] Ibid, 502.

[25] Ibid, 32.

[26] Buzan, Barry, and Lene Hansen. *The Evolution of International Security Studies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511817762.

[27] Ibid, 7.

markets.[28] Therefore, for the school, the capacity and the scope of the security should not only be bound to state-centric, political, or military spheres; instead, it should include such agendas and areas in the context of security as for the *referent objects.*

Yet, what Copenhagen School has studied is that the securitization is a construction of threat by a *securitizing actor* that is primarily context-specific and depends on political choice, which is creating *existential threats* towards *referent objects* since, according to the school, an issue does not in and of itself constitute a security problem[29]; instead, it is an as self-referential practice by *a securitizing actor.* Therefore, securitization is a construction of threat, moving the issue out of ordinary and everyday politics, and framing the issue in a way that justifies and legitimizes the measures that need to be taken to provide security, thus, becoming an extreme version of politicization.

Now, the issue is how Copenhagen School correlates the construction of existential threats to referent objects, which is defined as the process of securitization by securitizing actors. To do so, Copenhagen School interprets the process as the negotiation between securitizing actors and its audience. Therefore, Copenhagen School proposes *speech act* as the tool for securitization to pull off the negotiation.

Speech act theory was mainly developed by John L. Austin, and he claimed that sometimes utterances do not describe reality and, thereby, cannot be defined in terms of truth and falsity.[30] In this sense, statements themselves are representations or performances that create social reality for issues[31]. Influenced by this theory, Ole Weaver, one of the pioneering scholars of securitization theory and Copenhagen School, has put forward that utterance is the act itself[32] that would move an issue

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[28] Ibid, 7.

[29] Buzan, Barry and Ole Waever. "Slippery? Contradictory? Sociologically Untenable? The

Copenhagen School Replies." *Review of International Studies 23, no. 2* (1997), 241-250 http://jstor.org/stable/20097477 246, 7

[30] John L Austin*, How To Do Things With Words*, Oxford University Press (1962), 12-25.

[31] Ibid, 20.

[32] Ole Waever, "Securitization and Desecuritization," in *On Security*, edited by Ronnie D. Lipschutz (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 46-86.

toward a particular development into a specific area. That means utterance of security, and in this case, speech act, is more than just saying or expressing something; instead, it is a performance of an action with the potential not just to describe but to create a new social reality, which is an issue has become a subject to a securitizing move.

A speech act is an essential tool for Copenhagen School to interpret the dynamics of securitizing actors and move toward its audience. As Buzan and Weaver define it, the speech act is quite interesting, and it has the capacity to break the ordinary and constitute a meaning which does not exist in the context before.[33] In this case, issues that are considered security issues are shaped by speech acts as existential threats to a referent object by a securitizing actor who generates endorsement of emergency measures beyond rules[34], which is implemented with the approval of the audience, and thereby considered as a successful negotiation between an audience and a securitizing actor through speech act. Generally speaking, or to give a basic explanation about how the securitization process or negotiation between audience and securitizing actors who might be political leaders, bureaucracies, government officials, and pressure groups which are primarily political figures, by speaking the security, the securitizing actor moves the issue out of regular politics and into the security area, and in that way, this process allows the legitimization the use of extraordinary measures to deal with the threat. In other words, an issue is dramatized as an issue of utmost importance; therefore, an agent might legitimately claim a need to raise the issue above the regular politics and policy rules. It allows the issue to be open to debate.[35] Consequently, whether or not the threat is valid does not matter; securitizing an issue has nothing to do with the reality of the danger but with the use of discourse to define it as such, and in this case, it is always a political choice.[36]

[33] Ibid, 286.

[34] Jonna Nyman, *Critical Approaches to Security* (Routledge, 2013), 66-77.

[35] Ibid, 43.

[36] Ibid, 29.

Also, it is important to note that if issues are to be considered security issues, they should meet specific criteria.[37] Securitized issues are regarded as exceptional politics since issues are recognized by one particular rhetorical structure that is out of regular politics. Therefore, Copenhagen School stresses and introduces three categories of issues to define the issues within categories: non-politicized, politicized, and securitized. Non-politicized issues are the issues that invoke no specific threat, it has no state involvement, and is not considered subject to public debate or decision. Politicized issues are part of public policy that requires government decisions and resource allocation. Securitized issues are considered existential threats that require emergency measures and actions outside the scope of ordinary politics[38]. Therefore, securitized issues stress urgency, survival, and priority of action[39].

Furthermore, in order for securitization to be successful, it is essential to state the role of the audience since the issues only become securitized once the audience approves. Therefore, in terms of implementing securitization, a negotiation between the audience and securitizing actors has become essential. In this sense, Copenhagen School proposes facilitating conditions, explaining securitizing actors' attempts to convince its audience in the implementation of securitization. As for facilitative conditions, according to the school, first, securitizing actors rely on speech to achieve successful securitization. A speech act consists of two main elements; language and society, which demonstrate the features of speech and the society that authorizes and recognizes the speech.[40] Therefore, a discourse that stems from speech acts begins to constitute a threat by emphasizing the priority of taking actions to provide survival against the existential threat. Also, Copenhagen School asserts that securitizing actors in facilitative conditions values timing, and the position of its authority, in order to maximize audience acceptance[41]. To do so, securitizing actors define the features of

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[37] Ibid, 32.

[38] Ibid, 33.

[39] Ibid, 26.

[40] Ibid, 32.

[41] Ole Waever, "Securitization and Desecuritization," in *On Security*, edited by Ronnie D. Lipschutz (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 46-86.

the alleged threats both by explaining the constituted external reality of the threat, positioning the issues into social and discursive contexts and by repetitively asserting the issues through speech acts to make the issues more relatable for its audience. As seen in the table below, facilitative conditions allow the securitization process to be more precise, focused, and issue-related, thereby allowing the process to be successfully implemented.

Table 1: Components of Successful Securitization[42]
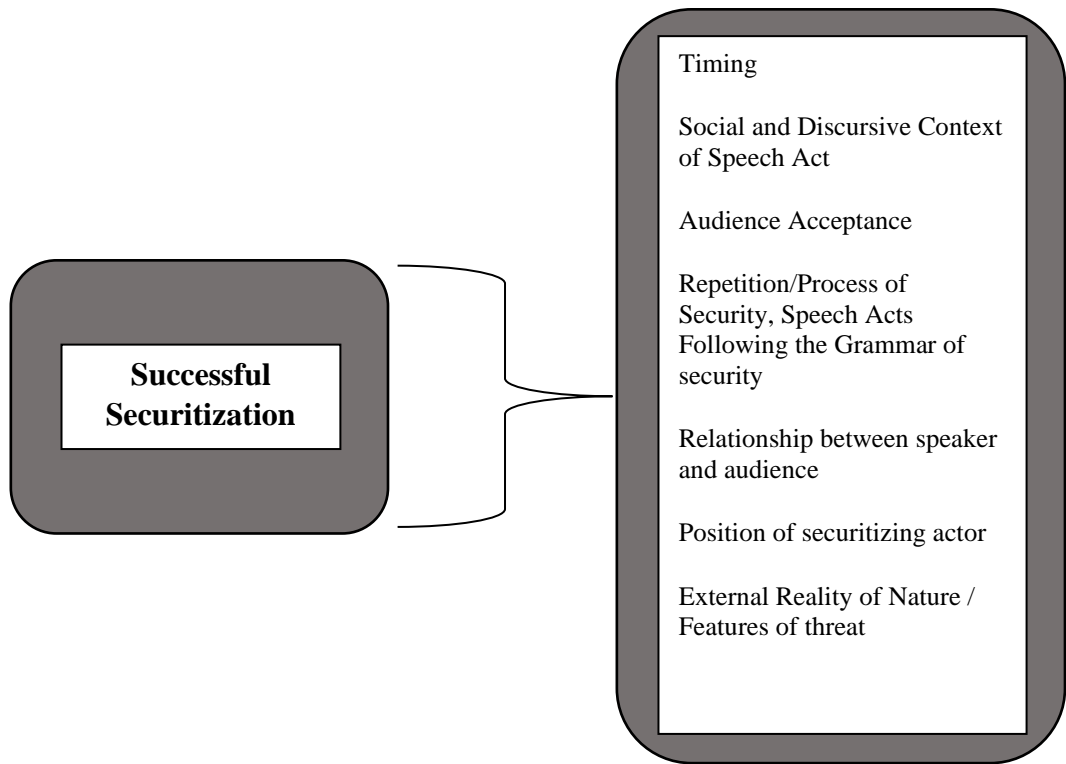
Consequently, this thesis described the Copenhagen School and its theory of securitization in this chapter which later to be utilized to analyze and understand the securitization approaches of the US in terms of speech acts of political actors. According to the Copenhagen School, through the speech act and its facilitative conditions, securitizing actors, mostly political bodies, aim to move an issue out of normal politics to take extreme measures and non-ordinary steps. This thesis will

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[42] This table shows the components of successful securitization process. This thesis benefitted from Buzan, Barry, Ole Wæver, and Jaap de Wilde. 1998. Security: a new framework for analysis. Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner Pub, to create this table.

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discuss what these extreme measures and actions are and how securitization could move an issue out of normal politics in the following parts. As this thesis will focus on migration, the United States case will also be analyzed in terms of how it might be studied and interlinked with securitization theory in the following parts. Yet first, in the next part, this thesis will analyze Post Copenhagen School and its capacity by proposing some critiques to be more precise and more explicit in reading contemporary issues regarding migration and the United States case.

2.3   Post Copenhagen School and Its Critiques

Copenhagen School's approach and methods have become highly popular among security studies, and its popularity has generated severe criticism towards the school. In this sense, many security studies scholars, such as Thierry Balzacq, Atsuko Higashino, Didier Bigo, and Jef Huysmans[43], tried to analyze the approaches of the Copenhagen School. The school's securitization theory is constituted by speech act, the acceptance of the audience, and facilitating conditions on the framed issue by securitizing actors, which allows for a combination to achieve a successful securitization. This one-way approach to achieving securitization has become a focal point for criticism.

The Post Copenhagen School era started with the emergence of the Paris School of thought. Paris School, established by security studies scholars such as Thierry Balzacq, Atsuko Higashino, Didier Bigo, and Jef Huysmans, had the purpose of analyzing security issues by combining conceptual tools such as speech act and discourses developed by Copenhagen School, with operational tools such as institutions, society, people, and such, from the fields of International Relations, Sociology, and Criminology. Copenhagen School's one-way approach to securitization, by only benefiting from speech acts that politicians use first to implement out of regular practices/political procedures in charming the audience, according to Paris School's scholars, has lacked depth in understanding relations between the two actors.

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[43] Jeff Huysmans, (2000), The European Union and the Securitization of Migration, Journal of Common Market Studies, 38(5), p751-777.

According to Balzacq, this one-directional relationship is not the best approach[44]. To understand the comprehensive dynamics between the audience and securitizing actors, Balzacq suggests that all of the components such as securitizing actors, threats, and audience in the process should be highlighted in order to focus on the degree of "congruence between them.[45]" In this sense, what Balzacq explains is that the process cannot merely be explained through the implementation of speech acts since speech acts cannot be the sole actor of the securitization process and the constitution of a discourse in the threat perception; therefore, Balzacq has aimed for a more context-oriented approach, where he considers that the securitization is not a simple but a long, and challenging process. He indicates that: *"In reality, the speech act itself, i.e. literally a single security articulation at a particular point in time, will at best only very rarely explain the entire social process that follows from it. In most cases, a security scholar will rather be confronted with a process of articulations creating sequentially a threat text which turns sequentially into a securitization."*[46] It is evident that Balzacq simply has put an emphasis on the limitation of the speech act since he believes that a one-way relationship between the audience and securitizing actors that rely on the speech act would not be sufficient enough to explain a long, diverse, and complicated securitization process.

Didier Bigo, one of the leading scholars of the Paris School, has directed his criticism to this limitation of explanation and implementation of securitization in creating the securitized discourse through speech act. Bigo, influenced by Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault, has proposed an approach to the conceptualization of security in terms of the significance of the institutionalization of the field of security.[47] Pierre Bourdieu, in his *Theory of Fields*, has developed a unique approach to power in terms of practice and response. Bourdieu has focused on how the discourses and standpoints of different actors are, in fact, correlated with the composition of such actors in the

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[44] Balzacq, Thierry. 'Three Faces of Securitization: Political Agency, Audience and Context.' European Journal of International Relations. 11, no. 2 (2005): 171-20.Sagepub. http://ejt.sagepub.com

[45] Ibid, 171.

[46] Ibid, 174.

[47] Ibid.

field, rather than floating around in "platonic worlds of ideas".[48] What Bourdieu means is that the power practices and responses that are implemented through discourses and standpoints are not just in the fields of the political sphere but also in the social, economic, cultural, and symbolic spheres, which he calls capitals. Therefore, this approach of Bourdieu has helped in mapping the methods and disposition of the Paris School, which has led to the reconstruction of the securitization theory. In this sense, Bigo has focused on the institutionalization of security. Bigo uses migration as a case study in order to develop a more accurate theoretical and conceptual framework. Since migration might serve as a clear example of how threats and danger and perception of fear and anxiety are constructed through speech acts while implementing responses and practices such as border patrol, visa regulation, and surveillance, Bigo stresses that these kinds of routines are, as in the case of migration allow to build a securitized state, therefore, it cannot only be explained through speech acts. Instead, one should analyze the different layers of such a process.

Additionally, to the institutionalization of securitization regarding immigration issue, the social reflections of the securitization has become a significant area of study for the Paris School. An important scholar of the Paris School, Jef Huysmans discusses the identity politics that is visible in the thematic change in the problematization of migration within the securitization politics[49]. For Huysmans, the revival of xenophobic and racist movements and the rise of multiculturalism in the late 20th century, induced many social fears and concerns toward the migration issue[50]. The presentation of migration as a danger to public order and most importantly to cultural identity creates a state of implementing restrictions on population of flows. Therefore, the social construction of a threat perception of migration through politics, has caused migration to be securitized in order to preserve the cultural identity and domestic stability, thereby having a negative connotation in the social reflections of such societies.

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[48] Bourdieu, Bourdieu, Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste, (Taylor & Francis Ltd. 1989), 1-640.

[49] Jef Huysmans, (2000), The European Union and the Securitization of Migration, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 38(5), p.751-777.

[50] Ibid, 756.

To put it simply, what Paris School's scholars suggest is that the process of threat construction through securitization cannot be explained by a single speech act, thus not creating the "discourse" of threat conception in terms of institutionalization and identity politics. Therefore, the articulation process, specifically under the securitization process, is a long process. For instance, according to Paris School, what the post-9/11 era brought, such as new regulations, policies, fear, and anxiety in society, should be analyzed further. Therefore, the speech act that Copenhagen School utilizes as the primary tool for securitization, should be a subsidiary component in understanding the dynamics of securitization along with stressing the importance of institutional approaches, societal threat construction, and operational approaches. In this way, as Paris School suggests, the long process of securitization could be analyzed and examined further, which could deepen the Copenhagen School's one-way causality approach to securitization by bringing new tools, concepts, and approaches. As Bigo suggests, in the migration case, therefore, all should be considered, such as bureaucratic procedures, profiling groups, particular technologies -surveillance, border control measures, and profiling-and ultimately formulation of the "other."

In this part, this thesis discussed the dynamics of the Paris School and the critiques of securitization. The aim of this part was to clarify the general approaches and understanding of the securitization schools since this chapter aims to utilize both to analyze the institutional changes in the 9/11 era in the United States. In the next part of this chapter, this thesis will discuss the inclusion of securitization theory in the United States case and the migration case by linking the theory to the European context creating commonalities between different cases.

2.4. The Inclusion of Migration and the United States' Case to Securitization Theory

In the 1960-the 70s, migration was one of the primary components in developing Western societies' economic, social, and political capacities. The post-world war era brought many challenges that caused a recession in many countries. Therefore, under labor-migrant agreements, many migrants came to western countries intending to find jobs and different opportunities, which could have a mutual benefit for both migrants who aimed to have a better life and for the societies which aimed to develop their

welfare system by improving their economic and social capacities. However, the results and outcomes were not as expected as they would be, thus, this situation caused a change of negative perception toward migration in western societies.

In the 1990s, this tendency in which migration was intensely attracted to the political sphere and security frameworks created a new notion in the interpretation of migration regarding its nature, concept, and causes. The post-cold era that intensified the collective mobility of people, which aroused concerns and fear among societies, caused the politicization of the migration process and then the association of the process with integration, multiculturalism, citizenship, and welfare[51]. In this regard, a new threat definition has been developed by linking migration to the western societies' existential problems such as jobs, housing, and welfare system, which ended up framing migration as a threat to the societal values, identity, and cultural homogeneity.[52] Thereby, the inclusion of migration into the security area through its context was outlined by Ole Weaver as "the rise of migration to the top security agenda, thereby securitization approach."[53]

The inclusion of migration into the securitization area for the United States case is different compared to the European case. As Huysmans defines[54], the threat construction of migration was substantiated by depicting migration as a danger to societal values, the European identity, and cultural homogeneity. However, migration has always been a fundamental component of the United States' nation-building process, and therefore, the threat conception of migration as a danger to the American identity and culture was not on the table. The United States has always been a proud migration state, which is always considered a necessary process for the nation-development. In this sense, the inclusion of migration into the securitization theory for

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[51] Phillip Bourbeau,(2011), Securitization of Migration: A Study of Movement and Order, Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, p.33-34

[52] Ibid, 777.

[53] Ole Weaver, (1995), On Security, Edited by Ronnie D. Lipschutz, Columbia University Press, Chapter 3.

[54] Ibid, 777.

the US case should be analyzed further and be linked to having a better concept/framework to propose further statements.

Before 2001 in the United States, there were three primary agencies that were responsible for advancing and enforcing the migration-related objectives[55]; the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), the US Customs Service, and the Bureau of Consular Affairs. These agencies date back to the late 19th century when the primary target was to keep out "idiots, lunatics, convicts, and persons likely to become a public charge.[56]" Further, this approach has slightly changed in the world wars. During World War I, immigration started to reflect national security concerns, but the concern was mainly about how these migrants, considered "enemy aliens"[57] would attempt to overthrow the US government. This situation escalated with the rise of the Soviets, after World War II, due to the increase in espionage and conspiracy, and therefore, the cold war era marked a security concern against migrants coming to the US. Also, the increasing numbers of irregular crossings from the Mexican border have drawn a security concern regarding this issue. However, none of these security concerns were regarded as the same problematic issues as in the European case, where many politicians and the society considered migrants as a danger to their identity, as discussed by the European security scholars[58].

Yet, in an attempt to find a common spot for this thesis to implement the securitization theory in the United States' case, the rising terrorism threat starting with the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center has formed a new perception viewing migration issues. Especially the tragic 9/11 events and its afterward have changed the political and social discourse toward migration. Right after the attacks, new designated policies, public view, and most importantly, institutional changes have shown that migration, specifically under the anti-terrorism context, has started to be seen as a threat to the American identity. As Christina Boswell explains, the terrorist attacks and the

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[55] Amy Pope, Immigration and US National Security, 10, 2020

[56] US Citizenship and Immigration Services, https://www.uscis.gov/about-us/our-history/overview-of-ins-history/early-american-immigration-policies, Accessed Date: 24.07.2022.

[57] USCIS, Overview of INS History, 5–6.

[58] Ibid, 777.

terrorists' profiles created a tight link between migration and terrorism. It has led to a severe security concern that allowed building a threat construction as well as social construction of identity issues under the securitization approach[59].

Consequently, in the US, migration has long been connected to security issues but mainly has been considered a threat to social and political security, not for the American values or identity. Throughout the US history, immigration has become a subsidiary component for the economic and social development. The political issues that hover around migration were mainly about reacting to the changing global dynamics of the migration movements, therefore allowing the US government to adapt its policies accordingly. However, according to John Tirman, threat perception establishment of migration in the light of terrorist attacks due to the terrorists' profiles, statements, and stance[60], has commenced a new framework under anti-terrorism approaches, which allowed out of ordinary security measures as a means of justification. Therefore, linking migration with terrorism has allowed the securitization of migration in the United States as the depiction of migration to the American societal values, welfare system, and identity. As this thesis will attempt to analyze the securitized institutional changes toward migration in the post-9/11 era, this linkage is essential for this thesis to apply securitization theory in the common ground to evaluate for further empirical research and discourse analysis of securitization of migration in the United States. Therefore, in the post 9/11 era, institutional changes such as National Security Strategy and Department of Homeland Security that were enforced as a response to the attacks, allowed for a ground to portray immigration as a threat to social welfare, values, and most importantly to American identity.

In this chapter, this thesis constituted a theoretical framework in order to evaluate the institutional changes in the United States in an attempt to analyze the securitization of migration in the post-9/11 era. By combining their approaches, this thesis will benefit from both security studies schools, the Copenhagen School and the Paris School. As

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[59] Boswell, Christina. 'Migration in Europe after 9/11: Explaining the Absence of Securitization.' JCMS 45.3 (2007): 589-610. Interscience. http://www3.interscience.wiley.com.

[60] John Tirman, (2010), Immigration and Insecurity: Post-9/11 Fear in the United States: Terrorism and Social Exclusion: Misplaced Risk-Common Security, p. 16-29.

it was stated, the theory is originated in the European context; therefore, in this chapter, it was stated that especially after the terrorist attacks in the United States, thus changing framework and perception of migration in the United States has created a common ground for this thesis to apply European originated securitization theory to the United States case. In the next chapter, this thesis will briefly mention the historical developments of migration in the United States in order for us to understand the US stance toward migration before and after the 9/11 attacks.

CHAPTER 3

TRADITIONAL COUNTRY OF IMMIGRATION: THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Once, I thought to write a history of immigrants in America. Then I discovered that immigrants were American history.[61]

Throughout the US' history, immigration has always been an integral part of the nation-building process. Immigrants' arrival to the United States has generally come in what the historians call "waves[62]." Newcomers arriving in large waves aimed to pursue happiness in the US where jobs were plentiful, and resources were unlimited. This movement of people has formed the nation that we know today as the United States. In fact, this correlation between migration and nation is evident in one of the landmarks of the US; the Statue of Liberty, which was given by France to the US as a gift, instead, it has been turned into something meaningful[63]. The subject of Emma Lazarus's poem called "The New Colossus," in which she depicts the Statue of Liberty as hopes and dreams and symbolizes the lands of America as a place for a new life for millions of immigrants fleeing from poverty and hardship, hoping to reach wealth and prosperity in the US; "mighty woman with a torch whose flame is the imprisoned lightning, and her name Mother of Exiles."[64] Lazarus' poem is now engraved on a tablet cemented to the pedestal on which the Statue of Liberty stands, where

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[61] Oscar Handlin, (1973), The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People, p.3.

[62] Stacy Ragsdale, (2013). Immigrants in the United States of America, Advances in Historical Studies, 02(03), p.167

[63] Ibid, 167.

[64] Emma Lazarus, (1883), The New Colossus, Selected Poems and Other Writings.

immigrants first saw it upon their arrival, and the statue bestows welcoming greetings to those people; therefore, as Kasinitz[65] explains that American identity is not rooted in nationhood, but rather in the welcoming of strangers, which made America's preeminent national identity as the land of opportunity and refuge at home and abroad.

This understanding of the depiction of the US and what it meant for the immigrants is well described in a book -*Letters from An American Farmer and Sketches of 18th Century America*- that was written by a French-born immigrant farmer, John Hector Crevecoeur. For Crevecoeur, these newly discovered lands meant a new mode of living, and it was an opportunity for immigrants "who felt useless plants in Europe[66]". In the US, newcomers, fleeing from crowded and contentious domains ruled by exploitative aristocrats and kings, flocked to this "great American asylum[67]", where they felt liberated by the abundant and fertile land of a vast continent. Considering how the US was perceived by the immigrants in those years, and the US providing a vast land that awaits to be cultivated, made the US a traditional country of immigration. In the next chapters, while making an assessment of the impacts of 9/11 on the political and institutional transformation, this relationship between the US and immigrants will become important for this thesis to make an analysis. Throughout its history, the US has always been responding to its economic and social developments. Even though there were many times -which this thesis will be explaining in the next sections- when the US government put restrictions and quotas on immigrants from different countries and races, the US has always been strengthened by the contribution made by the immigrants, thereby the US required immigrants for its economy to flourish to its full potential. This reciprocal relationship between immigrants and the US will be an important tool for the analysis part, that this thesis defines as the historical praxis. However, first this thesis will discuss the historical developments regarding the immigration waves. Considering the immigration history of the US, there are four major periods, divided into four different immigration trends/waves:

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[65] Ibid, 279.

[66] John Crevecoeur, 1782, Letters from an American Farmer, London, T.Davies.

[67] John Crevecoeur, 1782, Letters from an American Farmer, London, T.Davies.

1. Independence Years (1776 – 1861)
2. Post-Civil War Period (1861-1915)
3. World Wars Period (1915-1951)
4. Modern Period (1951-)

3.1. First Period: Independence Years

On July 4, 1776, the Declaration of Independence document, mainly written by Thomas Jefferson, was approved by the continental congress, announcing the separation of 13 colonies from the control of the Great Britain. The elected President of the term, Benjamin Franklin, in 1789, after winning independence from Great Britain, encouraged many people from the world by welcoming immigrants[68] while mentioning the importance of assimilation; therefore, Washington asserted that immigrants should come as individuals not as "clannish groups".[69] Therefore, this period can be characterized as the assertion of assimilation that promotes the preparation of intermixture with immigrants and the people living in the US, allowing immigrants to assimilate into US customs, measures, and laws. John Quincy Adams, the latter president after George Washington, also had a similar attitude towards immigrants, and Adams called to "cast off the European skin, never to resume it"[70], thus allowing them to become an American.

Under the administration of John Quincy Adams, the birth of a new country required a way to govern and build a bridge between the colonies, states, and recent immigrants. In this matter, after a year when the constitution came into effect in 1789, the Naturalization Act of 1790 was announced and came into existence. Under Adams administration, this law stated the importance of the naturalization of a white person

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[68] Ibid, 4.

[69] Arthur Meier Schlesinger, (1998). The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society, p.1-208.

[70] Arthur Meier Schlesinger, (1998). The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society, p.1-208.

with good moral character[71], while regulating two years of residence time allowance for free white individuals.

Early immigration laws were primarily regulating the residency duration of immigrants since most of the immigrants came to the United States to become a citizen. After Adams' eight years of administration, Thomas Jefferson, who became the successor to Adams, revised the Naturalization Act of 1798, enabling fourteen years of residency, through reducing the residency permit to five years in 1802. The following years marked the importance of immigration since slave import was banned in 1808, which caused a decrease in human labor; therefore, immigrants were demanded to increase the workforce. Consequently, with these acts that asserted residency and demand for the workforce, immigration rates increased in the following years.

Table 1: 1820 – 1860: Immigration Numbers to the US

Years	1821-1830	1831-1840	1841-1850	1851-1860
Number of Immigrants	143,439	599,128	1,713,251	2,598,214

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1997.

As seen in the table above, there has been a trend in the increase of immigrants since the beginning of the 19th century. Besides the political initiatives of the US government, there were many other reasons why immigration increased in that period. Immigrants mainly came from Europe during the time due to many push factors such as crop failures in Germany, the Irish Potato Famine between 1845-1851, industrialization, and social and political conflicts that overwhelmed the religious, social, economic, and political oppression toward specific groups of people. Also, the Mexican War ended in 1848 with a treaty that allowed the naturalization of almost 80000 Mexicans living in Texas and California. Combined with the immigration

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[71] Michael C. LeMay and Elliot Robert Barkan, (1999). US Immigration and Naturalization Laws and Issues: A Documentary History, Greenwood Press.

waves from Europe and Mexico, the gold rush was also a significant push and pull factor for many immigrants. Hearing the gold rush, thus the economic and social opportunities that the US has provided, there was also an immigration wave from China, Japan, and Thailand. Until the Civil War, the increasing trend did not cease or reduce since the immigrants from all over the world came to the US. Therefore, as this thesis stated above, this first cycle of the immigration period can be characterized as the intermixture of different cultural backgrounds that laid the foundation of immigration culture for the US, thus, allowing the US to become a historical country of immigration.

3.2. Second Period: Civil War and Post Civil War Years (1861 – 1915)

Just as in the first period, there were many political initiatives that promoted the immigration waves from different cultural backgrounds. Yet, it is important to mention that, unlike the first period, the second period cannot be characterized as a period of integration or assimilation, instead, as Koudela defines, this period can be characterized as a period of modern exclusion[72] due to political and social occurrences in the US such as American Civil War. Following the Civil War, political and social transformation affected the immigration trends and tendencies. Until the first world war, Homestead Acts -there are primarily six acts- have played an important role in shaping the US immigration policies. Signed by Abraham Lincoln, the first Homestead Act of 1862 allowed the ownership of lands in the Middle West without any cost, by granting unused federal lands up to 160 acres to immigrants[73]. Also, in 1866, by extending the comprehensiveness of the first Homestead Act, the second act increased the land size to 640 acres until 1916[74], by balancing social inequality and allowing poor farmers in the south to own lands. However, as it is stated above, this era cannot be defined as the era of integration or assimilation, instead, it was an era of exclusion. In this matter, we can categorize immigrants from different cultural backgrounds into

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[72] Pal Koudela, (2012). A Brief History of Immigration Policy in the United States, *Társadalmi konfliktusok,* p.43-62.

[73] National Archives, https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/homestead-act#:~:text=Passed%20on%20May%2020%2C%201862,continuous%20residence%20on%20that%20land.

[74] James M. McPherson, (1998). Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era, London, p. 193–195.

two major groups: Asians (mostly from China and Japan) and Europeans (Southern and Eastern Europeans).

Along with Homestead Acts, new economic developments such as the construction of interstate and transcontinental railroads which allowed easy transportation for many people from Asia to the US, the gold rush of the middle 19th century, and the abolishment of slavery -Naturalization Act of 1870 that allowed African Americans to be an American citizen- causing the need for cheap labor for many southern and western plantation in the US, also boosted the immigration waves to the US. Specifically, bringing the imperial regime to Japan with Meiji Restoration in 1868, Asian migrants' numbers were at their peak, therefore, many political, social, and economic concerns were raised in order to cool down the breeze of immigration to the US.

With these developments, the aim was to suppress the growing pressure in the labor market, and most importantly, to soothe the anger among whites due to the Chinese population[75], while protecting the white laborers from Chinese immigrants who were seeking business in California during the gold rush, by enforcing them to pay a special monthly tax. Until 1882, the aim was to discourage Chinese and Japanese immigrants to migrate to the US, yet the numbers were increasing regardless of the political and social initiatives[76]. Therefore, in 1882, renewed and enforced in 1992[77], Chinese immigration was prohibited with the Chinese Exclusion Act and made the act permanent until the Magnus Act in 1943[78].

On the other hand, changes in Russia -Tsar Alexander the Third's May Laws in 1882- , economic, political, and social recessions, and religious oppressions in Southern and

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[75] Ibid, 46

[76] National Archives, https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/homestead-act#:~:text=Passed%20on%20May%2020%2C%201862,continuous%20residence%20on%20that%20land.

[77] Ibid, 46.

[78] National Archives, https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/homestead-act#:~:text=Passed%20on%20May%2020%2C%201862,continuous%20residence%20on%20that%20land.

Eastern European countries, increased immigration to the US during the second part of the 19th century[79]. Developments such as the changes in Russia caused many Jewish people to settle in ghettos or agricultural villages, and to prohibit Jewish people to work in many different business sectors. As a result, almost two million Jewish people migrated to the US until the 1920s[80], which also encouraged many people from Southern and Eastern European countries to migrate to the US.

Table 2: 1871 – 1920: Immigration Numbers to the United States[81]

Years	1871-1880	1881-1890	1891-1900	1901-1910	1911-1920
Number of Immigrants	2,812,191	5,246,613	3,687,564	8,795,386	5,735,811

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1997.

In the light of these developments regarding the increase of immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe, new immigration acts came into existence in order to reduce the number of immigrants. In this matter, the New Immigration Act of 1868 which enforced a 50-cent tax on all immigrants for the state expenses of regulation and care for immigrants was implemented.[82] Under this act, new categories such as criminals, convicts, lunatics, lunatics, and idiots regarding the migrants[83]' profiles were created to exclude them from the naturalization process. Furthermore, dramatic increases in the number of immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe to the US also concluded a new Alien Contract Law of 1885, which banned the importation and immigration of foreign labor force under any contract or agreement, while only allowing to practice

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[79] Charles Hirschman, (2005), Immigration and the American Century, *Demography,* 42(4), p.595-620.

[80] Ibid,47

[81] U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1997.

[82] Ibid, 48

[83] US Citizenship and Immigration Services, https://www.uscis.gov/about-us/our-history/overview-of-ins-history/early-american-immigration-policies, Accessed Date: 24.07.2022.

domestic service and skilled migrants to establish or invest to firms and industries.[84] The alienation of such immigrants in accordance with the enforced laws above was approved in 1891 by Congress while establishing the Office of the Superintendent of Immigration within the Treasury Department to regulate the migration admissions[85]. The Office under the government supervision established an entrance/accessing point on Ellis Island, by forming the island as a new immigration station. Notoriously famous Ellis Island marked this second period with its poor and harsh treatment of the arriving migrants to the US[86].

The beginning of the 20th century was again the continuation of the previous centuries' immigration laws that enforced or encouraged the exclusion of immigrants to the US. Most importantly, in 1907, the US government formed an immigration Commission that allowed to study and research of the trends and demographics of immigration waves[87]. In 1911, the Commission proposed a 42-volume report and concluded that immigration reached a "serious" level that American society and economic development might be damaged or harmed due to these serious numbers.[88] In this regard, the Commission presented a foreign-born population in the US by dividing it into nationalities to show the cultural diversity of migrants:

[84] Michael C. LeMay and Elliot Robert Barkan, (1999). US Immigration and Naturalization Laws and Issues: A Documentary History, Greenwood Press.

[85] Book of Instructions for the Medical Inspection of Immigrants. Treasury Department, Bureau of Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service, 1903, p. 1.

[86] Pal Koudela, (2020), A Brief History of Immigration Policy in the United States, *Conducting Psychological Assessments for US Immigration Cases*, p. 43-62.

[87] U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1997.

[88] Ibid, 48

Table 3: Foreign-Born Population in the US by World Region[89]

Foreign-Born Population by Nations	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920
Northern Europe (Great Britain, Ireland, Scandinavia)	3,212,431	4,056,160	3,917,815	3,953,947	3,501,149
Western-Europe (Germany, France, etc.)	2,287,458	3,232,757	3,286,834	3,352,378	2,740,767
Southern Europe (Italy, Spain, Greece, etc.)	248,620	728,851	1,674,648	4,500,932	5,670,927
Eastern Europe (Russia, Poland, etc.)	182,371	512,464	1,134,680	2,956,783	3,731,327
Asia	107,630	113,383	120,248	191,484	237,950
Latin America	90,073	107,307	137,458	279,514	588,843
Canada	717,286	980,938	1,179,922	1,209,717	1,138,174

The pressure of the Commission with its 42-volume report led to serious changes in migration and migration politics in the US, which would also lead to another period, which is the third period of immigration waves in the US in the 1920s. Before starting the third period with the Emergency Quota Act of 1921 that characterized that period, the Immigration Act of 1917 is a good example of the Commission's report' outcome that extended the categories of disabilities by enforcing new exclusion strategies that would make newcomers ineligible for the naturalization and would eventually reduce the foreign-born rates in the US.

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[89] U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1997.

3.3.   Third Period: World Wars and Emergency Quota Act of 1921 (1921-1956)

The beginning of the 20th century marked the changing migration policies regarding the necessity for enforcing policies that might reduce the migration flow. Specifically, the Commission's 42-volume report enhanced the political initiatives that would reduce migration flows, mostly from the Eastern/Southern European countries – no need to mention the migration flows from Asian countries since the political approach of the United States towards Asian migrants was stern in terms of deporting and exclusion of such migrants. Therefore, this political attitude also characterized the first half of the third period.

The Emergency Quota Act of 1921 might be considered as a turning point for many Eastern and Southern European countries[90]. With this act, there were many transformations on the political, social, and economic levels, as also policy content and context too, which aimed to restrict immigration from those parts of European countries by supposedly labeling those immigrants as the unwanted race in the US, thus, preventing immigration from those regions. Many scholars focus on the causes why immigration from European countries was considered as such an evil act, by laying down two crucial factors regarding the restriction of immigration. First, due to the World War I, there was widespread unemployment in the whole world which caused pressure on the labor force and the market, thus, lowering the supply wages of the growing labor force in the aftermath of the World War I[91]. The pressure of reducing supply wages for the increasing labor force contributed to enforcing this act to execute. Secondly, the composition of labor force profiles mostly consisted of the dominance of unskilled/unqualified workers, who also compounded the rationality behind why the US government did not prefer to accept migrants with such profiles[92]. Following the act and also beforehand the late 19th century, a Harvard University-funded project called Eugenics aimed to find scientific frameworks for the limitation of immigration

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[90] Ibid, 52.

[91] Ibid, 54.

[92] Helen F. Eckerson, (1966). *Immigration and National Origins*, the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 367, p. 4–14.

from Eastern and Southern European countries to enhance this act's enforcement. With many political acts on limitation of migration during that period, the US government's approach to reducing the numbers of migrants, Eugenics aimed to assist these government policies by lobbying for literacy tests in immigration procedures that would show immigrants from those regions as a less evolved, civilized, or biological threat to the American society[93]. However, this quasi-scientific approach or ostensible policy was ineffectual since it did not provide any logical explanation regarding the biological parameters of races of immigrants.

It is a fact that in 1921, there was a reduction in the immigration waves to the United States, and the decline continued following the act of 1921. In 1924, The Johnson-Reed Act came into existence by combining and including the earlier political acts such as the Immigration Acts, the Act of 1921, and the National Origin Act- this thesis did not mention details of this act, yet, it included the other acts which are the following procedures of this act- and also Asian Exclusion Act as well[94]. The 1924 Act brought several changes such as providing a percentage formula for determining the migration diversity/demographic difference and excluding immigrants who were ineligible for US citizenship to step into the US lands. Also, the act brought a new method-traced the origins of the whole American population, including natural-born citizens, which allowed the US government to identify or trace down the newcomers to the US. As a result, annual immigration dropped down to 2% of the US population.[95] However, many scholars find it difficult to define whether the cause of the reduction of migration is caused whether by the policies or the first world war.

The act of 1924 was in effect until 1952. Due to the Great Depression and the Second World War, the US perception of migration shifted in terms of economic and social concerns. The war and the Great Depression led to a vast labor shortage since many US male citizens were drafted into the military, and also homelessness and

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[93] Helen F. Eckerson, (1966). *Immigration and National Origins*, the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 367, p. 4–14.

[94] Pal Koudela, (2020), A Brief History of Immigration Policy in the United States, Conducting Psychological Assessments for US Immigration Cases, p. 43-62.

[95] Ibid, 4–14.

unemployment were at their peak. Therefore, the US government sought to solve this issue by encouraging migration to fill the labor force to mobilize the labor market. Therefore, in the first part of this section, I divided the third period into two different eras since the first part, which lasted until the end of the second world war, aimed to eliminate or limit the migration waves, whereas the second part of this period aimed to encourage and boost the migration waves from different parts of the world. In the 1920s, the US government did not want any migrants from the Eastern and Southern European countries, yet now, due to the Holocaust, the US government opened its border to Jewish people and many displaced persons by bringing the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, which allowed admission for many people fleeing from Nazi persecution; mostly from such countries: Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland[96]. Also, it is worth mentioning that in 1943, the Roosevelt administration repealed the Chinese Exclusion Act and encouraged the Mexican farmers to come to the US under the Bracero Program. In this way, the US government aimed to enhance immigration from South America and Asian countries.

In 1952, the US government, aiming to lift the limitation regarding the immigration movement, implemented the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, abolishing racial restrictions on immigration[97]. Regarding this approach, this act developed a preference system that focused on the need for labor rather than nationalities, therefore, leaving the preference system that was based on the races, thus, allowing many Eastern and Southern Europeans to come to the US. Also, the act established another preference system that is also based on the skilled workers and their family ties to the US citizens.[98] As a result, immigration from such regions of Europe showed an increasing trend.

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[96] Constitution of the International Refugee Organization. The Avalon Project – Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy. Lillian Goldman Law Library – Yale University. December 15, 1946. http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/decad053.asp (13. 9. 2013).

[97] Ibid, 58.

[98] Ibid, 102.

Table 4*:* Immigrants from European Regions between 1941-1960[99]

	1941-1950	**1951-1960**
Eastern European Countries	22,610	57,475
Southern European Countries	76,955	260,581
Western/Northern Europe Countries	513,096	972,746

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1997, and, P. Koudela, Historical Statistics, 2010

Therefore, it is evident that the second part of this era can be characterized by the initiation of the promotion of migration politics. However, it is important to remember that this era is the beginning of the cold war era. Specifically, McCarthyism and the Second Red Scare led to certain civil restrictions that were mainly based on ideological reasons. The McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950 and the Smith Act of 1940 might be considered good examples of the enforcement of certain policies, including migration and people movement regarding the suspicion of fascist or communist connections. Yet, we can interpret that the load of the Great Depression and the Second World War outweighs in terms of economic and social downwards, which needed migrants to fill the market and labor requirements, therefore, underestimating the second red scare and such ideologies.

3.4.   The Fourth Era: Modern Times (1956 -)

Following the third era, in which there was a need for migration to spin the economy's wheel, the fourth era's main trend was the increase in immigration from South America and Asia. There is indeed another side of history in which the immigration to the US cannot be explained through the US promotion of migration to develop the economy, also the developments in South America and Mexico, such as the internal

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[99] U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1997. Table 2.

conflicts, impoverishment in rural areas, and urbanization[100], caused the immigration rising trend to the US as well. Further, immigration from the Eastern and Southern European countries exceeded the previous trend in the 1950s since the Soviet oppression and conflicts such as the Hungarian Revolution caused the displacement of many people from those regions. Therefore, the US government, along with the motivation to develop the economy, brought the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which modernized the immigration procedures by abolishing the previous acts such as the National Origins Formula, and the Exclusion acts[101]. The quota system which was brought in 1921 by that year's act, was modernized and family ties and reunification were considered as an extension of the act although some limitations and restrictions such as setting quota limitations on low numbers continued to be enforced.

In the fourth era, another important immigration factor was the increase in the number of global refugees. The 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees that defined refugees as individuals, who unable or unwilling to return to their country based on a well-founded fear of persecution on a basis of race, religion, nationality, membership of a social group, or political affiliation[102], also affected the US' immigration policies in terms of finding or providing specific political and social solutions for such persons of concern. Therefore, the Refugee Act of 1980, bringing compliance with the US politics with the 1951 Refugee Convention, allowed a new annual admission approach that was set up to 50,000 while legalizing those people to become permanent immigrants in the US.[103]

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[100] Ozalp, Oguz Kaan. (2020), An Analysis of the Underlying Causes of Increase in Mexıcan Immigration to the United States After the 1970s, *International Journal of Afro-Eurasian Research,* Special Issue: Migration, 49-50.

[101] Stacy Ragsdale, (2013), Immigrants in the United States of America, Advances in Historical Study, 02(3), pp. 167-174.

[102] United Nations, THE REFUGEE CONVENTION, Geneva, 1951, 2-3

[103] Ibid, 60.

Table 5: 1971 – 2010 Immigration to the United States[104]

Years	1971-1980	1981-1990	1991-2000	2001-2010
Number of Immigrants	4,493,314	7,338,602	9,080,528	10,501,053

On the other hand, along with the increase in legal migration and arriving refugees, the US has become a host country for irregular immigration as well. Due to the economic downwards, political and social oppression, and ambiguity in general, many people from Mexico, Central, and South America fled to the US with the aim of finding economic opportunities, welfare, and stability. Yet, many used illegal ways, therefore, increasing irregular immigration in the US. It is important to mention that with the increase in undocumented immigration led to many critical political measures such as the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA), and the Immigration Act of 1990. These two acts are relatively crucial and will be further explained in this thesis because these acts created the groundwork and legal framework which facilitated the institutional changes in the post-9/11 era. Also, another reason why the fourth era extants up to this day is that the US politics' orientation on illegal immigration started in those years. The aim of these two acts was mainly to reduce undocumented immigration by legalizing their entry to the US. To do so, IRCA aimed to legalize the unlawful status of such persons since January 1, 1982. IRCA also prohibited employers from hiring undocumented immigrants by bringing sanctions such as imperative fees and penance[105]. As a result, almost three million undocumented immigrants from Central American Countries – mostly Mexicans- were granted legal status and redounded into the agricultural economic circulation[106].

Similarly, to transform the immigration policy, the Immigration Act of 1990 was signed and allowed to create a Diversity Immigrant Visa Program to provide a US permanent Resident Card by a lottery process. Also, with this act, the US aimed to diversify the immigrant population by allowing admission from "under-represented

[104] 2011 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics. Table 1.

[105] Ibid, 61.

[106] Ibid, 170.

countries"[107], by setting a specific quota for application for such countries. Another significant development of the act of 1990 was the promotion of family unification. In this way, the US government believed that economic and social development could be obtained by liberalization and legalization of immigration policies while reducing the illegal and undocumented entries to the US.

However, on 11 September 2001, the terrorist attacks shocked the whole world, leading to an immediate reaction from the US administration regarding security and politics, which also affected immigration policies such as issuing the National Security Strategy (NSS) and Homeland Security Act (DHS). Due to the attackers' profiles, the target of the attacks, and the failure of the US intelligence system, the immigration policies centered on the policy making process. These two political strategies will be further analyzed since this thesis' primary goal is to analyze the securitized governance of the US through the institutional changes in the post-9/11 era, yet, it is essential to mention that the reaction was an amendment to extend the comprehensiveness of acts in terms of making the aliens ineligible for admission on the ground of any activity or membership to terrorism.[108] These actions were utterly distinctive in terms of their ideological, social, political, and economic contexts compared to the US' historical convergence. As stated above, these contexts will be further analyzed in the next chapter.

Consequently, it is evident that factors directing migration policies and the US' approaches were primarily based on economic and political pressures. The immigration policy of the US always tends to react to the changing situations based on their contexts and developments. Even though we have seen many restrictions or limitations in an aim to reduce immigration to the US throughout the US' history, principally, the reactions and measures tend to develop the economic initiatives in the US. Therefore, this brings us to a point where we need to understand the US' orientation toward immigration, which is a crucial part of the nation-building process, and a necessity for economic development as well. In this matter, as this thesis will propose an assessment regarding the institutional securitization of immigration in the

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[107] Ibid, 61.

[108] USA Patriot Act (H.R. 3162). http://epic.org/privacy/terrorism/hr3162.html.

post-9/11 era, this thesis will benefit from the historical praxis of the US towards immigration. Therefore, the historical part explained above will provide a framework for assessing the post-9/11 era and its institutional changes. In the next chapter, this thesis will explain what the institutional changes are, what happened on September 11, how did the US react, and how was the immigration policies shaped in an attempt to respond to the changing situations in a global context.

CHAPTER 4

INSTITUTONAL CHANGES IN THE UNITED STATES TOWARDS IMMIGRATION IN THE POST 9/11

In this chapter, this thesis will discuss and present the institutional changes in the US in the post 9/11 era. To do so, this chapter is divided into two sections: in the first section, this chapter will examine the previous and former approaches regarding the immigration procedures. The IRCA of 1986 and the Immigration Act of 1990 are mostly confused in terms of its consideration regarding their possibility of being a first securitization approach to the immigration, since they were enacted as a response to increase in illegal and undocumented immigration from the Central America, Mexico, South America, and Asia. However, as this thesis will discuss, the immigration politics aimed to legalize the illegal activities, as well as aiming to liberate and modernize the historical American immigration politics. Also, in the first section of this chapter, this thesis will briefly lay out the 9/11 attacks, to be able compare the previous attitudes of the US immigration politics under the IRCA and the Immigration Act of 1990. After the 9/11 attacks, a new objective was established within the scope of security, which also captivated the immigration issues as well. Therefore, in the second section of this chapter, this thesis will discuss what happened after the 9/11 attacks in terms of organizational and political changes in the security perspective, how the notion of immigration and economy correlation was shifted to immigration and national/public security in the post 9/11 era. To briefly discuss, this thesis will define the initial response to the attacks regarding creation of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), and latter reconstruction of immigration politics under a security nexus, with the formation of Customs and Border Protection (CBP), US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), and US Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS). As a result, this chapter will lay out the political responses to the 9/11 attacks that also included the immigration policies due to the profiles of the attackers and failures of

the immigration system, by defining the institutional changes that are considered as attempted securitization of immigration.

4.1.   Beginning of a New Era

4.1.1   The IRCA of 1986 and the Immigration Act of 1990

In the 1990s, the immigration debate became an influential political agenda. Since the numbers of undocumented immigrants and refugees arriving from Central and South American countries reached all-time record numbers- over 13 million[109]- the US political and economic agenda aimed to consolidate the issues that stemmed from the immigration problem. There were several pull and push factors why these numbers reached their peaks, considering the civil unrest in Central America, which began in the 1970s, economic recessions, corruption and impoverishment, and political, social, and economic oppression[110] inducing the root causes behind these immigration waves. For instance, under the former Mexican president Luis Echeverria, the Mexican government announced a fiscal expansion that concluded with massive frustration while leaving Mexico under a pile of debt that downgraded the economy[111]. As a result, rural areas of Southern Mexico faced indigence while losing their lands and farms that were mostly used for agriculture[112]. Considering the situation in Central and South America, along with the US political and economic approach to immigration, many people fled to the US, aiming to live a wealthy and stable life. Yet, due to the lack of policies, opportunities, and initiatives, many sought unlawful routes to reach US lands, which allowed undocumented immigration to be considered as an issue that needed addressing and resolution in terms of policies and enforcement. Therefore, regarding the immigration policies, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) was responsible for executing and enforcing the related approaches while developing

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[109] https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/60621/410589-The-Dispersal-of-Immigrants-in-the--s.PDF, accessed date: 28.07.2022.

[110] Ibid, 52.

[111] Ibid, 52.

[112] Ibid, 53.

policies based on the context and changing dynamics[113]. Established in 1933 by the former US president Franklin D. Roosevelt, INS aimed to consolidate and control the activities of border patrol[114], enforce oversea actions, and supervise the immigration process and procedures under initially the Department of Labor, later the Department of Justice in 1940. Therefore, the INS broadening its mandate to tackle the increasing trend in undocumented and illegal activities, assisted the Select Commission on immigration issues of unlawful immigration by presenting specific law and enforcement proposals that intensified in 1981. In this matter, Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) – also known as the Simpson-Mazzoli Act or Reagan Amnesty[115]- was enacted and signed by former US president Ronald Reagan in 1986.

As the former president of the United States, Ronald Reagan said, *"the most comprehensive reform of our immigration law since 1952[116]",* the IRCA of 1986 aimed to legalize unlawful entries and encourage legal immigration procedures to the US. To do so, the IRCA brought a new compliance system that required the completion of a one-page form called INS Form of I-9 that would verify both identity and employment eligibility for all employees that the US employers hired. For employers who did not comply with these enforcements and knowingly hired people who were undocumented and unauthorized to work in the US, the IRCA introduced civil and criminal penalties, which consisted of the imposition of substantial fines ranging from $100 to $1000 per hire, as well as confinement or imprisonment in case there might happen a pattern or a practice of non-compliance.[117]

However, the IRCA of 1986 was quite rewarding in terms of legalizing undocumented entries by introducing a pathway to the permanent residence status and perhaps

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[113] https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/immigration_and_naturalization_service_(ins), access date: 27.06.2022

[114] https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/immigration_and_naturalization_service_(ins), access date: 27.06.2022

[115] https://ballotpedia.org/Immigration_Reform_and_Control_Act_of_1986, accessed date: 28.07.2022.

[116] https://guides.loc.gov/latinx-civil-rights/irca, accessed date: 27.06.2022

[117] https://immigrationhistory.org/item/immigration-act-of-1990/, accessed date: 27.06.2022

prospective naturalization process for those who entered the US prior to 1982.[118] Specifically, this act provided an advantageous status to permanent residence status for farmers who could verify or validate at least 90 days of employment in the US. In this regard, the act's primary approach was to legalize and modernize the outdated US immigration policies by encouraging legal immigration that could benefit the US economic development by reducing the undocumented and illegal immigration numbers. As a result, mostly of Hispanic descent, almost 3 million undocumented immigrants gained a legal status that provided social and economic security as well as protecting them from deportation[119].

Furthermore, to modernize and liberalize the US immigration policies with the aim of tackling illegal and undocumented immigration while promoting immigration trends to contribute to the economic development of the US, George H.W. Bush signed the Immigration Act of 1990 to revise the legal immigration system by making significant adjustments to the immigration policies established by the Immigration Act of 1965[120]. The Immigration Act of 1990, as former president George H.W. Bush said, was *"a response to the changing levels[121]"* which could propagate the modernization of liberalization of immigration policies. The act[122] revised policies such as a new deportation process and a new immigration admission system regarding entry to the US by outlining three different paths by which people could immigrate legally and providing an administrative naturalization process: family-sponsored, employment-based, and diversity-based. The family-sponsored route allowed family reunifications and unification based on an alignment preference system to give a legal permanent

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[118] https://immigrationhistory.org/item/immigration-act-of-1990/, accessed date: 27.06.2022

[119] https://guides.loc.gov/latinx-civil-rights/irca, accessed date: 27.06.2022

[120] Immigration History, (2018), Immigration Act of 1990,
https://immigrationhistory.org/item/immigration-act-of-
1990/#:~:text=The%20Immigration%20Act%20of%201990,period%20since%20the%20nation's%20f
ounding.&text=seekers%20could%20remain%20in%20the,conditions%20in%20their%20homelands
%20improved., accessed date: 28.08.2022.

[121] https://documentedny.com/2021/12/27/the-immigration-act-of-1990-explained/, accessed date:
27.06.2022

[122] Leiden, R Wallen, Neil, L. David, 1990, Highlights of the US Immigration Act of 1990, Fordham
International Law Journal, Volume 14, Issue 1, Article 14, p.328-339.

residence to family members such as unmarried children, children under 21, spouses, and parents. Also, the employment-based route allowed for the creation of categories for workers -priority workers, aliens with extraordinary abilities such as professors, researchers, executors, managers, skilled workers, and special immigrants, including religious workers and certain investors who might provide employment in the US as well. Lastly, the act with the diversity-based route aimed to diversify the immigration routes, especially encouraging immigration from such countries, which were highly affected by the enforcement of the 1965 Act regarding its limitations and quotas.[123] The diversity-based also introduced a program called Diversity Immigrant Visa Program, known widely as the green card lottery, that awards visas based on a random selection process.

The Act of 1990, to recognize the efforts and thrives of immigrants who were unable to return to their origin countries due to certain obstacles such as war and natural disasters, established the Temporary Protection Status (TPS) program, initially helping the citizens of El Salvador. Under this program, the act waived the English language requirements for naturalization for people over 55 years of age who had stayed over 15 years in the US[124]. As a result, the effect of this act promoted immigration by increasing the number of foreign-born percentages in the US population from 7.9% to %11[125] between 1990 and 2000.

Prior to 2001, many political analytics inserted that the comprehensive immigration law that would include the previous acts and regulations in order to modernize them in more systematic and productive routes was impending. The aim in modernizing and further legalizing the irregular entries, was to increase the economic and social development. Even so, before the attacks, the former president of the US, George W. Bush, and his Mexican counterpart Vicente Fox had had negotiations for an immigration agreement that would facilitate a pathway to citizenship and naturalization for undocumented stays in the US. This approach of the US was also visible in the previous acts mentioned above, such as the IRCA and the Immigration

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[123] Ibid, 328.

[124] https://www.boundless.com/blog/immigration-act-1990/, accessed date: 28.06.2022

[125] https://www.boundless.com/blog/immigration-act-1990/, accessed date: 28.06.2022

Act of 1990. Even though some might say that the securitization of immigration began with the enactment of these two acts, yet I believe in the contrary. Based on the political initiatives by the US government under Bush Administration, it could be interpreted as the political affinity was aligned with the legalization of undocumented immigration to reduce irregular and unauthorized entry to the US, rather than securitizing the issue. Considering the securitization of immigration, the securitization deals with the discourse creation and its political reflections such as institutional and social changes. Yet, the acts of 1986 and 1990, instead of creating a negative narrative which would enhance a controlled management on immigration, they aimed to form a legal path for undocumented immigrants, which would facilitate immigration-driven economic initiatives. However, it is important to mention that the frameworks of these two acts, legal regulations, and practices regarding deportation and border patrol management particularly formed the basis for the post 9/11 political and legal arrangements such as Homeland Security Act and National Security Strategy – which will be further analyzed in this thesis. Therefore, we can conclude that the late 20th century's relatively open approach under specific laws and regulations towards immigration within the scope of legalization that would develop the economy and foreign policy came to an end with the 2001 attacks by creating a new agenda for immigration within the range of security and potential risks.

4.1.2   The 9/11 Attacks

On September 11, 2001, the terrorist attacks changed the US domestic and foreign policies into a stricter and more normative legislature. The terrorist attacks that were plotted by al-Qaeda terrorist organization demonstrated that the terrorism issue had a global reach that could further damage and threaten the lives of US citizens. Khalid Sheikh Mohammed – often referred to as KSM in the media and later in a 2002' US Commission report, was the key operational planner of the 9/11 attacks[126]. Having joined a Muslim brotherhood at the age of 16, KSM always had the dream of "blowing up" the US institutions, which KSM had tried to blow up some dozen American planes in the mid-1990s, about which he later told in his interview with Yosri Fouda, a

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[126] https://9-11commission.gov/report/, accessed date: 29.06.2022

journalist at Al-Jazeera[127]. Based on the Commission's report on the attacks, KSM met with al-Qaeda's leader Osama Bin Laden in 1996 in Afghanistan to present his proposal regarding an operation that would involve attacking the US, which would require a budget, volunteering, and training pilots who could crash airplanes into the buildings in the US[128]. Upon discussing the proposal, al-Qaeda agreed to provide the required personnel, money, and logistic support to make the operation happen. As per the Commission report acknowledgment, the reason why al-Qaeda accepted the proposal is that this operation would allow a strategic framework that would help al-Qaeda to change the regime in the Middle East, as well as giving a strong message to the "far-enemy"[129] that conflicted with Bin Laden's vision in Lebanon and Somalia.

The globally reached terrorist organization began its plot in Hamburg, Germany, where most of the plan's key parts took place. The four key pilots and planners, including Mohammed Atta and Ramzi Binalshibh, became more zealous and radical due to some perceived discrimination or alienation during their stay in Germany[130], and decided to join a global jihadist movement. Therefore, they went to Afghanistan in 1999 in search of al-Qaeda, right before the plotting of the 9/11 attacks commenced[131]. Upon their participation in al-Qaeda, due to their western education, Atta and his fellow jihadists were appointed to direct the operation since Bin Laden and his commander Muhammad Atef thought that they would be more suitable for these attacks[132]. The hijackers, who traveled in small groups, some of them had commercial flight training, and established themselves in the US without leaving

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[127] Paul L. Bergen, (2022). "September 11 attacks." Encyclopedia Britannica. https://www.britannica.com/event/September-11-attacks.

[128] https://9-11commission.gov/report/, accessed date: 29.06.2022

[129] https://9-11commission.gov/report/, accessed date: 29.06.2022

[130] Paul L. Bergen, (2022). "September 11 attacks." Encyclopedia Britannica. https://www.britannica.com/event/September-11-attacks.

[131] https://9-11commission.gov/report/, accessed date: 27.08.2022

[132] https://9-11commission.gov/report/, accessed date: 27.08.2022

traces, communicated through coded emails as if they were there to register and join a university while planning the terrorist attacks[133].

On September 11 morning, the groups boarded four domestic flights from three different airports. Soon after, based on the Commission's report[134], they disabled the crew and passengers and hijacked the planes. At 8:56 am, the first plane, American Airlines flight number 11, was crashed into the north tower of the World Trade Center (WTC). At first, many thought this was an accident involving a small commuter plane.[135] 17 minutes later, the second plane, United Airlines flight 175, struck down the south tower of the WTC. After the second attack, the media and people realized that this was a terrorist attack rather than an accident. The third plane, American Airlines flight 77, taking off from Dulles airport, hit the southwest part of the Pentagon at 9:37 am. Lastly, the fourth plane, United Airlines flight 93 from Newark, crashed in the countryside of Pennsylvania after being informed over a phone call that passengers attempted to disarm the terrorists[136].

The events on September 11, 2001, caused many lives; over 2600 people died in the World Trade Center, 125 people died in the Pentagon, and 256 people died on those four airplanes[137]. On the evening of the attacks, at 8:30 pm., President Bush spoke from the Oval Office, addressing the whole world and the US citizens, which was a speech that informed about a new doctrine of his administration's future foreign policy: *"We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts, and those who harbor them[138]"*.

The 9/11 attacks marked a beginning of a new era in which immigrants and immigration policies were viewed under a different political and social lens. Many

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[133] https://9-11commission.gov/report/, accessed date: 27.08.2022

[134] https://9-11commission.gov/report/, accessed date: 29.06.2022

[135] Ibid, 4.

[136] https://9-11commission.gov/report/, accessed date: 29.06.2022

[137] https://9-11commission.gov/report/, accessed date: 29.06.2022

[138] https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010911-16.html, Accessed date: 29.06.2022

claimed that the attacks laid out the failures of the intelligence system and the security policies. Playing as a catalyst role for the changing policies, the attacks also laid a new framework for the immigration policies since the profiles of the attackers and the failures such as false passports, visa overstays, and false statements on visa applications caused a strict and securitized reform on the immigration policies. Therefore, after the 9/11 attacks, a new immigration policy under the institutional changes such as Homeland Security and the National Security Strategy allowed for securitized governance for immigration which was somewhat stricter and disincentive compared to the previous century, when the US aimed to liberate and modernize its immigration dynamics to increase the immigrants' number to the US[139].

4.2.   A New Securitized Governance toward Immigration in the Post-9/11 Era

Asd As this thesis discussed in the previous chapters, America has always been considered as a country of immigration. Even Spickard explains that immigrants who enabled America to grow and prosper are the sentiments of the US' self-image[140]. Considering the immigrants' long history in the US, the primary approach of the integration and immigration policies comprised the economic and relatively rational axis. Immigrants' contribution to the US economy, whether in terms of unskilled or skilled labor from Central America and Asia, allowed immigration-driven economic development. Therefore, as for many scholars, prior to the 9/11 attacks, the focus of the immigration and integration policies was concentrated on economics rather than national security[141], as we have seen in the immigration act of 1990 and IRCA of 1986, which the US politics aimed to legalize the illegal actions even though the US had faced an unprecedented level of illegal and undocumented immigrants coming from the Central America and Mexico.

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[139] Ibid, 328.

[140] Paul Spickard, (2007). *Almost All Aliens: Immigration, Race, and Colonialism in American History and Identity*. New York: Routledge.

[141] Nalanda Roy, 2008, Immigration and Security – Post 9/11 United States, Perspectives on Global Development and Technology 17, 451-472.

September 11, 2001, changed the way both American politics and society perception regarding security issues. The US intelligence agencies and INS' failures and overlooks in identifying the potential terrorists prior to the attacks, in terms of not being able to identify false passports, false statements on the visa applications, visa overstays, a terrorist's being a student visa holder who never attended the school that he enrolled to[142], and thereby causing information-sharing gaps between these agencies proved for demand for greater control and stricter approach to the immigration legislation. Caused of the failures and overlooks, a new immigration system under the new legislation was required, which could meet the requirements of the US economy while providing a securitized control over the immigration issues in terms of building a greater border control, visa and immigration applications, background checks, profiling, and stricter procedures, at all possible levels to manage the immigration mandate.[143] Therefore, US officials are taking extraordinary measures in changing and transforming the institutions under a more security-driven objective, thereby captivating immigration into the security issues[144]by and transferring more power from the Congress to legislative to be able to enforce the required actions and measures.

4.2.1 Institutional Transformation and the US Immigration Policy After the 9/11 Attacks

In the light of the 9/11 attacks, a new objective was set in order to enforce a new legislature that is scrutinized through the lens of security. To both prevent terrorism and secure border, as well as construct a well-adjusted immigration policy that could respond to each situation, the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) was created. Prior to DHS, no single government agency was responsible for border management and transportation security[145] while enforcing immigration policies regarding

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[142] https://9-11commission.gov/report/, accessed date: 29.06.2022

[143] Ibid, 452.

[144] Ibid, 452.

[145] Lake, Department of Homeland Security, which notes that soon thereafter, the department reorganized to create two bureaus: U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) and U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). See also USCIS, Overview of INS History, 11.

deportation and naturalization. The creation of DHS, considered as a significant response to the 9/11 attacks, moved the counterterrorism issue to the top-security agenda. The mission of DHS was manifold in terms of aiming to prevent terrorism, securing the border, regulating immigration, and setting immigration policy.[146] To provide a more comprehensive approach, DHS created and reconstructed three new federal agencies: US Customs and Border Protection (CBP), US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), and Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS)[147]. Reorganization of these newly established agencies under DHS aimed to facilitate greater connectivity between federal agencies, as well as providing a vast legal and practical framework since previous legislations such as IRCA and Immigration Act of 1990, former immigration agency INS, and US intelligence agencies such as FBI and CIA had failed to prevent the 9/11 attacks[148]. Therefore, reconstruction of these agencies with DHS under a new securitized objective was essential in terms of delegation of responsibilities that would facilitate a controlled approach and communication/information sharing between the Bureau of Consular Affairs (CA), the FBI, and intelligence agencies, including the National Counterterrorism (NCTC) regarding immigration issues/movement of people.

One of the most significant institutional transformations under DHS was the US Customs and Border Protection or shortly CBP[149]. In the post-9/11 era, CBP had a variety of tasks and missions in terms of preventing terrorism, illegal immigration and customs activities, and border protection. To do so, CBP modified its dynamics and structures with the new objective that was enforced by DHS and divided its mission into three major tasks: identifying suspect travelers, cooperation with like-minded partners, and border enforcement between ports of entry. Regarding the identification of travelers, CBP set up National Targeting Center (NTC) in Washington DC, combined with many specialists who could identify the high-potential individuals

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[146] Ibid 11.

[147] Amy Pope, (2010). Immigration and US National Security – the State of Play Since 9/11, Migration Policy Institute, p. 11.

[148] Ibid, 12.

[149] Ibid, 13.

entering and leaving the US[150]. With the NTC system, which allows information that can be searched by name, CBP could control the arrivals and departures of people, as well as share information with 26 different federal agencies, which could also contribute to the procedures and process in terms of identification of such persons who could be national security risks[151].

On the other hand, the CBP to enforce its mission and tasks, aimed to cooperate with like-minded partners such as foreign governments and intelligence agencies by initiating specific programs and adopting technologies to facilitate legitimate travel while eliminating the potential suspects. To do so, CBP initiated preclearance and predeparture information sharing programs with government partnerships. Since September 11, 2001, CBP made preclearance agreements with United Arab Emirates, Türkiye, Argentina, Belgium, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the Dominican Republic[152]. These agreements allowed CBP on-ground and predeparture access to screen passengers who will travel for the US before boarding. Consequently, with these agreements, CBP had the ability to collect names, passenger information, and personal information about the travelers, and to run the collected information through their own database,[153] which eventually allowed for a securitized governance for immigrants that is caused by the 9/11 attacks.

CBP also was responsible for enhancing the border management between the ports of entry. Since the illegal immigration had been increasing before the 9/11 attacks as well, the attacks also made it essential in terms of taking extraordinary measures in securing the borders and enhancing security between the ports of entry. CBP's program initiation in investments in unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs), a significant air and marine forces, surveillances such as cameras and thermal cameras in addition

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[150] Ibid, 12.

[151] Ibid, 13.

[152] Ibid, 13.

[153] Ibid, 14.

to fencing, helped to improve situational awareness[154], and facilitate the immediate response to unlawful activities near, across, or within the US border.

Another federal agency that was reconstructed and created under DHS as a response to the 9/11 attacks was the US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)[155]. ICE was responsible for targeting unlawful entries and the deportation such individuals. Prior to the 9/11 attacks, ICE by operating under INS, was prioritizing enforcement for the serious crimes and criminals that could impose a serious threat to the national and public safety. Yet, after the 9/11 attacks, under the new construction with DHS, ICE became responsible for recent illegal border crossers and targeting unauthorized migrants[156]. To operate accordingly and respond national and public security mission, ICE was divided into two main components: Enforcement and Removal Operations (ERO) and Homeland Security Investigations (HIS). On the one hand, ERO under ICE was tasked with authorizing the deportation of persons who have visa overstays and undocumented or illegal border crossings. Additionally, HIS prioritized a range of primarily criminal and national security matters from property crimes to human trafficking to response and direct the related federal agency to deal with the situation.[157] Combined with these two components, ICE operated on the domestic worksite and atmosphere rather than building partnerships with foreign governments and law enforcement as CBP worked. As a result, CBP's area of jurisdiction was limited within the US borders, allowing them to focus on more domestic security issues such as undocumented migration and criminal activities.

US Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) was the last federal agency created and reconstructed by DHS under a newly established securitized objective in the post-9/11 era[158]. Combined with two components, the Fraud Detection and National Security Directorate (FDNS) and the Service of Center Operations Directorate

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[154] Ibid, 16.

[155] Ibid, 30.

[156] Ibid, 15.

[157] John Kelly, (2017), Memo from Homeland Security Secretary, Enforcement of the Immigration Laws to Serve the National Interests.

[158] Ibid, 30.

(SCOPS), USCIS was responsible for immigration services, including applications for naturalization, lawful permanent or temporary residence, and Green Card procedures. Inherited from former federal agency INS, USCIS primarily focused on creating an integral legal immigration system. To do so, regarding the application procedures, USCIS brought background check units concerned with the formation of fingerprint and biometric photograph systems by enforcing these with foreign partnerships with governments and intelligence agencies. By forming these systems, USCIS aspired to create an information-sharing platform and system automation that is modern and legal with the other federal intelligence agencies such as the FBI. As a result, a new securitized objective was enforced with this new legal immigration system that would promote control migration in terms of application procedures under USCIS, later used by different administrations in the US as well[159].

Consequently, as this thesis covered in this chapter, the institutional transformation in the post-9/11 era, with the creation of DHS, has brought securitized governance for immigration in the US. Under a newly established securitized objective, institutional changes aimed to securitize immigration rather than legalize immigration. Since the fear that emerged from the terrorist attacks, compounded in the post-9/11 era, the changing policies sought to suppress these national and public concerns by enforcing a new objective for the US institutions. Yet, as this thesis covered in this chapter, US' political approach to immigration has changed with the 9/11 attacks, and the political tenacity shifted from a legalizing approach to a securitizing one.

The institutional changes allowed for the facilitation of securitizing immigration in the US, as well as responding to "required" post-9/11 reactions to ease the social, political, and economic pressures. Also, it is important to mention that in this chapter, this thesis aim to form a groundwork for the securitization theory to be explained in detail. Instead of linking with the theory, in this chapter, this thesis provided some of the important legislative changes that would compound the immigration policies go under the securitized objective. Therefore, in the next chapter, this thesis will analyze these

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[159] Randy Capps et al. (2018). Revving Up the Deportation Machinery: Enforcement under Trump and the Pushback Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.

institutional changes from a securitization perspective. As this thesis defined how it will implement the securitization theory, the institutional changes in the post 9/11 era regarding the institutional securitization of immigration in the US will be further analyzed. To present an assessment to discuss whether the securitization of immigration through institutional changes was successful or not in the post-9/11 era, this thesis will benefit from this chapter's institutional changes and their contribution to US immigration politics.

CHAPTER 5

THE EVALUATION OF SECURITIZATION OF IMMIGRATION IN THE UNITED STATES

FThe increase in international migration has marked many changes in the states' political, societal, and economic orders. The newly changing world has been affected by the movements of people – both regular and irregular-, and the existed political, societal, and economic dynamics have been challenged by these developments. Regarding an increase in international migration, many scholars such as Barry Buzan, Ole Weaver, Jaap de Wilde, etc. have started to question the forms and meanings of borders, individual and collective identities, and the sense of state authority and its existence since migration is intertwined with the concepts of identities, communities, and borders security issues[160]. Therefore, the old perception of migration, which was considered the uplift for the societies' economic and social development, has started to transform into a new perception that accounted migration as a serious threat to the existing state forms.

Throughout history, security, which builds the desired sphere where peace and stable order exist, is considered a vital need for the existence of a state and its people[161]. The collective mobility of people, hence, in the détente period of the Cold War, along with the increase in international migration and transnational terrorism, induced concern,

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[160] Heisler, Martin O. "Now and Then, Here and There: Migration and the Transformation of Identities, Borders, and Orders." In *Identities, Borders, Orders: Rethinking International Relations Theory*, edited by MATHIAS ALBERT, DAVID JACOBSON, and YOSEF LAPID, NED-New edition., 18:225–48. University of Minnesota Press, 2001. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/j.ctttst8f.16

[161] Emre Çıtak, "Migration and Securitization: An Assessment in the Context of Human Security", *Yönetim ve Ekonomi Araştırmaları Dergisi,* 3 (2020): 1-24, https://doi.org/10.11611/yead.745781

and fear that would cause the loss of security, thus damaging the long-standing cultural identities, political, societal, and economic orders; consequently, it would deteriorate the states and its people's survival. As a result of these fears and concerns caused migration to become a top security agenda issue by expanding its threat definition relating to integration, multiculturalism, citizenship, and welfare[162]; therefore, the expanded agenda led to a securitized approach toward migration in the areas of legislation and politics.

Contemplating to comprehend the dynamics of securitization of migration regarding its theoretical and practical background, securitization theory was developed by the Copenhagen School scholars under COPRI in Copenhagen; led by Barry Buzan, Ole Weaver, Jaap de Wilde, and more with the publication of *Security: A New Framework of Analysis,* in the 1990s. For the school, security issues are determined by the actors such as states and politics, and they are socially constructed[163] and intersubjective; thereby, issues are securitized. From a constructive approach, the school claims that the construction of issues under a securitized approach stems from discourses. In the case of immigration, due to its diverse and relatively different nature and composition, the issues are securitized that were perceived as threats to the survival of a particular referent object, which might be a state, population, territory, or even identity and culture. The securitization of migration under a threat construction by a securitizing actor, depends on a political choice, and it is a practice of self-referential act. Therefore, securitization is a threat construction, moving the issue out of regular politics, and framing the issue, in this case migration, in a way to justify and legitimize the measures that need to be taken to enhance and provide security[164]. To do so, the school proposes a negotiation between its actors and audiences, such as politics and population, similar to a hegemonic relationship where the population consents to its politics and authority. For this negotiation to happen, the school utilizes the speech act to understand the securitization process.

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[162] Philippe Bourbeau, "Securitized Migration", in *The Securitization of Migration: A Study of Movement and Order*, (London, Newyork, Routledge: 2011), 11-30.

[163] Ibid, 31.

[164] Ibid, 32

Proposing that the utterance is the act itself[165], the school claims that security issues are molded by speech acts as threats to the referent object, which is implemented with the audience'. In the securitization of migration case, the creation of a security discourse through speech acts, securitizing actors attempts to legitimize their actions by allowing the issue to be open to debate[166], while constructing a political rhetoric structure that is out of regular politics, which justifies its use of extraordinary measures.

Additionally, rather than refuting the Copenhagen School's claims and methods of securitization, Paris School aimed to amplify its predecessor's theories by proposing new approaches to the securitization concept. Established by prominent security scholars such as Jeff Huysmans, Didier Bigo, Thierry Balzacq, and Atsuko Higashino, the Paris School suggested that the Copenhagen School's speech act and its framework proposed a one-way relationship regarding the actor and audience relationship; therefore, the former school lacked the depth in understanding dynamics of securitization. According to Balzacq, this one-directional relationship is not the best approach, and to understand the structure and negotiation between the actor and its audience, one should analyze all of the components such as actors, threats, and audience in the process, and therefore focus on the degree of congruence between them[167]. In this matter, the Paris School analyzed the security issues by combining the former methods, such as discourse creation and speech acts, with the operation tools such as institutions, society, and population. Therefore, Bigo stressed the importance of the institutionalization of the security field[168], by analyzing how the discourses and standpoints of different actors are correlated with the compositions and institutional responses of such actors. For instance, Bigo to develop a more concrete example, utilizes migration as a case study. For Bigo, migration might serve as a clear example of how threats and danger and perception of fear and anxiety are constructed through

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[165] Ibid, 20

[166] Ibid, 43.

[167] Thierry Balzacq, (2005). 'Three Faces of Securitization: Political Agency, Audience and Context.' European Journal of International Relations. 11(2): p. 171-20.Sagepub. http://ejt.sagepub.com.

[168] Didier Bigo, (2001). Security and Immigration: Toward a Critique of the Governmentality of Unease, *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political.* 27, p. 63 -92

speech acts while implementing responses and practices such as border patrol, visa regulation, and surveillance, Bigo stresses that these kinds of routines are, as in the case of migration allow to build a securitized state; therefore, it cannot only be explained through speech acts. Instead, one should analyze the different layers of such a process[169].

Combined with these two schools, to understand how and when immigration was securitized in the United States, we need to see that the 9/11 attacks played a catalyst role for immigration to be securitized in the political, societal, and economic spheres. The pre-September 11 immigration perception and its debate centered on how to legalize the undocumented migration, as well as to provide safeguard to the lives of those illegally crossing the border. Yet, with the attacks, immigration's shift to the securitization politics escalated quickly. Transforming the migration politics from a legalized perspective to a chaotic, dangerous, illegal to the regulated, safe, and selective, took its place in the post 9/11 policy-making process.

The post 9/11 incidents induced specific enforcement in the immigration policy making process. The profiles of the attackers, the cracks in the US immigration system, and the failures of intelligence agencies showed that politics must act in a new securitized objective. As a result of al-Qaeda and its affiliates' dependence on the immigration system to gain access to the Western countries to carry out their terrorist[170] and gruesome activities, a linkage between immigration and terrorism occurred, therefore, a demand emerged for the coordination of national and homeland security with immigration and foreign policies.

Though most immigrants are not terrorists, most terrorists are immigrants[171]

People's perception of migration was substantiated through the somber lens of homeland security objective[172], a concept that barely existed before the attacks. That

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[169] Ibid, 65.

[170] Ibid, 32.

[171] Ibid, 462.

[172] Nalanda Roy, (2018), Immigration and Security: Post 9/11 United States, *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology*, 17(4), p. 463.

is why, as this thesis stated, the attacks played a catalyst role in the transformation of the policies as well as the perception and reaction toward immigration in the US. The security lens on migration has become a political issue that is strongly linked with terrorism activities, that required a national security that posed the question to immigrants: "do you present a risk" rather than asking "do you have a job.[173]" This national security perspective that builds around migration and the portrayal of the issue as a threat to the values, allowed for devising policies to meet these specific threats[174]. Therefore, the struggle focused on the national security lens on immigration policy, and to link the post 9/11 nexus between counterterrorism and immigration policies that led to transformation of federal agencies such as INS and other border agencies to placing them under DHS, which was a new institutional, organizational, strategic, and cultural framework[175].

Similar to how migration was linked with terrorism through discourses and policy initiatives, migration also was associated with criminal activities such as undocumented and illegal border crossings, human smuggling and trafficking[176]. Even before the 9/11 attacks, undocumented immigration had been one of the most controversially debated issues in the political and social issues since the numbers of undocumented migration peaked right before the attacks[177]. With the attacks, the national security under a new objective that was compounded by a new discourse around undocumented immigration prepared the ground for the linkage between undocumented immigration, criminal activities, and relatively terrorist activities as well. The linking migration with such issues and presenting migration as a danger for the preservation of domestic stability, public order[178], and most importantly American

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[173] Ibid, 462.

[174] Robert Leiken, (2004). Bearers of Global Jihad? Immigration and National Security after 9/11. Washington, DC: The Nixon Center.

[175] Ibid, 462.

[176] Ibid, 463.

[177] Nalanda Roy, (2018), Immigration and Security: Post 9/11 United States, *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology*, 17(4), p. 463.

[178] Jef Huysmans, (2000), The European Union and the Securitization of Migration, Journal of Common Market Studies, 38(5), p.751-777.

identity, facilitated the political construction of a new narrative that compounds the securitized objective for the immigration issue. As a result, this new narrative under a securitized objective around undocumented immigration allowed for shifted political spectrum that stems from a restrictive and controlling policy approach.

Although the proposed assumption exists that undocumented migration has somewhat induced the expansion of organized crime such as human smuggling and trafficking[179], it is a fact that in most cases, immigrants who are identified with criminality in the political spectrum and rhetoric are more likely to be the victims of such crimes. Yet, the post-9/11 era showed how existed debates such as the undocumented immigration issue which was struggled to legalize for economic purposes right before the attacks, could quickly be shaped under a new political objective, that is a securitized approach. Therefore, controlling immigration became a key tool for counter-terrorism strategy as well as preventing criminal activities that occur around the US borders.

Critical schools through the securitization theory, as discussed above, define this process as a political choice, which is constructed through speech acts and institutional changes. In the US case, the institutional securitization of immigration in the post-9/11 era is a good example of how to securitize an issue that was previously accounted for economic and social development. Immigration, as a result of these attacks due to its complexities and political reflections, became captivated by the national security objective, which aimed to counterterrorism, illegal activities, and crimes, as well as control the borders and ports. Light and Thomas[180] criticize this process and define the manufactured correlation between terrorism and immigration as a null relationship. Light and Thomas state that the vast majority of undocumented immigrants do not come from terror-prone countries: Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, or El Salvador, none of which rank in the top 50 countries globally for terrorist activities[181]. Additionally, based on the findings, it became clear that the link between

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[179] Jerome Miller, (1997). Search and Destroy: African-Ameri- can Males in the Criminalfustice System, Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge UP.

[180] Michael Light, Julia Thomas, Undocumented Immigration and Terrorism: Is there a connection? 2021, p.4

[181] For reference, the rankings of terrorist activity for each country is as follows: Mexico (56th), Guatemala (120th), Honduras (81st), El Salvador (138th) (Institute for Economics & Peace 2018).

undocumented migration and terrorism is nothing but a mere flea. Therefore, we can conclude that securitization of immigration through linking migration with terrorism, criminal and illegal activities, and crimes is a politically manufactured action to enforce and implement such measures that are based on a security objective nexus. But now, the question is how? How did the US government attempt to securitize immigration in the post-9/11 era? Therefore, in the following section, these questions will be further analyzed.

5.1 Copenhagen School and Utilizing Speech Acts in the Context of Post 9/11

As discussed, securitization is a construction of a threat by a securitizing actor, depending on a political choice, while creating existential threats towards referent objects to affect its audience. In this thesis' case, the securitizing actor is the US government -since it is the post 9/11 era, we can also consider the securitizing actor as the Bush administration as well-, existential threat is immigration, referent object is the US societal, political, and economic life, and the audience is the US citizens. In this case, also, immigration is constructed under a securitized objective by US politics to be presented as a threat to the survival of the state and populace.

To decode the construction of a threat to move the issues out of regular politics, Copenhagen School utilizes speech acts such as presidential campaigns, political speeches, and congressional statements and rhetoric, to comprehend and lay out the underlying discourses and ideologies behind the statements. The school defines the securitization process as an extreme version of politicization, and speech acts instrumentalize this extreme process for the justification and legitimization of the measures that would take place to provide security. As for the US case in the securitization of immigration in the post-9/11 era, the negative narrative that was built around the immigration issue became a very useful tool for the implementation of the latter enforcements.

Right after the 9/11 attacks, the debate on the immigration issue in presidential rhetoric went from "relative obscurity" to a major political agenda item for former president

George W. Bush[182]. The constructed connection between immigration and terrorism and illegality is reflected in the statements of politics as well. The language and tone became assertive, and presidential rhetoric increasingly became negative when the issue was about immigration[183]. Prior to the incidents, President Bush visited Mexico to initiate a positive relationship in regard to the legalization of undocumented migration. During his visit, President Bush said: "Immigration is not a problem to be solved. It is a sign of a confident and successful nation, and people who seek to make America their home should be met in that spirit by representatives of our Government. New Arrivals should be greeted not with suspicion and resentment but with openness and courtesy.[184]"

Yet, the 9/11 attacks called for an immediate response, which prompted politics to take action regarding the immigration case. Openness and courtesy were left with suspicion and resentment. Enacting discourses in an attempt to connect immigration with combatting terrorism and illegal activities shaped the post-9/11 policy statements. For instance, Republican Congressman Richard Baker of Louisiana stated that: "One of the many lessons of 9/11 is that we cannot be too careful when it comes to our national immigration policy"[185], and similarly, Border-Patrol Chief David V. Aguilar said: The nexus between our post 9/11 mission and our traditional mission is clear…Terrorists and violent criminals may exploit smuggling routes used by immigrants to enter the United States illegally and do us harm[186]". As a result of these political narratives, immigration in the US has become a political agenda in the context of terrorism.

Additionally, regarding terrorism and the immigration nexus, President Bush initiated a commanding and intense posture to take charge of combatting terrorism and keeping

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[182] C. Damien Arthur and Joshua Woods, (2015). President Bush and Immigration Policy Rhetoric: The effects of negativity on the political landscape at the state level, p.4

[183] Damien C. Arthur. and Joshua Woods, (2013). "The Contextual Presidency: The Negative Shift in Presidential Immigration Rhetoric." Presidential Studies Quarterly, 43(3), p. 443—464.

[184] George W. Bush, His visit to Mexico on February 2001.

[185] Congressional Record, 2004a.

[186] Archibold Randal C. 2006. "Border Patrol Draws Increased Scrutiny as President Proposes an Expanded Role." New York Times, 6 4, 26.

America safe from its enemies[187]. That way, connecting immigration to terrorism and such activities provided a cognitive correlation for the audience and allowed the Bush administration to use terrorism in their language that equates immigration as a threat to American values while framing and constructing immigrants as others or aliens[188]. For instance, according to research, before the attacks, President Bush mentioned immigration issues 19 times, with no indication of the connection between terrorism and immigration, yet, after the attacks, Bush mentioned immigration and terrorism together as policy as early as September 25, 2001[189]. Considering that the 9/11 attacks created a perfect policy window for the shift toward a securitized approach, Arthur and Woods[190] discuss this connection as an attempt to limit immigrants' participation in American life, as well as treat them as a threat to American society. As a result, securitizing immigrants under this constructed negative narrative, as the school proposes, is an attempt to provide a framework for the audience to perceive that immigration is an issue that needs to be controlled and securitized.

Some of the political statements and political speeches from Former President George W. Bush on immigration issue, that were extracted by the American Presidency Project:

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[187] Maggio, J. (2007). The Presidential Rhetoric of Terror: The (re)Creation of Reality Immediately After 9/11. Politics & Policy, 35(4), 810(26). Morone.

[188] Ibid, 8.

[189] Arthur, C. D. and Woods, J. (2013). "The Contextual Presidency: The Negative Shift in Presidential Immigration Rhetoric." Presidential Studies Quarterly, 43(3) (September 2013), pp. 443—464.

[190] Ibid, 450.

Table 6*: President George W. Bush's Negative Narratives*[191]:

Dates	Speeches found in the *American Presidency Project*
02/02/2005	It is time for an immigration policy that permits temporary-guest workers to fill jobs Americans will not take, that rejects amnesty, that tells us who is entering and leaving our country, and that closes the border to drug dealers and terrorists.
28/11/2005	Illegal immigration puts pressure on our schools and hospitals; I understand that. I understand it strains the resources needed for law enforcement and emergency services. And the vicious human strugglers—smugglers and gangs that bring illegal immigrants across the border also bring crime to our neighborhoods and danger to the highways.
11/01/2006	Let me talk about immigration. We have an obligation to enforce our borders. And we do for a lot of reasons. The main reason is security reasons, seems like to me. And security means more than just a terrorist slipping in. It means drugs. The mayor was telling me that there's a lot of crime around the country—he's been studying this—because of drug use.

[191] Arthur, C. D. and Woods, J. (2013). "The Contextual Presidency: The Negative Shift in Presidential Immigration Rhetoric." Presidential Studies Quarterly, 43(3) (September 2013), pp. 443—464, and Woolley, J. and Peters, G. (2012). "American Presidency Project Online." The American Presidency Project. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu.

15/05/2006	First, the United States must secure its borders. This is a basic responsibility of a sovereign nation. It is also an urgent requirement of our national security. Our objective is straightforward: The border should be open to trade and lawful immigration, and shut to illegal immigrants as well as criminals, drug dealers, and terrorists
14/06/2007	The number of illegal immigrants in our country has continued to grow, and illegal immigration is now supported by criminal enterprises. In other words, there are people who are preying on these folks that are coming to do work that Americans aren't doing.
28/01/2008	America needs to secure our borders, and with your help, my administration is taking steps to do so. We're increasing worksite enforcement, deploying fences and advanced technologies to stop illegal crossings. We've effectively ended the policy of catch-and-release at the border, and by the end of this year, we will have doubled the number of Border Patrol agents.

As it seen in the table above, the transition in the political tenacity from a relatively open toward a securitized and restrictive approach, has become visible in the political speeches. The Copenhagen School suggests that the political choice of creation of a discourse in order to control and secure an issue, speech acts need to be utilized. In our case, the institutional securitization of immigration in the US, throughout the Bush administration, has been struggled to be utilized by creation a negative narrative,

which suggests a strong correlation between immigration -undocumented immigration mostly- and terrorism, illegality, and crime. The political notion that President Bush, prior to the 9/11 attacks, strongly asserted the importance of legalizing undocumented immigration to promote economic development, has now yielded to the security objective. By linking immigration with specific issues such as border control, terrorism, criminality, drugs, and drug dealing, and through asserting these issues by utilizing speech acts, the US government endeavored for the securitization of immigration in the post 9/11 era.

Some discuss that the shift in the immigration policy was because of the presidential campaign, and former President Bush needed to shift his perception for his reelection. Yet, it is a fact that the narrative on immigration that struggles for a connection between migration and terrorism as well as link migration with crime, subrogated the previous statements on immigration. As seen above, the political narrative, fueled and designed with specific keywords and phrases to manufacture the issue to present to its audience, became highly negative and securitized. The framework for immigration was constructed around criminality and illegality, and terrorism, which created an outsider or alien image for the immigrants that are dangerous to society's welfare and national security. As the Copenhagen School asserts, utterance became the act itself, and speech acts such as the presidential and congressional statements became a performance of an action to create a new social reality, which makes the issue to be subject to a securitizing move. Therefore, as a result, in the post-9/11 era, immigration became the subject to a securitizing move under a national security objective, that allowed for ground and basis for the institutional transformation and enforcement of the immigration policies.

5.2 Paris School and Institutional Changes

In addition to the former critical school, as discussed, Paris School aimed to combine conceptual tools such as speech acts and discourses that were analyzed by the Copenhagen School, with operational tools such as institutions, society, and people. Criticizing the predecessor schools' concepts and approaches regarding securitization, Paris School asserts that the process of securitization, unlike the Copenhagen School's assumptions, is a rather long and challenging process. Many scholars who are

members of the Paris School state that understanding the comprehensive dynamics between the securitizing actor and the audience cannot be achieved by only looking at and analyzing the speech acts of the securitizing actor[192]. Instead, to understand the congruence between the actor and the audience, all of the components of the process should be regarded. As for Didier Bigo and Jef Huysmans, one must consider the significance of the institutionalization of the security field[193] and the construction of the identity politics[194]. In this sense, we can understand that the discourses and standpoints that were performed by the securitizing actor are examples of power practices, and these practices are not only performed through speeches and discourses but also through social and political practices such as law enforcement and media that presents an issue as a danger to public order and cultural identity. Therefore, the school proposes the concept of the institutionalization of security to build a securitized state that would preserve the domestic stability, public order, and cultural identity.

The post-9/11 era and the responses regarding preventing terrorism, as discussed above, led to the captivation of immigration under the same umbrella. The attacks opened a new policy window for reforming the problematic immigration system. Yet, the policy shift towards immigration from openness to control under a security agenda is subrogated in the policy-making processes. As the critical school proposes, the institutional changes allow for the facilitation of the securitization of an issue. The attacks, therefore, led to a set of institutional changes -will be elaborated on in this section- that allowed for an attempt in securitization of immigration in the US.

Published in 2002 as a response to the 9/11 attacks, the National Security Strategy (NSS) of 2002, was a plan for the coordinated use of all the instruments of state power – non-military as well as military- to pursue objectives that defend and advance the

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[192] Jef Huysmans, (2000), The European Union and the Securitization of Migration, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 38(5), p.751-777.

[193] Didier Bigo, (2001). Security and Immigration: Toward a Critique of the Governmentality of Unease, *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*. 27, p. 63 -92.

[194] Jef Huysmans, (2000), The European Union and the Securitization of Migration, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 38(5), p.751-777.

national interest."[195] NSS could be considered as a mechanism for negotiations with Congress towards policy design, legislative reform, and budget allocation[196]. Setting the political agenda with the NSS, the socially and politically constructed character of the security and created awareness of the arbitrary nature of threats to stimulate the thought that the foundation of any national security policy is not given by 'nature' but chosen by politicians and decision-makers[197], led to the major institutional changes such as in an attempt to securitize immigration in the US.

The depiction of immigration- the correlation with terrorism and illegality- was framed as a security threat at the strategic level of the NSS in the US[198]. At the institutional level, as a securitizing move, NSS allowed for the creation of DHS, the major overhaul in the Executive Branch in 50 years[199], which moved the immigration issue under a securitized control that is based on a homeland-security orientation. The policy objective of this move can be exemplified in the political speech by Attorney General John Ashcroft, stating: "Let the terrorists among us be warned: If you overstay your visa -even by one day- we will arrest you[200]. This new policy objective of NSS, with the implementation and creation of DHS, has transformed all immigration procedures, thus, altering the perception of the securitized notion.

One of the most important securitizing moves regarding the institutional changes was border enforcement and border controls. Under DHS, the formation and re-construction of CBP might be considered a significant transformation in terms of

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[195] Richard B Doyle, (2007). The U.S. National Security Strategy: Policy, process, problems. Public Administration Review, 67(4), p.624–629.

[196] Alan G. Stolberg, (2012). How nation-states craft national security strategy documents. Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army War College Strategic Studies Institute.

[197] Olav. F Knudsen. (2001). Post-Copenhagen security studies: Desecuritizing securitization. Security Dialogue, 32(3), p. 355–368.

[198] Olav. F Knudsen. (2001). Post-Copenhagen security studies: Desecuritizing securitization. Security Dialogue, 32(3), p. 355–368.

[199] Joshua Woods, and Damien C. Arthur, (2017). Debating immigration in the age ofterrorism, polarization, and trump. Lanham: Lexington Books

[200] Colomé-Menéndez, Desirée Koops, Joachim A. Weggemans, Daan, A country of immigrants no more? The securitization of immigration in the National Security Strategies of the United States of America, 2021, 1-26.

enforcing customs and border protection that aimed to identify suspicious travelers, controlling border entries, and building cooperation in an attempt to prevent any illegal and criminal activities. For instance, since the creation of DHS, the budgets for the CBP and ICE have more than doubled: The Border Patrol budget increased from $263 million to nearly $4.7 billion in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks[201]. As a result, the federal government allocated a budget for the border and immigration-related agencies more than it allocated for the criminal enforcement agencies combined, including the FBI, DEA, Secret Service, and Marshall Service[202]. Similarly, after the attacks, the Bush administration sent 6,000 National Guard troops to patrol America's border to prevent illegal immigration. Within this sense, Congress authorized $1.2 billion to begin the construction of a 700-mile fence along the US-Mexico border[203], though the border is more than 2,000 miles, which could be interpreted as a symbolic political move that attempts to securitize immigration. In addition to fencing, under CBP, border enforcement between the ports of entry was strengthened by the investment made by adopting new technologies such as unmanned aerial vehicles and surveillance technologies[204].

On the other hand, CBP established National Targeting Center in Washington DC, to identify suspected terrorists with technologies to identify people both entering and leaving the US[205]. National Targeting Center allowed for a focused and intelligence-based identification of possible national security risks, that also facilitated information sharing between other federal and intelligence agencies. Similarly, the re-establishment of US Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) under DHS, utilized the center for the application processes regarding citizenship and naturalization purposes. With the USCIS, new bureaucratic procedures were brought into the application processes, such as verifying fingerprints, and their information

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[201] American Immigration Council. 2019. The Cost of Immigration Enforcement and Border Security. American Immigration Council.

[202] Meissner Doris, Kerwin Donald M., Chishti Muzaffar, and Bergeron Claire. 2013. Immigration Enforcement in the United States: The Rise of a Formidable Machinery. Migration Policy Institute.

[203] Gutiérrez, Ramón, 2007, George W. Bush and Mexican immigration policy, 70-76.

[204] CBP, "Inside CBP's National Targeting Center," CBP Access 3, no. 3 (2014).

[205] CBP, "Inside CBP's National Targeting Center," CBP Access 3, no. 3 (2014).

shared with the other intelligence agencies, new visas, and biometric photographs and systems. As Bigo[206] suggests, these kinds of bureaucratic procedures allowed for racial profiling, surveillance, and somewhat discrimination, that ultimately could be considered as a securitizing move that led to the formulation of the other.

As a result, as the school proposes the securitization of immigration is embedded in the institutional practices, as an addition to political speech. The framing of immigration as a security threat in the NSS, and later in the securitized objective of DHS, allowed for many securitizing moves in terms of securitizing immigration. As discussed, 9/11 opened a new policy for the immigration issue, and the depiction of the issue was a political choice, rather than a natural process. It is evident that linking counterterrorism and illegality with immigration was politically manufactured even though the attackers are not immigrants. As the Paris School asserts, institutional the securitization of immigration is a challenging process and long one. Combined with the two schools, we can conclude that the struggle for securitization of immigration could be considered a successful strategy at the political level since many political initiatives were enforced. Yet, it is significantly necessary to mention that the institutional securitization of immigration occurs at the level of the political sphere. Therefore, in the next part, this thesis will discuss whether the securitization of immigration through institutional changes was utilized or not in general as well as at the political level in the long run, since in order for the securitization to be successful, there needs to be a set of components, and audience response (see also Table 1).

5.3 An Assessment: Successful Securitization?

In the previous sections of this chapter, this thesis stated that the post-9/11 era marked the securitization of immigration through institutional changes and speech acts while linking the issue with terrorism, illegality, and crimes. By creating a security discourse on migration, the US government became the securitizing actor of the process and struggled to move the issue of immigration out of regular politics, to implement extraordinary measures such as the implementation of DHS, NSS, and other borders

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[206] Didier Bigo, (2001). Security and Immigration: Toward a Critique of the Governmentality of Unease, *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political.* 27, p. 63 -92.

and security enforcements. Yet, combined with the two critical schools, in order the securitization to be successful, the process should contain components such as timing, speech acts, repetition, the process of security, the relationship between the politics and the public, positioning of the actor, the external reality of nature/features of threat, institutional and social reflections, and most importantly the audience acceptance. Asserting that the process of securitization is a long and challenging process, without further ado, this thesis put forward that the process of securitization in the US after the 9/11 attacks might be a failure. Even though securitization of immigration in the US could be considered as a successful implementation at the political and institutional level, as discussed, the process needs to have an audience acceptance and the continuum of the repetition of such processes. In this case, this thesis proposes three different aspects regarding the process of securitization as a failure or feebly inefficient: audience response, historical praxis of immigration, and institutional incapacities.

Regarding the audience response, it is a crucial component of the securitization process. The critical schools define the securitization process as a negotiation between the audience and securitizing actor similar to a hegemonic composition which is trading consent and feedback[207]. The incidents of 9/11 represented an assault on the national principles and ideals as well as to American values and identity; therefore, security became a top political agenda in responding to the issue. Due to the political representation and the profiles of the attackers, people started to view immigration through a security lens, which was rarely visible prior to the attacks. Creation of a securitized discourse that defines the issue as a danger to American identity, values, and domestic stability and the war on terror rhetoric combined with the implications of immigration, patriotic sentiment surged in the aftermath of 9/11. As explained in the previous sections, speech acts that were utilized and implemented by the US government under the Bush administration, have helped to link immigration issues with terrorism, criminality, and illegality, to create a securitized and controlled immigration policy orientation in the post-9/11 era. The implications of a negative narrative on how to perceive immigration facilitated to enforce and implement such

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[207] Jef Huysmans, (2000), The European Union and the Securitization of Migration, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 38(5), p.751-777.

approaches on immigration to have an effect on its audience as well. According to the findings, under a security-orientated objective, after the launched attacks against terrorist organizations such as Taliban and al-Qaida, the majority felt patriotic, %79, and similarly, the trust in the US government peaked in September 2001 at %60[208]. Also, George W. Bush, who became the president with an approval rate of %35, was approved by %86 of adults – including nearly all Republicans (%96) and a sizable majority of Democrats (%78)- regarding the handling of the job after the 9/11 attacks[209].

At first glance, it seems that the securitization of the issue can be considered as successful since the audience approved the post-reaction of the US government towards the 9/11 attacks. Yet, in many ways, the 9/11 impact on the audience was short-lived. As the critical schools assert, the securitization process needs repetition and a continuum of such a process in order to position the issue under securitized governance. The US government, combined with other domestic and foreign complexities, failed to create the continuum for the securitization of immigration. Public trust and audience acceptance as well as their confidence in other institutions declined after a year of the attacks (see also table 9 below). President Bush's approval rating in handling the situations and responding to the incidents, which reached to %86 after the attacks, dropped to %24 by the end of his presidency[210]. Similarly, one year after the attacks, the majority who felt patriotic by %79, dropped by %17 percent to %62[211]. Similarly, according to research on how the public considers immigration to the US society, the findings demonstrated that the majority even after the attacks still considered that immigration to the US was a good thing for the US economy and society as well (see Table 8 below). As a result, the securitization of immigration regarding the audience response was a short-run struggle for the US government. The

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[208] Pew Research, Public Trust in Government, 2022.
https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2022/06/06/public-trust-in-government-1958-2022/.

[209] https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2021/09/02/two-decades-later-the-enduring-legacy-of-9-11/#CHAPTER-addressing-the-threat-of-terrorism-at-home-and-abroad, accessed date: 12.07.2022.

[210] https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2022/06/06/public-trust-in-government-1958-2022/, accessed date: 12.07.2022.

[211] https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2022/06/06/public-trust-in-government-1958-2022/, accessed date: 12.07.2022.

findings proved that the public response after the attacks was directed to the issue of terrorism, instead of directing to the specific issue of immigration, which is visible in the patriotic emotions and responses.

Table 7: Gallup Survey on US Citizens considering immigration to the US as a good or bad thing:
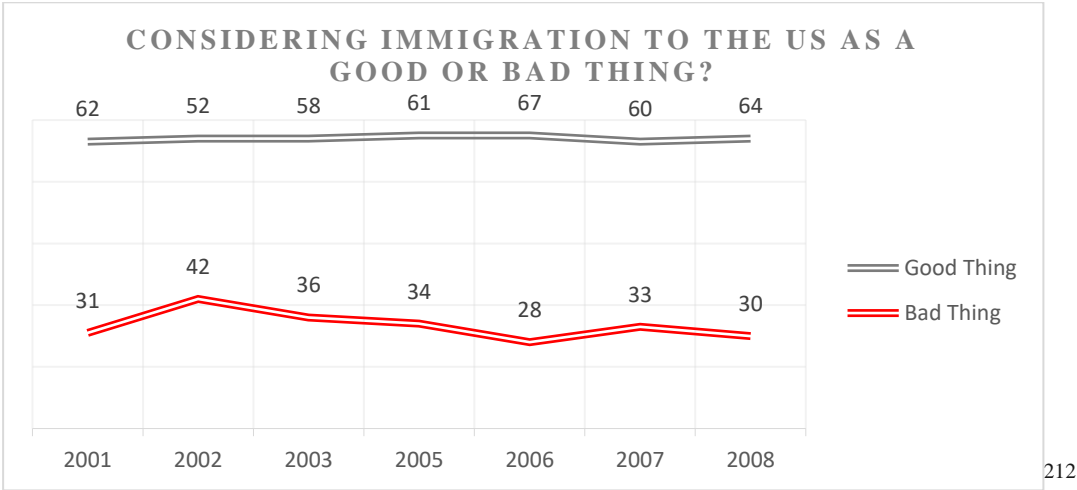
Source: https://news.gallup.com/poll/1660/immigration.aspx, accessed date: 12.07.2022.

Table 8: Trust in the US Government between 2000-2008[213]

Another issue that allows this thesis to assess the securitization process in the US towards immigration is the institutional and organization incapacities/vulnerabilities.

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[212] https://news.gallup.com/poll/1660/immigration.aspx, accessed date: 12.07.2022.

[213] https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2022/06/06/public-trust-in-government-1958-2022/, accessed date: 12.07.2022.
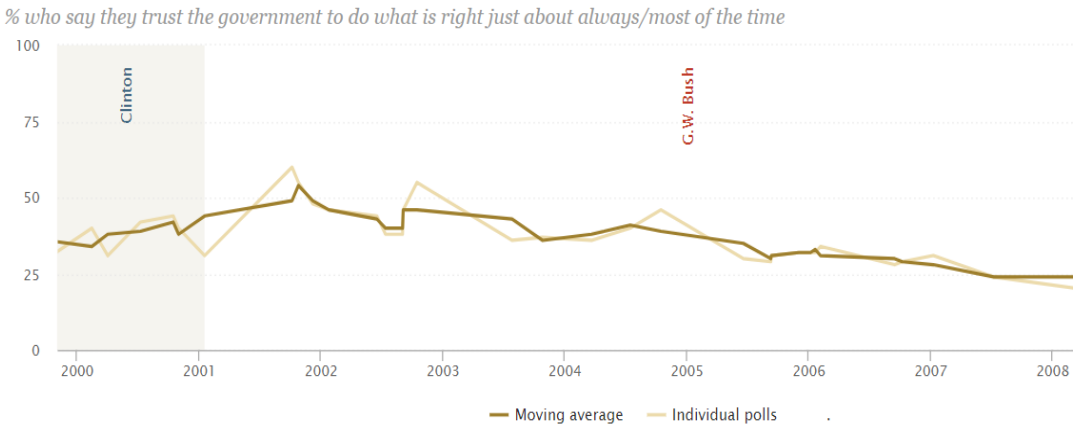
Since the 9/11 attacks, national security concerns moved to the top agenda. Bush administration, in an attempt to respond to the attacks, created the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), by merging 22 federal agencies, including US Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), which was the primary responsible agency for immigration issues. With DHS, the US government initiated many other institutional and organizational such as re-organizing and establishing three new agencies to manage immigration: US Customs and Border Protection (CBP), which controls the entry of people and goods; US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), which enforces and implements immigration and customs laws in the US domestic sphere; and US Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS), which adjusts and supervise the immigration applications.

However, the reorganization of these institutions, which aimed to facilitate greater connection and accessibility between other federal and intelligence agencies, was not comprehensive and lacked the structural and organizational composition. Since these organizations such as CBP, ICE, and USCIS under DHS were mandated to control and securitize immigration -both regular and irregular- their area of jurisdiction and sanctuary was expanded. Yet, prior to the creation of DHS, there were other federal agencies such as the Bureau of Consular Affairs, the FBI, and other federal agencies including the National Counterterrorism (NCTC) that bore significant responsibilities for the movement of people and criminal issues[214]. These federal agencies, thereby, remained outside of these newly created institutions, which led to some sort of turf battles regarding the information-sharing, case management, and delegating of responsibilities. For instance, one of the most significant developments for CBP was the establishment of the National Targeting Center (NTC), which allowed for a focused intelligence-based identification of possible national security risks[215], and also could be used by all federal agencies in terms of searching the related persons by their names and personal information. Yet, according to the Migration Policy Institute, even though it seemed that the establishment of this center and CBP's jurisdiction expansion were effective in the post-9/11 era, CBP, in fact, did not own or had not regulated

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[214] Ibid, 13.

[215] Ibid, 13.

access to key intelligence, therefore, CBP had to rely on a series of memorandums of different agencies and agreements with their partner agencies to access to the information they need[216]. Therefore, as a result, despite CBP's value in identifying travel information about the possible suspects, the agency's representatives struggle to be included in investigations at the outset or be appreciated for their contribution and work[217].

Similarly, with the establishment of ICE, the US government aimed to control illegal activities and undocumented entries at the borders. Yet, ICE has struggled to define its mission and mandate after its establishment. Divided into two components, Enforcement and Removal Operations and Homeland Security Investigations (HSI), ICE's mandate was broad, considering the size of undocumented immigrant populations in the US. HSI under ICE was responsible for identifying the potential national security threats and transnational criminal group individuals before entering the US. Yet, it was not completely defined how or why HSI, and ICE's roles were different than the FBI's role when an individual's case enacted national security concerns[218]. At the institutional level, ICE's role was significant and specific, it would play a key investigative role in any national security threat or criminal activity including personal and individual cases. Yet, practicality showed the contrary, and while HSI under ICE was charged with less significant or lower priority criminal investigations, the FBI was running a significant investigation of terrorism and counterintelligence allegations[219]. As a result, this undefined delegation of responsibilities undermined the process of ICE and its jurisdiction.

Furthermore, these newly created institutions under DHS were experiencing technical difficulties due to their technological incapacities and resource allocation. For instance, USCIS was responsible for immigration services including applications for

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[216] Ibid, 15.

[217] Ibid, 16.

[218] Ibid, 16.

[219] Ibid, 16.

naturalization and lawful permanent residences[220]. To do so, USCIS brought modern surveillance and personal tracking systems such as processing fingerprints and biometric photographs, while operating with the FBI. Yet, due to its limited resources and technological disadvantages, USCIS has faced repeated performance failures since its creation. According to Migration Policy Institute's research, USCIS was using a paper-based record system in tracking the application cases such as naturalization and permanent residence applications[221]. As a result, the errors were numerous, and many of them were potentially serious. According to DHS' investigation[222], USCIS had sent many green cards to the wrong addresses, because the outdated online system and paper-based records would not allow the employees to update the applicants' addresses and information. According to John Roth in 2017[223], there were approximately 200,000 applicants reported never receiving a card despite their approval, and about 19,000 cards were issued either with incorrect information or as duplicates[224]. As a result, the processes, specifically naturalization, became long, and on some occasions never completed.

The institutional and organizational incapacities such as technological underdevelopment and delegation of responsibilities created problematic issues in terms of the interconnection between the US government and the public. As discussed above, the critical schools propose a negotiation between the state and the audience, that allowed for an issue to be securitized. As a result, of these institutional and organizational issues, the public criticized the outcomes such as the rising numbers of undocumented immigrants and crime rates[225]. Therefore, the failures of these

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[220] Ibid, 16.

[221] Ibid, 18.

[222] DHS Office of Inspector General, "DHS OIG Urgently Recommends USCIS Halt Plans to Use the Electronic Immigration System (ELIS), accessed date: 13.07.2022.

[223] John Roth, (2017), A Testimony of Inspector General, before the House Committee on Homeland Security, Subcommittee on Oversight and Management Efficiency, Immigration Benefits Vetting: Examining Critical Weaknesses in USCIS Systems, 114th Cong., 2d sess., March 16, 2017

[224] Ibid, 18.

[225] Ibid, 18.

institutions created a gap between the audience and the state, that undermined the process of securitization of immigration.

Lastly, the historical praxis of the US on the immigration issue that revolves around the economic nexus, has been a significant factor in terms of the general perception of immigration, which ultimately impeded the securitization process. As host to more immigrants than any country, and as a traditional country of immigration, immigrants have shaped the US demographic, economic, cultural, social, and political structures over the centuries. It is a fact that the US government chose to be welcoming or restrictive in accepting immigrants throughout its history, however, the reaction and the policy orientation of the US towards immigration had always the intention to meet the specific economic development objectives that would boost the fiscal and social expansion in the US.

Post 9/11 policies, contrary to how the US government reacted to the immigration issues over the centuries, aimed to move the immigration issue into a new national security narrative, thereby, making immigration a central US political debate, that helped to implement and execute different policy and media initiative to securitize the issue. Regarding the constructed negative narrative on immigration such as portrayals of immigration as a threat to the economic and social spheres, US politics aimed to securitize and control the immigration issue. However, in fact, immigrants' contribution to the US economy is unignorable.

The prospects for long-term growth and the development of American economic sustainability would be slow without the contribution of immigrants. Immigrants, both unskilled and skilled workers- labor in many different sectors, ranging from farming, fishing, and forestry occupations, infrastructure, textile, food industry, and accommodation industry to administrative support, academic and support service industry, and hold a considerable amount of share. Additionally, immigrants in the US, contrary to the manufactured view in the post-9/11 era, increase the supply of labor, thereby, helping to increase labor market competition. According to Penn Wharton University of Pennsylvania's empirical research, immigrants whether they are documented or undocumented, spend their wages on homes, food, and other goods and services, which expands domestic economic demand that creates an economic cycle

to generate more jobs and employment[226]. Similarly, due to the diversity of demographic proportions of the immigrant population, the immigration experience brought productivity to the labor market. Employed in many sectors and constituting a considerable amount of share in the labor market, immigrants lead to a more efficient allocation of labor, and raising incomes, thereby making a significant fiscal impact on the US, as well as avoiding the problems faced by the economy due to unfavorable demographics, such as an aging workforce and reduced spending by residents[227].

Table 9 – Immigrants' Share in the Civilian Workforce from 1980 to 2020[228]
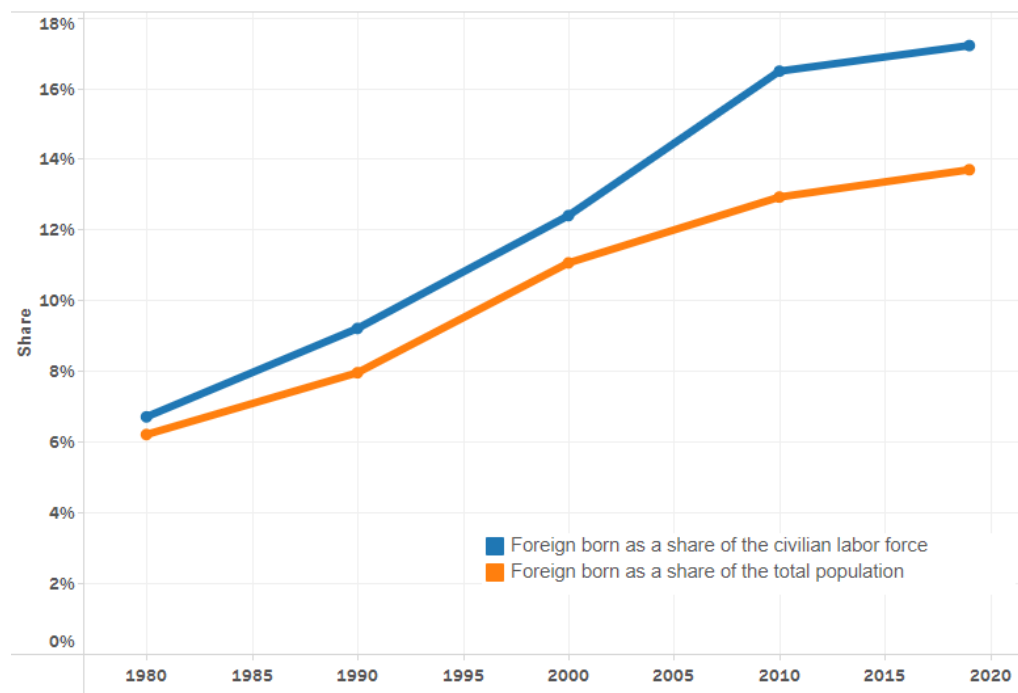
Source: Migration Policy Institute, https://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub/us-immigration-trends#history, accessed date: 13.07.2022

As a result, the effects of immigration on the US economy are broadly positive. Immigrants -whether they are low or high-skilled, legal, or illegal, documented or undocumented- are contributors to the US economy on many levels. The indicators

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[226] https://budgetmodel.wharton.upenn.edu/issues/2016/1/27/the-effects-of-immigration-on-the-united-states-economy, accessed date: 13.07.2022.

[227] Migration Policy Institute, https://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub/us-immigration-trends#history, accessed date: 13.07.2022.

[228] Migration Policy Institute, https://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub/us-immigration-trends#history, accessed date: 13.07.2022

and the research showed that though the portrayal of immigrants was constructed as a negative phenomenon on the US economy and society, the numbers of immigrants kept increasing due to the demand for immigration from the US labor market. The data collected by the Census Bureau in 2010, showed that the US immigration population reached 40 million, the highest level in American history[229] . Also, according to the same data, 13.9 million immigrants -both legal and undocumented- arrived in the US between 2000 and 2010, breaking the decades records, reaching the highest immigrants' numbers in the US' history, compared to 13.2 million arrivals from 1990 to 2000[230]. These findings are quite important in assessing the post-9/11 era and considering the political approaches by the US government in an attempt to securitize and control immigration. Yet, the findings again proved that the process of securitization of immigration, while moving the immigration from an economic perspective and positioning the issue on the center of national security had a small impact on the numbers regarding the political struggle. Considering the historical praxis of the US, it is a fact that the United States was, is, and will always be in need of immigrants in developing its economy, as well as shaping its social, demographic, and political aspects.

Consequently, in this chapter, this thesis discussed how the US government struggled to securitize immigration through speech acts and institutional changes in the post-9/11 era. To do so, many negative narratives regarding the issue were constructed and manufactured by the US policies, in order to enforce the institutional and organizational changes to securitize and control immigration.

From a critical point of view, based on the critical schools' arguments, this process was a political decision, rather than a natural response. The attempt was to give a strong message to assure the audience in the aftermath of the attacks. At the political level, considering the political enforcements such as DHS and NSS, the securitization process could be assessed as a successful approach. However, considering and

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[229] https://cis.org/Report/RecordSetting-Decade-Immigration-20002010#:~:text=The%20same%20data%20also%20show,arrivals%20from%201990%20to%202000., accessed date: 13.07.2022

[230] Migration Policy Institute, https://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub/us-immigration-trends#history, accessed date: 13.07.2022

assessing the post-9/11 era developments, the institutional securitization of immigration in the US was considered as a failure based on the audience response, institutional and organizational incapacities, and historical praxis. As the Copenhagen and Paris School of Critical Studies' arguments suggest that the securitization process could be assessed as successful in case a positive outcome from the audience is given. Yet, the findings showed that the audience response regarding the immigration issue was adverse. This thesis also argues that the audience response was also affected by other factors such as the historical position of the US regarding immigration being a strong economic tool, and the institutional failures in providing the required response and service. As a result, combined with the audience response, historical praxis, and institutional incapacities, this thesis considers the institutional securitization of immigration in the US in the post-9/11 era as unutilized.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

As a host to immigrants more than in any other country in the world, the United States of America is a traditional country of immigration, and immigration shaping its culture, history, society, politics, and most importantly, economy. Considering the various impacts of immigration to the US thus far, this thesis has aimed at an answer in analyzing the post-9/11 changes that induced political and social transition in terms of securitizing and controlling immigration. It is a fact that the 9/11 incidents played a catalyst role in shaping a new security concept for the US, as well as having a global impact on many countries in the world. The changing perception that was induced by the 9/11 attacks was formed under a negative, restrictive, and controlling security objective, which esteemed the immigration politics of the US. Prior to 2001, from a historical point of view, throughout the four periods- from the Independence Days to the Modern Era-, the US attitude towards immigration has always been welcoming and encouraging, even though there were certain times of restricting and putting quotas on specific immigration waves from specific countries. Yet, these changing policies in terms of putting quotas or excluding immigration from certain countries, as in the case of the Chinese and Japanese exclusion acts prior to the attacks, were struggling to respond to the US' economic needs, developmental requirements, and social tenacity, in order to ease the political and social pressure. Additionally, the US government, especially in the late 20th century, attitudinized a political figure that compounded modernizing and liberalizing its immigration policies as a response to the increasing numbers of undocumented immigrants from Central and South America. This attitude was even evident at the onset of the Bush administration, which discussed undocumented immigration within the context of legalization with the Mexican government in 2000. Yet, as this thesis proposes, the 9/11 attacks played a catalyst role in the transforming perception against migration, as well as influencing the political response in terms of enacting certain controlling policies, enforcing institutional

changes such as border enforcement and legislative changes, and political narrative that stemmed from a negative and securitized objective.

The 1990s marked the emergence of security literature that compounded the creation of a security school of thought. Beginning with Copenhagen School and later Paris School, the critical security studies aimed to analyze the political reactions such as institutional organization, legislative responses, and discourse creation within the context of securitization. The increase in international immigration, therefore leading to specific political issues that stemmed from ambiguity and insecurity, was moved to the top political agenda under a security objective. The inclusion of immigration in the US case in the context of critical security studies was rather particular since the theory originated in the European context. Before the 9/11 attacks, the similarities between the US and European countries were scarcely any regarding the securitization of immigration. In the European context, due to the increase in irregular and regular immigration, arriving numbers were portrayed as a danger to the European identity, culture, tradition, and values. On the contrary, before the attacks, the US considered immigration as a core component of its values, identity, and culture, since the first colonies, the US has always been a traditional country of immigration. Yet, the 9/11 attacks, due to their complexities such as the profiles of the attackers, the failed US immigration system, and cracks in the US intelligence network, brought a new dialect in interpreting the increasing numbers of immigrants to the US, both irregular and regular. Therefore, immigration issues were included in the top security political agenda in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks.

From a theoretical point of view, first, the Copenhagen School views the securitization of immigration as a construction of a threat by a securitizing actor, depending on a political choice, while creating existential threats towards reference objects to affect its audience. In the case of the US in the post-9/11 era, immigration, specifically undocumented immigration, became an existential threat, the Bush administration became the securitizing actor, and referent objects were the US societal, political, and economic spheres. To securitize immigration in order to move the issue out of regular politics, the school proposes speech acts such as presidential campaigns, political and congressional speeches, and statements. For the school, these speech acts would allow the creation of a negative narrative to initiate the securitization process. In the case of

the US in the post-9/11 era, the speech acts allowed for a constructed correlation between immigration and terrorism/illegality. In 2006, President Bush's statement on immigration and its connection with terrorism: "First, the United States must secure its borders. This is a basic responsibility of a sovereign nation. It is also an urgent requirement of our national security. Our objective is straightforward: The border should be open to trade and lawful immigration and shut to illegal immigrants as well as criminals, drug dealers, and terrorists"[231], paved the way for the creation of a securitized discourse that connects migration with terrorism, criminality, and illegality, therefore initiating certain policy changes in order to combat these issues. Such political rhetoric, which equates immigration with such negative issues, caused a negative connotation for immigration in the US, therefore affecting a transition in the immigration politics that once was open and now turned into highly negative and securitized. Additionally, through linking immigration with such issues creates a negative connotation or correlation that induces a thematic change in the problematization of immigration. In this context, the presentation and problematization of immigration as a danger to public order, values, and identity eventuates from such linkage that equates immigration with terrorism that was portrayed by the US government. Therefore, as a result, as the Copenhagen School proposes, the utterance itself became the act, and it allowed for the creation of an image that linked migration with terrorism, illegality, and criminality while creating an outsider and dangerous image for the immigrants that are considered as hazardous to society's welfare and national security.

Additionally, reclaiming what the Copenhagen School said, the Paris School aimed to amplify the securitization theory by adding different securitization components, such as analyzing the institutional changes and social responses. The measures taken against terrorism and criminality in the post-9/11 era led to the captivation of immigration under the same umbrella since the political approach toward immigration became highly securitized and controlled. The policy shift as a response to the 9/11 attacks such as the NSS and DHS created a new mechanism for legislative reform and policy

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[231] Arthur, C. D. and Woods, J. (2013). "The Contextual Presidency: The Negative Shift in Presidential Immigration Rhetoric." Presidential Studies Quarterly, 43(3) (September 2013), pp. 443—464, and Woolley, J. and Peters, G. (2012). "American Presidency Project Online." The American Presidency Project. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu.

design. Setting a securitized objective to respond to the attacks led to significant institutional changes such as border enforcement, border patrols, surveillance systems, new technological advancements, and legislative changes. Captivated within the political assertation and orientation, immigration has become a subject of these specific changes. As the school proposes, the securitization of immigration might be procured in the institutional changes as additionally speech acts. The framing of immigration and putting the issue under a securitized objective of NSS, and thereby DHS, allowed for many securitizing moves such as creating CBP, ICE, and USCIS. Under these newly set establishments, certain securitized approaches such as surveillance systems -fingerprints and biometrics- and bureaucratic procedures allowed for racial profiling, somewhat a formulation of the other perspective, therefore securitizing immigration in the post-9/11 era.

Yet, combining what these two schools propose and the political and institutional responses to securitizing immigration, this thesis assesses that the securitization of immigration through institutional changes in the post-9/11 era has not been utilized successfully for various reasons. First, the audience response is a crucial component in order for the securitization to be successful. Describing the relationship between the audience and securitizing actors as a negotiation that requires repetition and a continuum of such a process, the critical schools assert the importance of audience response. In the aftermath of the attacks, the audience's response to the US government's struggle to link immigration with terrorism and illegality could be analyzed as short-lived. Based on the findings in chapter 5, the securitization of immigration regarding the audience response proved that the response was directed to the issues of terrorism and illegality without connecting these issues with immigration.

On the other hand, the measures taken to respond to the attacks at the government level -both strategic and practical objectives, in terms of institutional and organizational changes had many incapacities and vulnerabilities. The creation of DHS under NSS, establishing and re-establishing certain institutions such as CBP, ICE, and USCIS, was not comprehensive and lacked a wholesome composition. Stemmed from the technical and technological difficulties, as well as the jurisdiction mandates with other federal institutions such as intelligence services, US Marshals, and FBI, these newly created institutions were experiencing many repeated performance failures. Regarding their

jurisdiction areas, these newly established institutions were significant in investigations of national security threats and criminal activities at the institutional strategic importance level. Yet, the practicality showed the otherwise, and these newly established institutions were overshadowed by the missions and mandates of the existing federal agencies. Additionally, due to technological incapacities and resource allocations, institutions under DHS experienced repeated performance failures, specifically in the naturalization and bureaucratic procedures such as sending Green Cards, receiving applications, and issuing visas and residence permits. As a result of these problematic issues, the institutional changes that primarily aimed to fill the gaps in the "failed" immigration system were relatively highly criticized by US politics and, most importantly, by the US public.

Furthermore, from the beginning of this thesis, I always mentioned the United States as a traditional country of immigration. Being a country of immigration created a habit for the US political, societal, and economic spheres, which I call historical praxis. As repeatedly this thesis emphasized, the US government, prior to the attacks, had always responded to its economic and social needs within the context of immigration. For ages, the prospects for the long-term development of American economic sustainability have been supplied by the immigrant labor force. The historical praxis that emerged from this habit allowed for encouraging immigrants -both skilled and unskilled- to come to the US lands, which made America the land of opportunities. For centuries and even today, immigrants labor in many different sectors, ranging from farming to infrastructure, and they hold a considerable share. Even though the 9/11 attacks, when the US government struggled to securitize immigration by creating a negative connotation, due to this historical praxis, the number of immigrants kept rising (See also Table 10). It is a fact that diversity of demographic proportions of the immigrant population, immigrants bring productivity to the labor market, as well as eliminating the unfavorable demographics such as an aging workforce and reduced spending by residents.

Consequently, we have now concluded, combining the above reasons, that the process of securitization of immigration in the post-9/11 era through institutionalization has not been successfully utilized. For ages, the US' attempt to legalize undocumented immigration, as well as modernizing its immigration legislation and system, were the

right paths in terms of increasing security, as well as providing productivity to its political, economic, and societal spheres. Even though this thesis is limited to the Bush administration, even today, we observe that the attempts by the Trump administration to securitize immigration by linking it with criminality and illegality by building a wall and fences alongside its border were aborted. The reason is the same as mentioned above regarding the historical praxis that compounded economic growth and development. As John Tirman said: "economic opportunity, social cohesiveness, and national safety are not threatened by the ordinary labor migration that has enriched the United States of America for three centuries[232]." Therefore, the process of securitization of immigration through institutional transformation and enforcements as well as political narratives would not be a solution for the US to achieving and providing security against terrorism, illegality, or criminality.

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[232] John Tirman, (2010), Immigration and Insecurity: Post-9/11 Fear in the United States: Terrorism and Social Exclusion: Misplaced Risk-Common Security, p. 16-29.

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APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Geçtiğimiz yüzyıl, küreselleşmenin öncülüğünde siyasi, toplumsal ve ekonomik alanlar da dahil olmak üzere tüm dünyayı etkileyen birçok dramatik değişime sahne olmuştur. Avrupa Birliği'nin kurulması, Sovyetler Birliği'nin dağılması ve birçok teknolojik gelişme dünyayı şekillendirmiş ve yeni dinamiklere yol açmıştır. Yeni değişen dünya, batılı devlet anlayışları, egemenlik ve kamu düzenine ilişkin eski varsayımlar ve sistemler hakkında benzeri görülmemiş sorular dayatmıştır. Bu yeni gelişmeler, sınırların biçim ve anlamlarını, bireysel ve kolektif kimlikleri, devlet otoritesi ve varlık anlayışını da önemli ölçüde etkilemiştir. Keza bu değişim ve biçimler, geleneksel anlayış yapılarına meydan okuyarak kamu düzenini yeniden çizerken, içerme ve dışlama dinamiklerini birleştirerek alıcı toplumsal düzenlemeler oluşturmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, Batı toplumları birçok varoluşsal ve kavramsal kaygının ortaya çıkmasıyla karşı karşıya kalmış, bu nedenle kimlik, topluluk ve güvenlik anlayış ve kavramlarını etkilemiştir. Martin Heisler'in belirttiği gibi, göç, kimlikler, topluluklar ve sınır ve güvenlik sorunları kavramlarıyla ilişkilidir; dolayısıyla yeni dünyanın değişim ve dönüşümleri toplumsal, siyasal ve ekonomik yapılara ciddi bir tehdit olarak gösterilen göç algısını da etkilemiş, eş zamanlı olarak siyasetin ve pratiklerin yapılarını ve dinamiklerini şekillendirmiştir.

Geleneksel olarak, güvenlik kavramı, bir güç mücadelesi ve askeri çatışmalar - çoğunlukla savaşlarla ilgili- ve devletle yoğun bir şekilde bağlantılı varoluşsal tehditler etrafında tanımlandı. Dolayısıyla bu kavram, devlet merkezli bir güvenlik anlayışı, değerleri korumak veya devletin hayatta kalma şansını artırmakla ilgiliydi. Ancak 1990'lardan sonra, özellikle Soğuk Savaş döneminden sonra, siyasi bir alana ve güvenlik konularında bir göç eğilimi meydana geldi. İnsanların toplu hareketliliği - özellikle düzensiz göç- uzun süredir devam eden kültürel kimliğe ve aidiyete -siyasi, toplumsal ve ekonomik düzene- zarar verecek ve dolayısıyla devletin bekasını ve halkın bekasını zedeleyecek endişe ve korkuları ortaya çıkarmıştır. Göç sürecinin

siyasallaşması ve bu sürecin entegrasyon, çok kültürlülük, vatandaşlık ve refah ile ilişkilendirilmesi, göçün en önemli güvenlik gündem konusu haline gelmesine neden olmuştur. Böylece, göçe yönelik bir güvenlikleştirme yaklaşımı oluşturan düzensiz hareketlilik üzerinden tehdit tanımı genişletilmiştir. Bu hususta, bunların bir sonucu olarak bir güvenlik algısının göçe doğru kayması ortaya çıkmıştır. Mevzuat ve siyaset alanlarında göçe yönelik güvenlikleştirilmiş yönetişime yol açacak endişeler, korku, siyasallaşma ve güvenlik gündemlerinin genişlemesi de aynı şekilde meydana gelmiştir.

Dünyadaki herhangi bir ülkeden daha fazla göçmene ev sahipliği yapan ABD, kültürünü, tarihini, toplumunu, politikasını ve en önemlisi ekonomisini şekillendiren geleneksel bir göç ülkesidir. ABD tarihi boyunca, göç her zaman ulus inşa sürecinin ayrılmaz bir parçası olmuştur. Göçmenlerin ABD'ye varışları genellikle tarihçilerin " göç dalgaları" olarak adlandırdıkları şekilde gerçekleşmiştir. Büyük göç dalgaları halinde gelen bu yeni göçmenler, işlerin bol olduğu ve kaynakların sınırsız olduğu ABD'de mutluluğun peşinden koşmayı amaçlamış ve bu yeni dünyada kendilerine bir hayat kurmaya çalışmışlardır. Bu büyük insan hareketi, bugün ABD olarak bildiğimiz ulusu oluşturmuştur. Bu bağlamda, ABD ve göçmenler ayrılmaz bir bütün olarak görülmüş ve Amerikan kimliğinin kökleri ulus olmaktan ziyade, ABD'yi bir fırsat ve iltica ülkesi yapan göçmenlerin kabul edilmesinde yatmak olarak yorumlanmıştır. Bu durumu, Oscar Handlin'in "ABD'de göçmenlerin tarihini yazmayı istedim; göçmenler ABD'nin tarihi olduğunu keşfettim", sözlerinde de görebiliriz.

ABD'ye göçün şimdiye kadarki çeşitli etkilerini gerek ABD -ekonomik ve sosyal etkileri- gerekse de göçmenler açısını -fırsatlar ülkesi- göz önünde bulunduran bu tez, 11 Eylül sonrası siyasi ve sosyal geçişi tetikleyen değişiklikleri göçün güvenlikleştirilmesi ve kontrol edilmesi açısından analiz ederek bir cevap bulmayı amaçlamaktadır. 11 Eylül 2001'deki terör saldırıları, ABD'nin iç ve dış politikalarını daha katı ve daha normatif bir yasama organına dönüştürmüştür. El Kaide terör örgütünün planladığı terör saldırıları, terör sorununun ABD vatandaşlarının hayatını daha fazla tehlikeye atabilecek ve tehdit edebilecek küresel bir erişime sahip olduğunu göstermiştir. ABD açısından saldırılar, ABD'nin istihbarat sisteminin ve güvenlik politikalarının başarısızlıklarını ortaya koymuştur. Ayrıca, 11 Eylül saldırganlarının profilleri ve sahte pasaportlar, geçersiz vizeler ve vize başvurularındaki yanlış

beyanlar gibi teknik sorunlar göçmen politikalarında sıkı ve güvenlikleştirilmiş bir reforma gidilmesine yol açmış ve bu bağlamda 11 Eylül saldırıları göçmen politikalarına da yeni bir çerçeve oluşturmuştur.

11 Eylül olaylarının ABD için yeni bir güvenlik anlayışının şekillenmesinde katalizör rolü oynadığı ve dünyanın birçok ülkesinde küresel bir etki yarattığı bir gerçektir. 11 Eylül saldırılarının neden olduğu değişen algı, ABD'nin göçmen politikasına değer veren olumsuz, kısıtlayıcı ve kontrol edici bir güvenlik hedefi altında şekillenmiştir. 2001'den önce, tarihsel bir bakış açısıyla, Bağımsızlık Günlerinden Modern Çağ'a kadar dört dönem boyunca, ABD'nin göçe karşı tutumu, zaman zaman belirli ülkelerden gerçekleşen göç dalgalarına kısıtlamalar ve kotalar koyulmasına rağmen, her zaman özellikle ekonomik bağlamda teşvik edici ve samimi olmuştur. Ancak, 11 Eylül saldırıları öncesinde, tarihsel olarak bakıldığında, Çin ve Japonya dışlama yasalarında olduğu gibi, kota koyma veya belirli ülkelerden göçü dışlama açısından değişen bazı politikalar, ABD'nin ekonomik ihtiyaçlarına, kalkınma gereksinimlerine ve sosyal kararlılığına cevap vermeyi amaçlamaktaydı. Ayrıca, ABD hükümeti, özellikle 20. yüzyılın sonlarında, Orta ve Güney Amerika'dan artan sayıda düzensiz göçmene yanıt olarak göçmenlik politikalarını modernleştirme ve liberalleştirmeyi birleştiren bir siyasi figür olarak tavır almıştı. Bu tutum, 2000 yılında Meksika hükümeti ile kayıt dışı göçü yasallaştırma bağlamında tartışan Bush yönetiminin ilk safhalarında bile belirgindi. Ancak, bu tezin önerdiği gibi, 9/11 saldırıları, olumsuz ve güvenlikleştirilmiş bir hedeften ortaya çıkan belirli kontrol politikalarının yürürlüğe konması, sınır yaptırımı ve yasal değişiklikler gibi kurumsal değişikliklerin uygulanması gibi gelişmelerle, göçe karşı algının değiştirilmesinde katalizör rolü görmüştür. Sonuç olarak, 11 Eylül saldırılarından sonra, İç Güvenlik Bakanlığı ve Ulusal Güvenlik Stratejisi gibi kurumsal değişiklikler altında yeni bir göç politikası, bir önceki yüzyıla göre biraz daha katı ve caydırıcı olan göçmenlik için güvenlikleştirilmiş yönetişimin uygulanmasına zemin hazırlamıştır.

Teorik olarak bakıldığında, 1990'lar, bir güvenlik düşünce okulunun yaratılmasını birleştiren güvenlik literatürünün ortaya çıkışına damgasını vurdu. Kopenhag Okulu ve daha sonra Paris Okulu ile başlayan eleştirel güvenlik çalışmaları, kurumsal örgütlenme, yasal tepkiler ve söylem oluşturma gibi siyasi tepkileri güvenlikleştirme bağlamında analiz etmeyi amaçlamıştır. Uluslararası göçün artması ve dolayısıyla

belirsizlik ve güvensizlikten kaynaklanan belirli siyasi sorunlara yol açması, göçün bir güvenlik hedefi altında en üst siyasi gündeme taşınmasına yol açmıştır. Bu tez kapsamında, Göç ve ABD örneği eleştirel güvenlik çalışmaları bağlamında dahil edilmesi, güvenlikleştirme teorisinin Avrupa bağlamında ortaya çıkmasından dolayı ilk aşamada teorik kapsamda meydan okuyucu bir çalışma haline gelmiştir. 11 Eylül saldırıları öncesinde, ABD ve Avrupa ülkeleri arasındaki dinamik ve toplumsal benzerlikler, göçün güvenlikleştirilmesi konusunda yok denecek kadar azdı. Avrupa bağlamında düzensiz ve düzenli göçün artması nedeniyle göçmenler Avrupa kimliği, kültürü, geleneği ve değerleri için bir tehlike olarak tasvir edilmiş, ancak ABD, göçü; değerlerinin, kimliğinin ve kültürünün temel bir bileşeni olarak görmüş ve ilk kolonilerden bu yana ABD her zaman geleneksel bir göç ülkesi olmuştur. Ancak 11 Eylül saldırıları -yukarıda da bahsedildiği gibi- saldırganların profilleri, başarısız ABD göçmenlik sistemi ve ABD istihbarat ağındaki çatlaklar gibi karmaşıklıkları nedeniyle, ABD'ye artan sayıda göçmenin -düzenli ve düzensiz- politik bağlamda yorumlanmasında yeni bir kapsam getirmiştir. Bu nedenle göçmenlik konuları, 11 Eylül saldırılarının ardından güvenlik siyasetinin en üst gündeminde yer almış ve Avrupa bağlamındakine benzer şekilde yorumlanmaya başlamıştır.

Dahası, güvenlikleştirme teorisini Amerika Birleşik Devletleri örneğinde uygulamak için bu tez için ortak bir nokta bulma girişiminde, 1993 Dünya Ticaret Merkezi'nin bombalanmasıyla başlayan yükselen terör tehdidi, göç konularına bakan yeni bir algı oluşturmuştur. Özellikle trajik 11 Eylül olayları ve sonrasında yaşanan siyasi ve toplumsal söylemi göç bağlamında olumsuz etkilemiştir. Saldırıların hemen ardından belirlenen yeni politikalar, kamuoyu ve en önemlisi kurumsal değişiklikler, özellikle terörle mücadele bağlamında göçün Amerikan kimliğine yönelik bir tehdit olarak görülmeye başlandığını göstermiştir. Christina Boswell'in açıkladığı gibi, terörist saldırılar ve teröristlerin profilleri, göç ve terörizm arasında sıkı bir bağlantı yarattı. Güvenlikleştirme yaklaşımı altında bir tehdit oluşturmaya izin veren ciddi bir güvenlik endişesine yol açmıştır.

Güvenlikleştirme teorisinin en önemli okullarından biri olan Kopenhag Okulu, göçün güvenlikleştirilmesini, güvenlikleştirici bir aktör tarafından, politik bir tercihe bağlı olarak bir tehdit inşası olarak görürken, referans nesnelere karşı toplumları etkilemek için varoluşsal tehditler yaratılması olarak yorumlamaktadır. 11 Eylül sonrası

dönemde ABD örneğinde, göç varoluşsal bir tehdit haline gelmiş; Bush yönetimi güvenlikleştirici aktör olarak yerini almış ve referans nesneler ABD'nin toplumsal, politik ve ekonomik alanları olarak görülmüştür. Konuyu normal siyasetin dışına çıkarmak için göçü güvenlik altına almak için Kopenhag okulu, başkanlık kampanyaları, siyasi ve kongre konuşmaları ve açıklamalar gibi söz edimlerini bir araç olarak önermektedir. Okul için, bu söz edimleri, güvenlikleştirme sürecini başlatmak için olumsuz bir anlatı yaratılmasına izin vermektedir. 11 Eylül sonrası dönemde ABD örneğinde, söz edimleri göç ve terörizm/suç arasında inşa edilmiş bir bağıntıya olanak sağlamıştır. 2006'da Başkan Bush'un göçmenlik ve terörle bağlantısı hakkındaki açıklaması: "İlk olarak, ABD sınırlarını güvence altına almalı. Bu, egemen bir ulusun temel sorumluluğudur. Aynı zamanda ulusal güvenliğimizin de acil bir gereğidir. Hedefimiz açık: Sınır ticarete ve yasal göçe açık olmalı ve yasadışı göçmenlerin yanı sıra suçlulara, uyuşturucu satıcılarına ve teröristlere kapalı olmalıdır", göçü terör, suç ve yasa dışılıkla ilişkilendiren güvenlikleştirilmiş bir söylemin yaratılmasının önünü açmış ve bu sorunlarla mücadele etmek için belirli politika değişikliklerinin başlamasına yol açmıştır. Göçü bu tür olumsuz meselelerle eşitleyen bu tür siyasi söylemler, ABD'de göç için olumsuz bir çağrışıma neden olmuş ve bu nedenle göçmenlik politikasında bir zamanlar açık olan ve şimdi oldukça olumsuz ve güvenlikleştirilmiş bir geçişi etkilemiştir. Sonuç olarak, Kopenhag Okulu'nun önerdiği gibi, sözcenin kendisi eylem haline geldi ve göçü terörizm, yasadışılık ve suçla ilişkilendiren bir imajın yaratılmasına izin verirken, göçmen olarak kabul edilen göçmenler için yabancı ve tehlikeli, toplumun refahı ve ulusal güvenlik için bir tehdit unsuru haline gelmesini sağlamıştır.

Ayrıca, Kopenhag Okulu'nun önerdiği teorik bağlama istinaden Paris Okulu, kurumsal değişimleri ve sosyal tepkileri analiz etmek gibi farklı güvenlikleştirme bileşenleri ekleyerek güvenlikleştirme teorisini güçlendirmeyi amaçlamıştır. 11 Eylül sonrası dönemde teröre ve suça karşı alınan tedbirler, göçe yönelik siyasi yaklaşımın yüksek oranda güvenlikleştirilmesi ve kontrol altına alınması nedeniyle göçün aynı şemsiye altında tutulmasına yol açmıştır. Ulusal Güvenlik Stratejisi ve ABD Ulusal Güvenlik Bakanlığı gibi 9/11 saldırılarına yanıt olarak getirilen politika değişiklikleri, yasama reformu ve politika tasarımı için yeni bir mekanizma yaratmıştır. 11 Eylül saldırılarına yanıt vermek için güvenlikleştirilmiş bir hedef belirleyerek, bahsedilen kurumların da etkisiyle sınır denetimi, sınır devriyeleri, gözetim sistemleri, yeni teknolojik

gelişmeler ve yasal değişiklikler gibi önemli kurumsal değişikliklere yol açılmıştır. Bu siyasi yönelim içinden etkilenen göç sorunu, bu özel değişikliklerin ana başlıklarından biri haline gelmiştir. Bu bağlamda Paris Okulu, göçün güvenlikleştirilmesi, söz edimlerine ek olarak, kurumsal değişikliklerle de sağlanabileceğini ileri sürmektedir. Göç konusunu Ulusal Güvenlik Stratejisi'nin güvenlikleştirilmiş bir amacı altına sokmak, Gümrük ve Sınır Güvenliği, ABD Göç ve Gümrük Muhafaza Birimi ve ABD Vatandaşlık ve Göçmen Ofisi gibi birçok kurumsal bazda güvenlikleştirme hamlesine izin vermiştir.

Ancak, bu iki okulun önerdikleri ile göçün güvenlikleştirilmesine yönelik siyasi ve kurumsal tepkileri inceleyen bu tez, 11 Eylül sonrası dönemde göçün kurumsal değişiklikler yoluyla güvenlikleştirilmesinin ve bu sürecin çeşitli nedenlerle başarılı bir şekilde gerçekleşmediğini ileri sürmektedir.

İlk olarak, güvenlikleştirmenin başarılı olması için toplum tepkisi çok önemli bir bileşendir. Toplum tepkisi ve güvenlikleştirici aktörler arasındaki ilişkiyi, tekrarı ve böyle bir sürecin sürekliliğini gerektiren bir müzakere olarak tanımlayan eleştirel okullar, toplum tepkisinin önemini öne sürmektedirler. 11 Eylül saldırılarının hemen ardından, başkanlık retoriğinde göçmenlik konusuna ilişkin tartışma, eski Başkan George W. Bush için "göreceli belirsizlik"ten önemli bir siyasi gündem maddesine dönüşmüştür. Toplum tepkisini ve bu bağlamda toplum onayını gerektiren güvenlikleştirme süreci, göç, terör ve yasadışılık arasında kurulmaya çalışılan bağlantı ile ABD'nin önde gelen siyasilerin söylemleri arasında yer almaya başlamıştır. Saldırılar öncesi, siyasi bağlamda konu göç ile olduğunda siyasi söylemler yasallaştırma ve politikleştirme gibi boyutlarda incelenirken, saldırılar sonrası, konu göç ile alakalı olduğunda dil ve üslup oldukça iddialı ve olumsuz bir retorik halini almıştır. Göçü terörle ve yasa dışı faaliyetlerle mücadele ile ilişkilendirme girişiminde bulunan söylemler de bulunmak, 11 Eylül sonrası politika yapımı sürecini de hızlandırmıştır. Ancak bu tezde, 11 Eylül saldırıları sonrası toplum tepkisi, ABD hükümetinin göçü terörizm ve yasadışılıkla ilişkilendirme mücadelesine tepkisi kısa ömürlü olarak analiz etmekte ve bu bağlamda belli başlı istatistikler sunmaktadır. Örneğin, saldırılar sonrası ABD hükümeti tarafından göçün toplum için tehlikeli bir hareket olarak nitelendirilmesine rağmen, ABD toplumunun büyük bir çoğunluğu göçün hem sosyal hem de ABD ekonomisi için oldukça önemli ve gerekli bir bileşen

olduğunu düşünmektedir. Ayrıca, saldırılar sonrası ABD hükümetine karşı güvenin düştüğü birçok ankette görülmektedir. Bu bağlamda, toplum tepkisine ilişkin göçün siyasal zeminde güvenlikleştirilmesi başarılı bir süreç olarak yorumlanmamakta ve birçok araştırmacı için 11 Eylül sonrası toplumsal tepkinin göç konularından ziyade terörizm ve yasadışılık sorunlarına yöneltildiğini ileri sürmektedir.

İkinci olarak, ABD hükümeti düzeyindeki 11 Eylül saldırılarına yanıt vermek amacıyla hem stratejik hem de pratik hedeflere yönelik alınan önlemler, kurumsal ve örgütsel değişiklikler açısından birçok yetersizlik ve zafiyet içermektedir. Güvenlik Stratejisi altında ABD Ulusal Güvenlik Bakanlığı'nın oluşturulması ve bu bağlamda yukarıda bahsedilen birçok kurumların kurulması gerek yetki alanı gerekse de misyon bağlamında kapsamlı ve geniş bir amaç içermemektedir. Bu bahsedilen kurumlar, yaşadığı teknik ve teknolojik zorluklar nedeniyle birçok kez tekrarlanan performans başarısızlığı yaşıyordu. Öte yandan, yetki alanları ile ilgili olarak, bu yeni kurulan kurumlar, kurumsal stratejik önem düzeyinde ulusal güvenlik tehditleri ve suç faaliyetlerinin araştırılmasında önemli görünse de, uygulanabilirlik bağlamında bu durum aksini gösterdi ve bu yeni kurulan kurumlar, mevcut federal kurumların misyonları ve yetki alanlarının gölgesinde kaldı. Ayrıca, teknolojik yetersizlikler ve kaynak tahsisleri nedeniyle, Ulusal Güvenlik kapsamındaki kurumlar, özellikle Yeşil Kart gönderme, başvuru alma, vize ve oturma izni verme gibi vatandaşlığa kabul ve bürokratik işlemlerde tekrarlayan performans başarısızlıklar yaşamıştır. Bu sorunlu konuların bir sonucu olarak, öncelikli hedefte "başarısız" göçmenlik sistemindeki boşlukları doldurmayı amaçlayan kurumsal değişiklikler, nihayetinde ABD siyaseti ve en önemlisi ABD kamuoyu tarafından nispeten yoğun bir şekilde eleştirilmiştir.

Ayrıca, bu tezin başlangıcından beri, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nden her zaman geleneksel bir göç ülkesi olarak bahsedilmiştir. Bu bağlamda geleneksel bir göçmen ülkesi olmak, ABD'nin siyasi, toplumsal ve ekonomik alanlarında benim tarihsel praksis olarak nitelendirdiğim bir alışkanlık, bir yönelim meydana getirmiştir. Bu tezin defalarca vurguladığı gibi, ABD hükümeti 11 Eylül saldırıları öncesinde ekonomik ve sosyal ihtiyaçlarına her zaman göç bağlamında cevap vermiştir. Yüzyıllar boyunca, Amerikan ekonomik sürdürülebilirliğinin uzun vadeli gelişimi için beklentiler göçmen işgücü tarafından sağlanmıştır. Bu alışkanlıktan doğan tarihsel praksis, vasıflı ve vasıfsız göçmenlerin ABD topraklarına gelmesini teşvik etmiş ve Amerika'yı fırsatlar

ülkesi haline getirmiştir. Göçmenler yüzyıllardır ve hatta bugün göçmenler çiftçilik, balıkçılık ve ormancılık meslekleri, altyapı, tekstil, gıda endüstrisi ve konaklama endüstrisinden idari desteğe, akademik ve destek hizmet endüstrisine kadar pek çok farklı sektörde çalışmakta ve önemli bir paya sahiptir. Ayrıca, ABD'deki göçmenler, 11 Eylül sonrası politik olarak üretilen görüşün aksine, işgücü arzını artırarak işgücü piyasası rekabetinin artmasına yardımcı olmaktadır. Örneğin, Penn Wharton Pennsylvania Üniversitesi'nin ampirik araştırmasına göre, göçmenler -düzenli veya düzensiz fark etmeksizin- kazandıkları ücretlerini evlere, yiyeceklere ve diğer mal ve hizmetlere harcarlar, bu da daha fazla iş ve istihdam yaratmak için ekonomik bir döngü yaratan iç ekonomik talebi genişletmektedir. Her ne kadar 11 Eylül saldırıları ABD hükümeti olumsuz bir çağrışım yaratarak göçü güvenlikleştirmeye çalışsa da bu tarihsel praksis nedeniyle göçmen sayısı artmaya devam etmiştir. Bu duruma ek olarak, göçmen nüfusun, göçmenlerin demografik oranlarının çeşitliliğinin işgücü piyasasına verimlilik getirdiği ve aynı zamanda yaşlanan işgücü ve sakinlerin azalan harcamaları gibi olumsuz demografik özellikleri ortadan kaldırdığı bir gerçektir.

Sonuç olarak, yukarıdaki nedenler göz önünde bulundurulduğunda 11 Eylül sonrası dönemde göçün güvenlikleştirilmesinin başarılı bir süreç olmadığı sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. ABD'nin düzenli ve düzensiz göçü yasallaştırma çabası, göçmenlik mevzuatını ve sistemini modernize etme girişimleri, yıllardır güvenliği artırmanın yanı sıra siyasi, ekonomik ve toplumsal alanlarda üretkenlik sağlamak açısından doğru yollar olarak nitelendirilmektedir. Bu tez Bush yönetimiyle sınırlı kalsa da bugün bile Trump yönetiminin ülkenin sınırına duvar ve çit örerek göçü suç ve yasadışılıkla ilişkilendirerek güvenlikleştirme girişimlerinin boşa çıktığını görmekteyiz. Sebep, ekonomik büyümeyi ve gelişmeyi birleştiren tarihsel praksis için yukarıda belirtilenle aynıdır. John Tirman'ın dediği gibi: "Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'ni üç yüzyıl boyunca zenginleştiren sıradan emek göçü, ekonomik fırsatlar, sosyal bütünlük ve ulusal güvenliği tehdit etmiyor." Bu nedenle, ABD'de göçün güvenlikleştirilmesi, terörizm, yasadışılık ve suça karşı güvenliğin sağlanması için bir çözüm yolu olmayacaktır.

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