TALLINN UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY

School of Business and Governance

Department of Law

Abdulrahman Shamlan

THE SECURITIZATION OF IMMIGRATION AND ITS CORRELATION WITH TERRORISM

Master's thesis

International Relations and European-Asian Studies Program

Supervisor: Holger Mölder, PhD
Co-supervisor: Antonius Johannes Hubertus Notermans

Tallinn 2018

I declare that I have compiled the paper independently
and all works, important standpoints and data by other authors
have been properly referenced and the same paper
has not been previously been presented for grading.
The document length is 15128 words from the introduction to the end of the summary.

Abdulrahman Shamlan ……………………………
              (signature, date)
Student code: 163710
Student e-mail address: abdulrahmanshamlan@gmail.com

Supervisor: Holger Mölder:
The paper conforms to requirements in force

………………………………………………
(signature, date)

Co-supervisor: Ton Notermans, PhD
The paper conforms to requirements in force
………………………………………………
(signature, date)

Chairman of the Defence Committee:
Permitted to the defense
…………………………………
(name, signature, date

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

Since the September 11 terror attacks, the public opinion in the West has associated terrorism with immigration. This thesis argues that this association is built on a shaky foundation. It first proves that immigration has been securitized and linked to terrorism in the West. The second part examines the correlations between immigration and terrorism. This thesis is different from most of the existing literature on the securitization of immigration in the sense that it goes beyond investigating the occurrence of securitization to examine the correlations between immigration and terrorism. The statistical analysis of this study finds mostly weak correlations between immigration and terrorism, throwing doubt into the perceived cause-effect relationship.

Keywords: securitization, immigration, terrorism, link, correlation, association, social construct.

INTRODUCTION

"There is no doubt that the growing wave of terrorism is linked to migration," Polish President Andrzej Duda was quoted as saying at the Arraiolos Group meeting in Malta in 2017 (Montgomery 2017). This claim was echoed by different key political figures in the West, including U.S. President Donald Trump, Mr. Nigel Farage in the United Kingdom (U.K.), and Marine Le Pen in France (Henley & Jamieson 2017). Such claims were also echoed by other conservative and right-wing politicians in the Netherlands, Italy, Hungary, and the Czech Republic, to name only a few. Such claims gained credibility after the terror attacks of September 11, 2001.

The rising frequency of, and increasing tolerance for, such claims was clear in recent election debates between candidates in several Western countries. In the last Presidential election in the United States, Trump as well as Hillary Clinton discussed the issue, with Trump blaming immigration for terrorism and promising to impose a temporary travel ban on all Muslims trying to enter the United States. Similarly, in the recent French Presidential elections, the debate about terrorism and immigration was a central focus, with Le Pen making it clear that immigration is a high-security threat that needs to be stopped immediately. Immigration was also a key point in the argument used for the United Kingdom's exit from the European Union, Brexit. Richard Dearlove, the former head of U.K. intelligence body MI6, said the U.K. would be safer from terrorism if it left the EU (Dearlove 2016). Populist parties campaigning against immigration came close to winning elections in several Western countries, including the Netherlands and Austria.

It is not just the right-wing parties and their supporters that believe in the correlation between immigration and terrorism. Public opinion polls in the EU and the United States show a great percentage of the overall population backing such views. For example, the Pew Research Centre conducted an opinion poll in 2016 in which 59 percent of respondents in the EU said they think the refugees will increase the likelihood of terrorism (Wilke et al. 2016, 30). The majority of

Americans also showed support for the recent travel ban on six predominately Muslim countries, saying the ban would make the country safer from terrorist threats, according to an opinion poll compiled by Politico/Morning Consult Poll (Politico 2017).

Although this correlation is widely believed to be a fact by the people in the West, there is no rigorous evidence to support it. Scholars are polarized about the issue. While some, especially in the United States, strongly argue that terrorism and immigration are interrelated, including Robert Leiken and Steven Brooke (2006), Robert Leiken (2004), Steven Camarota (2002), and Mark Krikorian (2002), others disagree. Scholars that argued against this correlation include Alex Schmid (2016), Alexander Spencer (2008, 2012), María Saux (2007), and Mary Fan (2008). The findings of recent empirical studies indicate that immigration as such does not increase the prospects of terrorism but immigration from terror prone countries does (Bove, Böhmelt 2016; Beck et al. 2017).

While immigration scholars used to debate whether immigration was good or bad for the economy, its impact on the identity and religious affiliation of the nation states or even its relationship with crime rates, recently immigration is widely seen and debated through the perspective of national security (Spencer 2008, 2). Indeed, not only did the Twin Tower attacks mark a change in the tactics of wars, they have also helped change people's perceptions of immigration. The magnitude of the 9/11 terror attacks and the foreign identities of the terrorists have had much to do with this. Fifteen out of the 19 Al-Qaeda-affiliated terrorists that hijacked the planes and used them to carry out the terror plot were citizens of Saudi Arabia, two of the United Arab Emirates, and the other two from Egypt and Lebanon, respectively. This gave the securitizing actors facilitating conditions to frame the association, despite the fact that none of these terrorists were actually immigrants. They were all international terrorist operators who entered the US legally on temporary tourist visas with the sole purpose of carrying out their plot.

This thesis will employ the securitization theory as the main theoretical and analytical framework to investigate whether and how immigration in the West has been securitized and socially constructed to be linked to terrorism. Devised by Ole Waever, Barry Buzan, and Jaap de Wilde in the 1990s, the securitization theory is considered part of Constructivism that considers security

threats social constructs. These threats are not necessarily real for them to be securitized (Buzan et al 1998, 26).

This paper will go beyond investigating the occurrence of securitization to investigate whether immigration and terrorism are correlated. Therefore, it will also utilize the contagion/diffusion theory of terrorism. The correlation analysis will be achieved by adopting a quantitative research analysis, examining if the annual inflows of immigrants and growth of foreign-born populations have an effect on the terror activity, fatalities of terrorism, and Islamist terrorism.

The United States and the United Kingdom were selected as the two case studies for this thesis because they have led the Global War on Terrorism. Both countries are home to large immigrant communities and have experienced a number of terror attacks in the last couple of decades that helped change the perception of immigration.

This thesis is relevant in so far as it deals with the correlation between two of the most important phenomena in modern history. This topic is also relatively understudied (Schmid 2016, 3) despite its importance. The fact that this thesis goes beyond the investigation of the occurrence of securitization further enhances its importance, as it is distinct from most of the existing literature on the topic. It also investigates a highly-contested topic.

Study Structure

This thesis will be divided into three main chapters. The first chapter will provide the theoretical framework for the study, outlining the securitization theory. The second chapter will investigate whether immigration has been securitized and associated with terrorism and how this process happened. Of its five sections, the first will highlight the role of political discourse in framing the collective social construct linking terrorism to immigration. The second highlights the legislation and policies that affected immigration. These practices formally legitimize the association between immigration and terrorism. The third section will examine the coverage of immigration issues by four major media outlets in both the U.S. and the U.K. The fourth section will focus on the available public opinion polls and parliamentary votes about some legislation concerning

immigrants or immigration. This section aims to measure the success of the securitizing move to mobilize the support of the audience. The fifth and final section of this chapter will provide an analysis and discussion of the results of the chapter.

The third chapter will be composed of three sections. The first will highlight the contagion/diffusion theories of terrorism. The second section will highlight some of the previous literature on the subject. The third section will include a quantitative analysis examining the correlations between immigration and terrorism.

Study argument

This thesis argues that the foreign identities of 9/11 terror attacks gave the impression that the threat of terrorism only comes from foreigners. The foreignness of these international terrorist operators provided a facilitating factor for the securitizing actors to depict the threat to come from foreigners or immigrants. This facilitated the adoption of extraordinary measures and restrictions against immigration. These measures would have been unpopular if it were not for the securitization of immigration and linking it to terrorism. These measures provided a formal institutionalization of the link between immigration and terrorism. The media also has a big role in feeding and sustaining this alleged link through its reporting. As a result of these factors, a social construct linking terrorism with immigration has become common in the West; with a considerable segment of the Western society considers this construction to be true. Despite this widely-believed link between immigration and terrorism, there is no sufficient evidence to back it up, throwing doubts into the perceived strong relationship.

Methodology

This thesis will use a multi-level research approach, utilizing multiple quantitative and qualitative research methods. The comparison between the U.K. and the US in terms of their securitizing moves, political discourse, media coverage, legislation affecting immigration, public opinion, and

the correlation between immigration and terrorism will be discussed, with the objective of finding similarities or differences.

Political discourse analysis will be used in the first section of the second chapter to examine how the leaders of the two countries contributed in framing the link between terrorism and immigration. Special attention will be given to the speeches of President George W. Bush and Premier Tony Blair in the wake of 9/11 and July 7 terror attacks, for their era saw the introduction of the social construct linking terrorism with immigration, according to many studies, including a report by the IOM (2010, 6-7).

Content analysis will be used in the third section to analyze the media coverage of immigration-related issues for the period of 2013-2018. Fox News, CNN, The Telegraph, and The Guardian were selected because of their influence and international appeal. These media outlets represent the liberal and conservative views in both countries. 40 articles will be analyzed from each media outlet divided over the period, bringing the total of articles studied to 160. The linguistic inquiry and word count (LIWC) tool will be utilized to analyze the content of the media outlets. A text analysis software, LIWC is extensively used in securitization research by many scholars. It provides a non-biased analysis, making the results more reliable and scientific. This tool offers dictionaries, which can be tailored by researchers based on the purpose of the study at hand, with the security dictionary by Stephane Baele and Olivier Sterck used in the research for this thesis (Baele, Sterck 2015, 1135-1137). This analysis is highly affected by the method produced by Baele and Sterk (2015) to scientifically measure the securitization of immigration. This dictionary was developed and tailored according to the purpose of this study. Search engines, including Google, were used to randomly pick articles for analysis. Immigration, asylum, the name of the media outlet, and the year were used as keywords to find the articles.

The third chapter will use a quantitative study to examine the correlation between immigration and terrorism. The independent variables will be the annual inflows of immigration and growth of foreign-born populations, while the dependent variables will be the annual terror attacks, fatalities of terrorism and Islamist terror attacks. The foreign-born population will be used to ensure that immigrants are accounted for as long as they were born abroad, including those who

have been naturalized. Also, Islamist terror attacks were included as a dependent variable in this analysis because many blame these attacks on immigration. This analysis will consider the flow of immigrants in general, not just refugees, to provide the spatial unit, instead of proximity. The foreign-born population also provides this spatial unit, through which terrorism could be diffused. Refugees were estimated to be 22.5 million in 2017 (UNHCR 2017). Meanwhile, the number of international immigrants stood at 258 million in 2017 (UN report 2017, 3). The annual inflows of immigrants are not equal to the annual foreign-born population. This is because the foreign-born population only considers those who are still in the country. Immigrants in this study are those who settle for a long-period of time or permanently. Tourists are not considered to be immigrants.

First of all, the variables were placed in scatterplots in order to see if there are positive correlations. A number of descriptive statistics will be analyzed, including the mean, the median, minimum, maximum, and standard deviation. The Pearson correlation coefficient (R), and coefficient determination or square R (R2) will be identified. In order to examine whether the correlations are significant, the p-value will be examined as well. The ANOVA and f test will be run to examine correlations where present. Regression analysis will be run if significant correlations are found. The main tool used for statistics analysis is IBM SPSS. Minitab was also used. For the correlation to be perfectly positive, the coefficient correlation number R needs to be close to 1. In the same vein, for the negative correlation, the coefficient correlation number needs to be close to -1. Moderate correlation is usually above or close to 0.5. The coefficient correlation number around 0 is considered weak or no correlation at all. If the R2 is 0.9 that means the independent variable could answer for 90 percent of the dependent variable. R2 can never be negative even if the coefficient correlation is negative. The P-value usually needs to be less than 0.05 for it to be significant. If higher, it is not statistically significant. The P significance level will be 0.01, which is considered to be lowest level of significance, while .05 moderate and 0.1 the highest. This is aimed to identify the least significant correlations.

This analysis is based on reliable data for the annual immigrants' inflows and growth of foreign-populations provided by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). There were some missing data for some years; therefore data from other reliable organizations such as Eurostat, Department of Homeland Security (DHS), Migration Observatory, the Centre of

Immigration Studies (CIS), and Fullfact.org were used. These organizations provided otherwise identical data with OECD.

The data for terror activities, fatalities, and Islamist terror attacks were predicated upon the Global Terrorism Database (GTD). This study does not differentiate between international terrorism and domestic terrorism. Attacks whose characteristics do not qualify the criteria of terror attacks were eliminated, using GTD customization. Attacks that were foiled before they could be carried out were included to ensure the efficiency of this study. The decision to include foiled terror attacks was made with the objective of avoiding any potential measurement of the efficiency of counter-terrorism efforts.

Limitations of study

There is a limitation of using the political discourse of only those holding the highest executive positions as a reference point to indicate the speech act and the formation of a collective social construct since there are other key securitizing actors, including other government officials, other parties, media, and interest groups. However, their role continues to be very influential in securitizing issues. Besides, the media coverage about immigration will also be examined in the third section of the second chapter to mitigate this limitation. The main limitation of the media analysis is that it does not differentiate between positive or negative reporting of immigration as it only focuses on the presence of some terms to come to the conclusion. However, the presence of these lexicons is argued to be sufficient to indicate securitization (Baele, Sterck 2015).

The quantitative analysis in the third chapter only examines the correlation between terrorism and immigration in two countries and for the period of 2000-2016. The results of this analysis could not be generalized to other countries as there is a need for a comprehensive study to focus on all countries, especially where immigration is thought to be responsible for the diffusion of terrorism. The use of the foreign-born populations and inflows of immigrants as independent variables indicate that this study mainly focuses on the correlation between first-generation immigrants and terrorism.

This analysis includes the Islamist terrorism. This is because many in the West blame Islamist terrorism on immigration. These attacks could involve second and third-generation immigrants. Furthermore, some of Islamist terror attacks could be plotted or carried out by natives of these countries without any immigrant background.

Finally, this study does not only focus on immigrants from terror prone countries. Rather it focuses on immigration in general. Therefore, it won't check the diffusion of terrorism only from terror prone countries.

1. SECURITIZATION THEORY

1.1. Securitization theory background

The emergence of new threats from non-state actors after the end of the Cold War has highlighted the necessity for the extension of the scope of the traditional security studies, which had focused solely on military threats (Buzan et al. 1998, 1-3). This need marked the rise of critical security scholars, described by Barry Buzan et al. (1998, 1) as "wideners", who suggested the extension of security studies to cover a range of social, economic, and environmental spheres. Traditional realists, however, maintained that security studies need to stick to the military threats and capabilities, warning the extension of security threats would cause the dilution of security studies' (Buzan et al. 1998, 1; Walts 1991, 213). The securitization theory provides a middle ground for both schools of thought (Buzan et al.1998, 1). While it extends the field of security studies to cover other issues of environment, society, and economy, it stresses, at the same time, the role of logic and the traditional focus on the state (ibid, 1-2). It came to solve the problem of narrow security studies, which became synonymous with "strategic studies" after the end of the Cold War (Taureck 2006).

Associated with the Copenhagen School of Security Studies, the securitization theory considers threats "intersubjective" and social constructs (Taureck 2006, 55). That is why it is widely considered a part of Social Constructivism. According to the securitization theory, threats do not need to be real in order for them to be successfully securitized but rather they need to go through the defined stages of the securitization process. A successful process of securitization has three main stages: existential threats, emergency action, and the impact of the breaking of established rules (Buzan et al. 1998, 26).

Barry Buzan et al. (1998, 21) made a distinction between securitized issues and politicized issues, with securitization considered an extreme version of politicization. While securitized issues

require the use of extraordinary measures that would otherwise not be possible under the normal circumstances, politicized issues only require the action of the government. To state that an issue poses an existential threat to a certain referent object calls for the use of extraordinary measures beyond the established norms and rules to protect the referent object. Politicized issues are subject to tense debates and struggles, while successful securitized issues usually bypass the tense public debate, with securitizing actors depicting the issues as a matter of security. These issues are portrayed to necessitate extraordinary measures (ibid, 29).

1.2. Key features

The securitization theory has served as a useful analytical and observational tool for several subjects, including terrorism (Buzan 2006; Roe 2008; Salter 2011), and immigration (Ceyhan, TsoU.K.ala 2002; Huysmans 2006). Before applying this theory, an identification of the main elements needs to be made. The three primary components of this theory are the referent objects, the securitizing actors, and the audience. The speech act is also of great importance. The securitizing actors are the ones who publicly state that the referent objects are existentially jeopardized. They usually enjoy legitimacy in order to gain the trust of the people as they have access to information (Buzan et al. 1998, 26-27). Therefore, the typical securitizing actors are government officials. However, the securitizing actors are not always government officials, as political leaders, lobbyists, pressure groups, and bureaucracies can be securitizing actors as well. While they could be individuals, securitizing actors are usually groups (ibid, 40).

The referent objects are the collectives that are portrayed by the securitizing actors as existentially threatened. While the states are usually the referent objects, there are other referent objects, as this theory is not only confined to military threats alone. Referent objects can vary, as there are economic, political, social, and military ones. For example, in the military context, the armed forces could be a referent object if there is an existential threat. The social referent objects could be the identity and religion of the society. Political referent objects include the sovereignty of the state (ibid, 21-23).

Finally, the audience is usually the general public. When the securitizing actors declare an issue (a referent object) to be existentially threatened, they seek to convince the audience and get their approval. Without their approval of the securitizing actors' arguments, the securitization move cannot be successful, indicating the important role they play (Balzacq 2011, 8). The approval of the audience is essential to allow the securitizing agents to break off the established rules and use extraordinary measures (Buzan, et al. 1998, 26).

Paul Roe, however, points out that there are two types of audiences. The standard type is the public and the other type is composed of the members of parliament (Roe 2008, 616). He argues that getting the approval of both audiences makes the securitization move active, and getting the support of only one of them makes only partially successful securitization (ibid, 633). However, Thierry Balzacq pointed out that the approval of the public is important, but the approval of legislative bodies is what's needed for the government to take action (Balzacq 2005, 184-185).

The speech act is essential for the success of the securitizing move as it helps the securitizing agents form a collective social construct with the audience. In fact, Ole Waever, who has a key role in bringing the securitization theory to being, argued that security is a speech act, explaining that by labelling an issue as security, it legitimizes extraordinary measures (Buzan et al. 1998, 26).

The linguistic terms play a crucial role in securitizing issues (Huysmans 2011, 372). Language is a distinctive feature of securitization as it is used to portray threats as existential. Language is also used to portray the issue as "urgent", enabling the securitizing actors to express the need to "act now before it becomes too late" (Buzan et al. 1998, 26).

> "In security discourse, an issue is dramatized and presented as an issue of supreme priority; thus, by labelling it as security, an agent claims the presence of a need for and a right to treat it by extraordinary means" (ibid, 26).

Balzacq (2011) pointed out that the speech act of the securitizing actors is dependent on the knowledge of the audience of the issue (Balzacq 2011, 9). He argued that the discourse adopted

by governments is a technique intended to increase the public adherence to their arguments (Balzacq 2005, 172). Huysmans (2002) said that "language operates as a mediating instrument that brings social practices into a particular communicative, institutionalized framework" (Huysmans 2002, 44).

Balzacq shared Huysmans' notion and added that the speech act does more than only describe a given reality, which in this case cannot be judged as true or false. Rather he stressed that the speech act represents specific action, which makes them "performatives" and, therefore, their truth or falsehood can be put to test. He argued that the speech act is of three stages, namely (1) the utterance of speech, (2) the actions that come with articulating speech, and (3) the sequential process of sparking feelings, thoughts, and beliefs that support the action of the securitizing actors (Balzacq 2005, 175).

Therefore, it is not just the speech but also the practices or policies that mark securitization. For example, Huysmans (2000) said that when people see the police deal with the immigration process, it gives them the impression that immigrants are a threat, as the police, who deal with them, are tasked with maintaining security (Huysmans 2000, 756-757).

Certain conditions make the speech act effective. These conditions are referred to as facilitating conditions by Buzan et al. (1998). Facilitating conditions are internal and external. The internal type is linguistic, while the external type is contextual and social and depends on the position from which the speech act is made. "The particular persons and circumstances in a given case must be appropriate from which the act could be made" (Buzan et al. 1998, 32).

> "To move an audience's attention toward an event or a development construed as dangerous, the words of the securitizing actor need to resonate with the context within which his/her actions are collocated. [...] the success of securitization is contingent upon a perceptive environment" (Balzacq 2011, 13).

Therefore, the linguistic terms and the facilitating circumstances allow for a successful securitizing move. To conclude, securitization studies aim to identify the securitizing actors,

framed existential threats, referent objects, the reasons behind these moves, the conditions of securitization processes, and the implications of securitization (Buzan et al. 1998, 32).

1.3. Operationalization

Following the doctrine of the securitization theory, this thesis will regard security and the link between immigration and terrorism to be social constructs, as social facts are justified through discursive practices and interactions. The method introduced by Stephane Baele and Olivier Sterck in 2015 will be followed in determining the securitization from the lexicons of articles of the media. This method is very practical and avoids the potential subjectivity of the researcher. The measurement of the approval of the public opinion about a securitizing move could be achieved through opinion polls and parliamentary votes. Assessing the approval of the members of parliament is easier as they are usually required to approve through voting (Lucke, Dück 2012, 3). Therefore, the assessment of the approval of the audience will be based upon the public opinion polls and ratification of bills by the Parliaments of the two case studies.

2. SECURITIZATION OF IMMIGRATION

The terror attacks of 9/11 sparked fear and a great deal of uncertainty in the Western world. This fear is derived from the uncertainty that surrounded the terror attack that hit the greatest power in the world. The fear of immigrants, however, is not necessarily predicated upon any grounded facts or statistics. Yes, the terrorists were foreigners and thousands died, but it was not immigration that was responsible, and hence the diagnosis was not entirely accurate. The discursive practices of politics as well as the media and the policies adopted in the West that followed these attacks have created a social construct that links the threat of terrorism to the terrorist other or "immigrant other" (Baker-Beall 2013). This fear was exacerbated by further terror attacks in different parts of the West, including Madrid (2004), London (2005), Belgium and France (2015), and Germany (2016). In the U.S. and the U.K., the discourse has allowed the use of force to invade other countries and wage an infinite war on terrorism abroad. In the EU, this was not always the case, even though EU troops were involved in Afghanistan. However, Baker Beal argued that in the EU the construction of the terrorist other led to the construction of the immigrant other. This led to securitizing immigration and asylum process (ibid, 190).

2.1. Discourse analysis

The linguistic terms used to explain and condemn terrorism are important as they have a great impact. These terms help form a collective social construct and understanding of terrorism and terrorists and are essential to arouse certain emotions and feelings (Jarvis 2010). Therefore, language plays an important tool to frame the issue in a way that convinces the public of the subsequent actions to be taken. Governments use this political discourse strategically with certain objectives in their agendas.

2.1.1. The United States

In his first address to the nation about the terror attacks of 9/11, President Bush commenced with a strong rhetoric to frame the attack to be against the American values, democracy, and freedom. "Today our citizens, our way of life, our very freedom came under attack" (Bush 2001a). He also used this rhetoric several times.

> "America was targeted for attack because we are the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world" (ibid).
>
> "Freedom and democracy are under attack" (ibid).
>
> "Americans are asking, "Why do they hate us? They hate what they see right here in this chamber: a democratically elected government. Their leaders are self-appointed" (Bush 2001c).

President Bush has used strong terms to describe terrorists as the "worst of human nature" and their acts as "despicable acts of evil" (ibid). However, he attempted to attach those attributes to the "terrorist other". The division between "them" and "us" was strong in his speeches. His discourse describes the terrorists to be "the enemy others" who want to destroy the U.S. for its values and culture. In political discourse, the division of the people into "us" and "them" serves two objectives: first, it helps unite those considered to be in the internal camp. Secondly, it helps avoid the challenge of their claim by delegitimizing "the other" and undermining the unity of the opposite camp (Collet, Najem 2005, 6).

President Bush also described the lack of morality among the terrorist network to further legitimize the other camp and avert any opposition against his subsequent actions at home, portraying the battle to be between good and evil.

> "Al Qaeda is to terror what the Mafia is to crime" (Bush 2001c).
>
> "The terrorists' directive commands them to kill Christians and Jews, to kill all Americans" (ibid).

Furthermore, President Bush described the terror attacks as "an act of war ". This has a strong connotation. The "war" is different from a crime or a terrorist attack in that it is usually waged against a foreign state.

> "The deliberate and deadly attacks, which were carried out yesterday against our country, were more than acts of terror. They were acts of war," (Bush 2001b).

He went on to compare the terror attacks with the Pearl Harbor attack by the Japanese Empire.

> "Americans have known wars - but for the past 136 years, they have been wars on foreign soil, except for one Sunday in 1941 (Bush 2001c).

He also talked about a declaration of "a lengthy war" against terrorism. According to Buzan (2006), this would have been unacceptable it if was not for the securitization of terrorism and the requirement of extraordinary measures (Buzan 2006).

> "Americans should not expect one battle, but a lengthy campaign unlike any other we have ever seen" (Bush 2001c).

Furthermore, he portrayed the attacks to be directed against the West and civilized world and strongly spelled out the urgency for a collective effort to fight terrorism.

> "This is not, however, just America's fight, and what is at stake is not just America's freedom. This is the world's fight. This is civilization's fight. This is the fight of all who believe in progress and pluralism, tolerance and freedom" (Bush 2001c).
> "This enemy attacked not just our people but all freedom-loving people everywhere in the world" (Bush 2001b).
> "The civilized world is rallying to America's side" (Bush 2001c).

It was clear that President Bush depicted terrorism as a war against Western society and values and that action was needed against those who want to destroy it (Buzan 2006, 1101-1102). Washington had a leadership deficit in the absence of an enemy after the end of the Cold War. The U.S. made use of the tragic 9/11 terror attack by constructing a common enemy which the entire West will continue to rally around under its leadership (ibid, 1103).

President Bush did not mention immigration or immigrants directly in his speeches in the few days following the 9/11. However, the sense of foreignness he attached to the terrorists, who are described explicitly in his speech as "the other", could logically be associated with immigrants as many of them might look different or believe in different things. This was supported by the foreign identity of the perpetrators of 9/11. Also, the actions his administration took to target immigrants spoke even louder than words.

While the construction of the link between terrorism and illegal immigration was clearly made in Bush's era, it has dramatically intensified under President Trump's administration. President Trump openly blamed immigrants for terrorism. At the behest of President Trump, the Department of Justice and Homeland Security disseminated a controversial report claiming that 3 out of 4 individuals of 549 convicted on terrorism-related charges are foreign-born (Department of Justice and Homeland Security press release 2017). Building his argument on this report, Trump said:

> "We need to keep America safe, including moving away from a random chain migration and lottery system, to one that is merit-based" (Trump 2017a).

This report was highly criticized for being severely flawed, according to many experts. For example, Director of the Fordham University Centre on National Security, Karen Greenberg, said that the report included people who were captured abroad and brought to the US for trial and focused only on people involved in international, not domestic, terrorism (cited in Weiss 2018). This means if someone is detained in Afghanistan and extradited to the U.S., they are still counted in the statistics in order to garner support for immigration restrictions, ranging from the Muslim travel ban and suspending the visa diversity program to other immigration restrictions the Trump administration is pushing for. Alex Nowrasteh of the Cato institute said the report portrayed "some misleading and meaningless statistics as important findings" (Nowrasteh 2018). The fact that this report overlooked domestic terrorism means that it is "at best, a snapshot of the international subset of terrorism" (ibid). He also pointed out that the report used a misleading term "terrorism-related" in order to inflate numbers. "'Terrorism-related' is not a term that appears in the U.S. criminal code. It's pretty meaningless" (ibid). Others claimed that the report

also included people who broke the law for offenses entirely different from terrorism (Campoy, Timmons 2018).

After blaming the immigration system and the Lottery Diversity Program for a terrorist attack in 2017, President Trump vowed to suspend the program.

> "I am today starting the process of terminating the diversity lottery program....It sounds nice, it's not nice… We have been against it" (Trump 2017d).

Trump has used security rhetoric several times, describing the restrictions on immigration as vital to prevent terrorism.

> "We've got to keep our country safe. You look at what's happening in Germany. You look at what's happening last night in Sweden. Sweden! Who would believe this? Sweden! They took in large numbers, they're having problems like they never thought possible. You look at what's happening in Brussels. You look at what's happening all over the world. Take a look at Nice. Take a look at Paris" (Trump 2017c).

Nothing happened in Sweden the prior night to Trump's remarks. Despite his inflammatory comments, Trump still won the elections in the US, indicating a higher level of tolerance for discrimination and populist rhetoric among the American people.

2.1.2. The United Kingdom

Despite the fact that all the terrorists involved in the July 7 terror attacks in London were British citizens, Prime Minister Tony Blair still attached foreignness to terrorism. Three of them were born and raised in the U.K. The fourth was born in Jamaica and immigrated to the U.K. as a toddler (BBC 2011).

> "The terrorist attacks of the 7 July have their origins in an ideology born thousands of miles from our shores" (Blair 2005).

The U.K. foreign secretary requested in 2001 to replace the "foreign policy" with "global affairs" because of the increasing role of globalization. Yet when a terror attack occurred, even where perpetrated by U.K. nationals, the discourse adopted by the U.K. sought to exteriorize terrorism

(Bulley 2007, 3). This discourse aims to form a construction of terrorism as "uncontrollable otherness of the foreign" (ibid).

The discourse of Blair was driven by the need to take action against terrorism after the 9/11 terror attacks. This was not the case after the July 7 terror attacks because the terrorists were home-grown and not outsiders. These attacks redirected the threat of terrorism from the outside to the inside (Loshitzky 2010, 5).

Like President Bush, Blair also polarized the World after the 9/11 terror attacks. When the July 7 terror attacks occurred, this construction was already in place. He further spelled out the immediate need to stamp out evil.

> "This is not a battle between the United States and terrorism, but between the free and democratic world and terrorism" (Blair 2001).
> "The democracies of this world, are going to have to come together to fight it together and eradicate this evil completely from our world" (ibid).

Blair's discourse concerning terrorism was characterized by the attempt to exteriorize terrorism and attaching it to the terrorist other or foreign other. After all, the immigrant is a foreigner.
Prime Minister Gordon Brown, who followed Blair, was known for being more moderate and cautious with rhetoric than his predecessor. Still, he indirectly blamed immigration from a specific region for terrorism.

> "There is a line of terror, a chain of terror that goes from Afghanistan and the border area of Pakistan right back to the streets of all our countries" (Brown 2009).

The political discourse and rhetoric implying the relationship between immigration and terrorism were clearly stronger in the United States. Still, there was a high sense of foreignness attached to terrorism by the British political discourse. There are striking similarities between the discursive practices between the US and the U.K. leaders after the 9/11 terror attacks. Both used the division between "good and evil", "us and them". Both spelled out the urgency to take extraordinary action against terrorism. Bush and Blair's discourse was followed by an open-ended war on terrorism that involved invasion of some countries and leaving tens of thousands of people killed.

Immigration was directly affected by a host of measures as well. These measures will be discussed in the following section.

2.2. Laws and policies

Shocked by the terror attacks of 9/11, several governments in the West adopted a range of counter-terrorism measures in a bid to reassure worried populations that their governments were doing everything to keep them safe. One focus area of these procedures was immigration control policies. As noted by Huysmans (2000) in the theoretical framework, these measures have a major role in creating and solidifying the link between immigration and terrorism.

2.2.1. The United States

Shortly after the terror attacks of 9/11, the U.S. administration adopted a range of administrative, regulatory, and legislative measures against immigrants. These measures included creating new immigration bodies and passing new acts. In March 2003, the Bush administration decided to merge the Immigration Naturalization Service (INS), the United States Citizenship and Immigration Services, the US Customs and Border Protection, and the US Immigration and Customers Enforcement into the newly established Department of Homeland Security (DHS). This marked the biggest federal restructuring in the US since the end of the Second World War (Kerwin 2005).

This act formally linked immigration with terrorism, as it integrated the immigration services into the DHS (Spencer 2008, 3). The DHS was signed into existence by President Bush in 2002 with the main task of keeping the U.S. safe from any terror attacks (Bush 2002). Therefore, incorporating these immigration services into the DHS gives the impression that immigration is linked to the terrorist threat. Focused on the global war on terror, the US government has clearly blurred the competences between immigration and counter-terrorism institutions (Laque 2010, 32).

Before merging these immigration bodies into the DHS, the US passed the "Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (USA PATRIOT) act. This act gave law enforcement unlimited rights to collect intelligence information, infringing on the civil liberties of residents for the sake of the fight against terrorism. USA PATRIOT includes direct provisions on immigration. In fact, its primary focus is to harness resources to investigate foreigners already in the US. It is also considered as a start for the implementation of changes to the admission of immigrants (Lebowitz, Podheiser 2002, 876). Under this act, foreigners can be detained for an indefinite period of time (ibid, 880).

Hundreds of immigrants were determined to be of "special interest" to the investigation of the 9/11 terror attacks. However, the criteria applied in their detention were not clear. Many immigrants were randomly detained for routine immigration violations, including overstaying their visas, but were placed on the "special interest" list without having any connection to terrorism. These detentions mainly focused on Muslims and Arabs, with Egyptians and Pakistanis accounting for a little under half of the entire detainees (Patten, Wade 2011, 9). The exact number of those detainees is not clear as other reports speak of 1,000 Muslims being detained without being able to communicate with the outside World (Akram, Johnson 2002, 313). These practices clearly breach the American Constitution (Carey 2002, 399).

Other measures against immigrants included intensifying the vetting process for issuing visas and admitting refugees (Spencer 2008, 3). Additionally, the National Security Entry-Exist Registration System required the registration of foreign nationals of certain age groups and gender from 25 predominately-Muslim countries in the INS. Other requirements such as personal interviews and notification of any change of address, employment, and schools were also introduced for certain groups of immigrants (Lebowitz, Podheiser 2002). Those visiting the United States were further forced to follow special procedures as they were made to go through specially designated ports of entry when they leave the country. They have also to notify INS officers at the border about their departure. Moreover, Washington enhanced the security facilities along its borders, increasing their personnel. Deportations of illegal immigrants also considerably increased since the 9/11 terror attacks (ibid).

In January 2017, President Trump signed an executive order called the "Protection of the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States", banning citizens of seven predominately Muslim countries from entering the US for a period of 90 days. This law has caused a great deal of disruption, as it also banned the entry of permanent residents and students from these countries. It also caused protests in several U.S. states. After the U.S. courts challenged this executive order, Trump amended the ban to exclude the people with a close relationship to either a person or an entity in the U.S. He also excluded Iraq from the list. Trump promised in his presidential campaign to impose a temporary complete travel ban on all Muslims in the United States, including permanent residents (Collingwood et al. 2017). These extreme measures by Trump formally connect immigration, especially from predominantly Muslim countries, with terrorism, supporting the social construct linking immigration to terrorism.

After the November 2017 terror attack in New York by a beneficiary of the Lottery Diversity Program, President Trump vowed to terminate the program, blaming it for the terror attack (Trump 2017b).

In an apparent increase of linking immigration to security threats, President Trump has been pushing for building a wall along the 1,954-mile border with Mexico in order to keep the U.S. safe. While the main purpose of the border with Mexico is not preventing terrorism, the arguments about the possibility of infiltration of terrorists through the Mexican border have been repeatedly used for several years now. According to Alex Nowrasteh, only three terrorists crossed the border of Mexico into the U.S. They came as children, and their terror attack was foiled in 2007 (Nowrasteh 2016).

Indeed, the U.S. policies against immigration after the 9/11 terror attacks formally associate immigration with the possibility of terrorism, ranging from the incorporation of immigration entities into the DHS in 2003 to the travel ban.

2.2.2. The United Kingdom

The U.K. introduced the Terrorism Act in 2000, broadening terrorism to other terror organizations after it was solely attributed to Northern Ireland's dissidents. In this act, the U.K.

officially defined terrorism as the use of violence for political purposes with the objective of striking fear into the hearts of the public. In 2001, the U.K. passed the Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act (ATCSA), enhancing the Terrorism Act of 2000 with more provisions. Some of the provisions of the ATCSA are controversial, as they are incompatible with Article 5 of the European Convention on Human Rights (Huysmans, Buonfino 2008, 769). Titled "Immigration and Asylum", part 4 of ATCSA deals with detaining and deporting foreigners suspected of terrorism. This act has given the British Home Secretary the capacity to arrest foreigners suspected of planning terrorist attacks without trial for an indefinite time. The Home Office argued at the time that it was necessary to face the threat at hand and that the U.K. was in a state of public emergency. This act saw an increase in the deportation of illegal immigrants in the U.K. (Huysmans, Buonfion 2008, 768-769; Choudhury, Fenwick 2011). It also provided a legal institutionalization of the link between terrorism and immigration (Huysmans, Buonfion 2008, 774; Spencer 2008, 4).

The ATCSA stirred accusations against the U.K. from the EU that it is arresting people based on their ethnicity and nationality (Cornish 2005). A U.K. court passed a ruling in 2004, considering the extreme measures included in the ATCSA discriminatory against foreign people as the law gives the police the right to detain foreigners without indictment but not nationals even if they pose the same threat. Also, the court deemed these extreme measures "unnecessary" after the British authorities failed to prove that less extreme options were not possible (Tuvel 2008). Following the court's ruling, the U.K.'s Parliament in 2005 revoked the extreme provisions of ATCSA and adopted the "Prevention of Terrorism Act", which allows the detention of suspects of terrorism with the same measures included in the ATCSA but without discrimination between foreigners and citizens (ibid).

In 2006, a new act of terrorism was introduced, including new offenses such as condoning or glorifying terrorism. This act was drafted after a series of terror attack hit London in July 2005. The provisions of Terrorism Act in 2006 was severely criticized because it infringes on the rights of citizens, leading to revoking most of them, however, the provisions of the Terrorism Act in 2000 were still intact (ibid). Terrorism acts continued to develop new versions, but there was less discrimination against foreigners. Like the U.S., the U.K.'s policy response clearly linked

terrorism with immigration. Its direct response after the 9/11 attacks was to target foreigners and immigrants in an attempt to fight terrorism. This was a translation of the discourse to exteriorize terrorism.

2.3. Content analysis of media

In the age of globalization and technology, the media plays a powerful role in feeding information to the public and creating collective social constructs about issues. The media outlets report on incidents in any part of the world and their reporting have an impact on how people view issues. Previous research has underlined the role of the media in creating and sustaining stereotypes and having a huge impact on the perceptions of the public about terrorism issues (Sikorski et al. 2017, 826-827; Lerner et al. 2003, 148-150). The media analysis is very important, as it could give a comprehensive estimate of the securitization of immigration and the formation of the social construct linking immigration with terrorism. There was an over-lexicalization of security in immigration-related articles, underscoring the role of the media in securitizing immigration.

2.3.1. Results of American media analysis

The data shows that the security lexicons were used in the immigration-related articles in the United States. An average of 2.69 percent of the total terms used per article was security lexicons, as shown in the graph below. The number of lexicons, which were directly related to terrorism, was also relatively high given the context, accounting for an average of 0.25 percent of the terms per article. This also shows a high level of association between immigration and terrorism in the American media. Despite the importance of the economic aspect of immigration in terms of immigrants' contribution to or impact on the economy, only 0.01 percent of the vocabulary used was related to economy. The economic aspect puts into perspective how security and terrorism have become the dominating factors for immigration.

The US Media Analysis

0.01

0.25

2.69

■ 1 Security ■ 2 Terrorism ■ 3 Economy
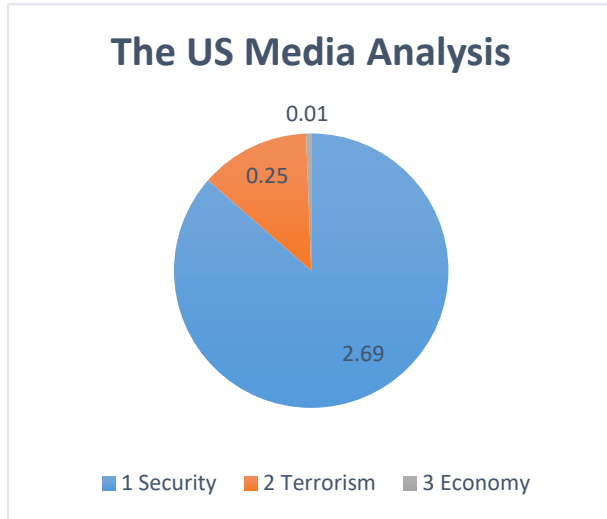
Figure 1. US media analysis
Source: Author's calculation based on analysis of articles by CNN and Fox News

2.3.1.1. American liberal vs conservative media

The graph below shows some differences between the coverage of the American liberal and conservative media outlets about immigration. The security vocabulary features considerably more in Fox News articles than the CNN's. Similarly, Fox News articles had slightly more terrorism-related lexicons, suggesting that they discuss terrorism more often when writing about immigration. It further slightly discussed the economic aspect of immigration slightly more. This indicates that both conservative and liberal media discuss security and terrorism extensively in their immigration reporting, but conservative media outlets use it more. The economic aspect of immigration, which used to be the main factor discussed, is eclipsed in terms of importance in both liberal and conservative media.
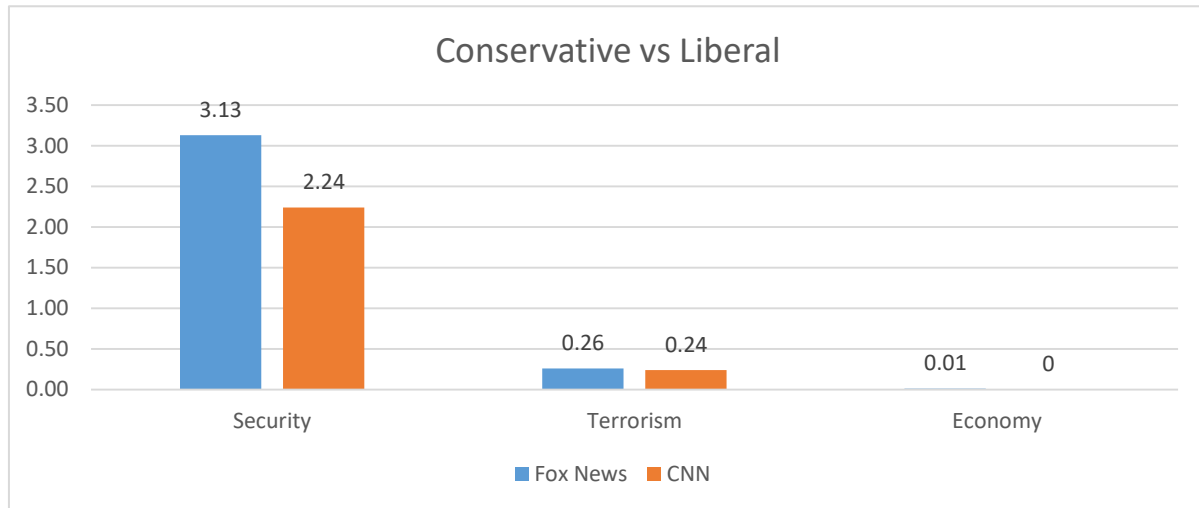
Figure 2. Conservative vs liberal media analysis
Source: Author's calculations on analysis of articles by CNN and Fox News

2.3.2. Results of British media analysis

The data surprisingly shows a considerably higher level of security lexicons used in the British media, reaching an average of 2.92 percent per article. The direct terrorism-related vocabulary was also significantly higher than the US, with an average of 0.50 percent per article, as shown in the graph below. Similarly, the economic terms were also slightly higher than the U.S. This could also be attributed to the media coverage about the impact of immigration on the economy or the abuse of asylum welfare in the country. Still, the economic aspect was extremely eclipsed by security and terrorism. The higher security and terrorism lexicons in the U.K. could indicate a high use of speech act by the British media. It further indicates a stronger role of the British media in constructing the social view associating immigration with terrorism.

UK Press Samples

- 1 Security: 2.92
- 2 Terrorism: 0.50
- 3 Economy: 0.03
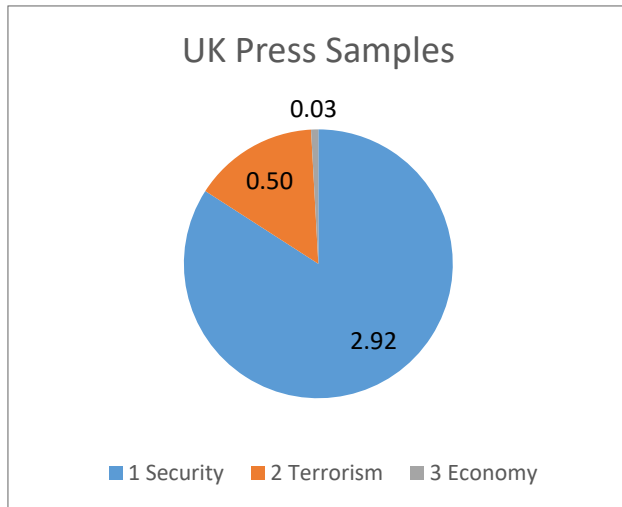
Figure 3. UK Press analysis
Source: Author's calculations based on analysis of the Guardian and Telegraph articles

2.3.2.1. British liberal vs conservative media

The graph below shows that there is a higher level of security-related lexicons in the Telegraph's coverage of immigration. While the security terms used in the Telegraph accounted for an average of 3.20 percent per article, the average of security-related terms stood at 2.63 percent in the Guardian. However, the number of the direct terrorism terms was higher in The Guardian's coverage, reaching 0.58 percent per article. The conservative Telegraph was slightly more interested in the economic aspect than the guardian was, with only 0.1 point higher.
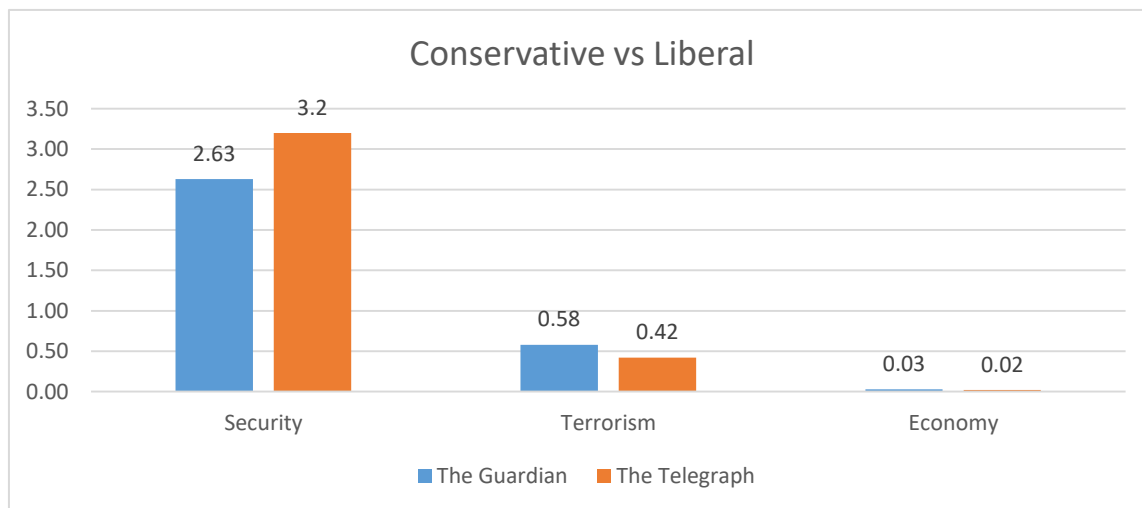
Figure 4. British's The Guardian vs Telegraph
Source: Author's own calculations based on an analysis of the Guardian and Telegraph articles

The data shows that terrorist attacks did not cause any surge in the use of security and terrorism lexicons in both American and British media outlets. A significant surge of security lexicon was rather noticed since Donald Trump took office in 2017 in the US. The media outlets with conservative tones are more prone to use more security-related terms as they tend to have views against immigration. While liberal media outlets could attempt to deny these allegations, this tool only identifies the presence of terms, as is the case with content analysis. Still, it serves the purpose, as the presence of these lexicons is sufficient to indicate the presence of speech act and the association between immigration and terrorism.

The results of this quantitative analysis indicate a high securitization of immigration in the media discourse. They further confirm the argument that the media outlets have a role in feeding and sustaining the social construct linking terrorism to immigration. The results of this research come in support of previous studies that proved the securitization of immigration in the West. The British media plays a more powerful role in constructing the association between immigration and terrorism, as evident from the over-lexicalization of security and terrorism terms in its articles about immigrants.

2.4. Measuring success of securitization

After discussing the discourse, legislation, and media in the previous sections, this part will measure the success of the securitizing move and speech act by highlighting some of the available opinion polls which refer to the audience. The persuasion of the audience by the speech act made by the securitizing actors indicates the success of the securitizing moves. This section will utilize available opinion polls compiled by several research centers. It will also reiterate the ratification of parliaments of some acts concerning immigrants needed for taking the extraordinary measures.

2.4.1. The United States

2.4.1.1. Legislative bodies

The U.S. Congress passed the PATRIOT Act with an overwhelming majority in 2001. Only one senator voted against it. It was also passed with an overwhelming majority in the House of Representatives, with 357 representatives voting for the act. Only 66 representatives voted against it (Robinson 2007, 4). This act, which was discussed in the second section, infringes *inter alia* the rights of immigrants and foreigners in the U.S. This underscores the success of getting the approval of the Congress and House of Representatives for these extraordinary measures as they are viewed to be necessary for national security. This act was renewed twice since its inception.

2.4.1.2. Public opinion

2.4.1.2.1. Support for travel ban

A majority of Americans showed their support for President Trump's travel ban on six predominately Muslim countries in an opinion poll compiled by Politico/Morning Consult. Sixty percent of respondents said they support the travel ban, while only 28 percent said they oppose it. The vast majority of Republican Party supporters expressed support of the ban, with 84 percent of respondents saying they are in favor. Independents also supported the ban, with 56 percent showing their support, while 30 percent opposed it. Democratic Party supporters were polarized as 46 percent opposed the ban, while 41 supported it (Politico 2017). However, other polls

showed different results, but the wording of the poll seemed to matter a lot. Americans showed support for the travel ban as long as the name of Trump was not mentioned (ibid). This ban extremely restricts the legal immigration from these countries.
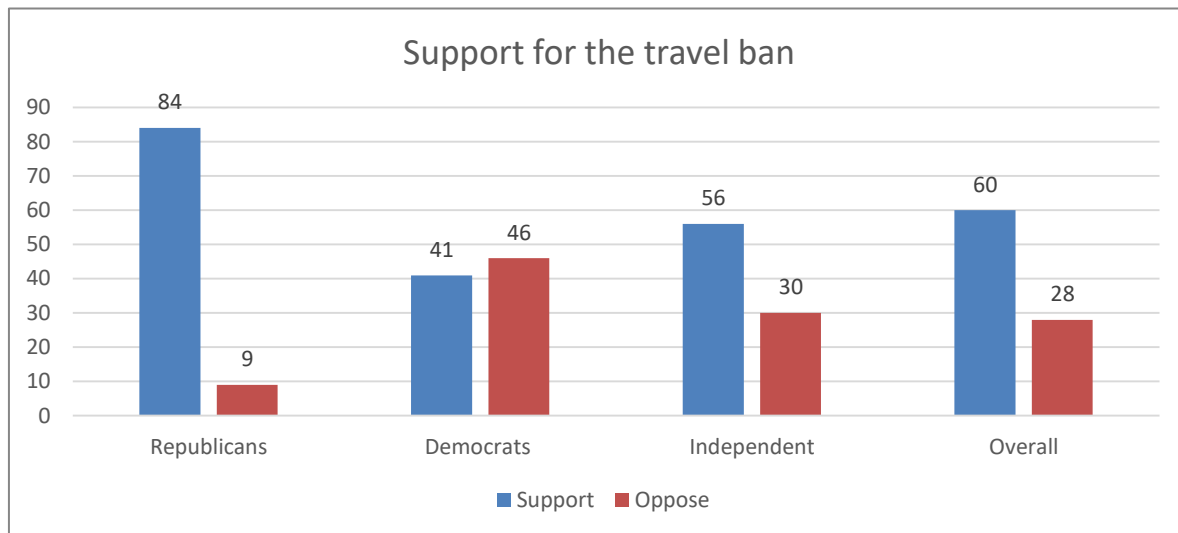
Figure 5. Support for travel ban among Americans

Source: Politico (2017)

2.4.1.2.2. Terrorists pretending to be refugees

In another opinion poll compiled by the France-based IPSOS research centre, 77 percent of Americans were worried that terrorists might pose as refugees to enter their country in order to carry out terror plots, compared with 72 in the U.K. (IPSOS 2016).
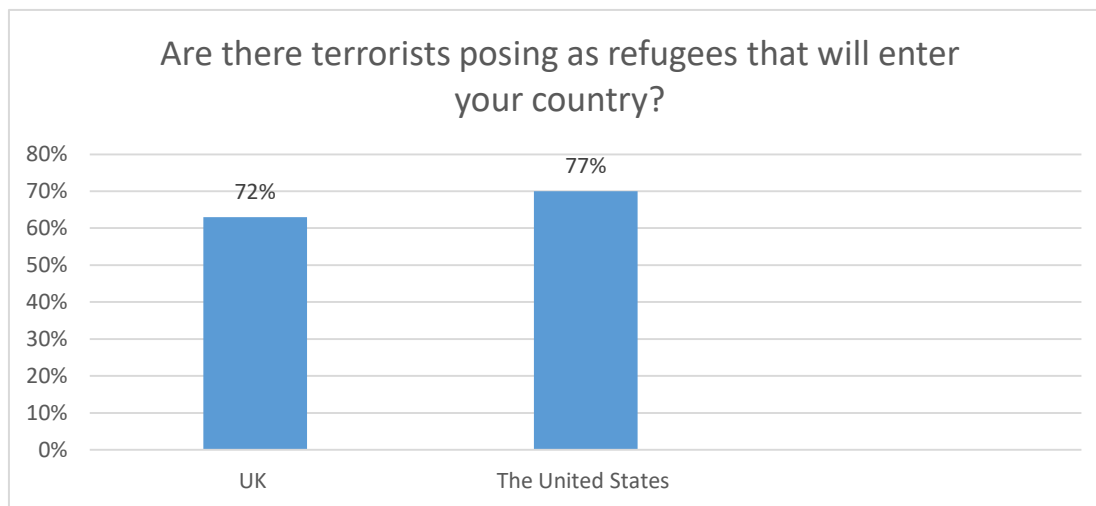
Figure 6. Worries about refugees and immigrants posing as refugees

Source: IPSOS

2.4.2. The United Kingdom

2.4.2.1. Votes of legislative bodies

The House of Commons passed the ATCSA, which contains 125 clauses and eight schedules on 114 pages, after only three days of debate and without much examination. The speed through which such an important act that had a great impact on civil liberties was found to be out of the ordinary. This act, discussed in the second section, has provisions that derogate from the European Convention of Human Rights as well as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Honeywood 2016, 31-33). Convinced by the argument of the existential threat, parliament did not hesitate to pass it. This indicates the success of rallying the support of the British parliament for such measures as they are portrayed as security priorities.

2.4.2.2. Public opinion

2.4.2.2.1. Refugees and terrorism

In an opinion poll compiled by the Pew Research Centre in 2016, a majority of British citizens opined that refugee flows would likely increase the terrorist threat in the country. 52 percent of British respondents said they believe that the flow of refugees will increase the threat of domestic

terrorism, while 41 percent said they don't. The percentage of those worried about terror threats coming with refugees was higher in other EU countries, such as Hungary and Poland, as the graph below shows (Wilke et al. 2016, 30). This indicates the effects of the securitizing actors and speech act on the opinion of the population and could be interpreted to lend credibility to the theories arguing that policies are a determinant of public opinion and not a consequence (Mettler, Soss 2004). Hungary and Poland have right-wing governments, which were among those who vehemently expressed their concerns of refugees, saying that they pose an existential threat to Europe. Citing security concerns arising from terrorism, both governments refused to take in refugees within the framework of the EU migrant relocation scheme.

Many Europeans concerned refugees will increase domestic terrorism

Refugees will __ in our country

	Increase the likelihood of terrorism	Not increase the likelihood of terrorism
Hungary	76%	18%
Poland	71	15
Germany	61	36
Netherlands	61	36
Italy	60	28
Sweden	57	40
Greece	55	33
UK	52	41
France	46	51
Spain	40	55
MEDIAN	59	36
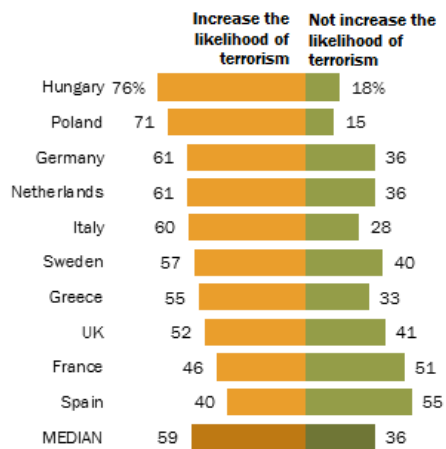
Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Figure 7. Concern about terrorism with refugees and immigrants
Source: (Wilke et al. 2016, 30.)

The respondents showed differences depending on their political orientations. While 87 percent of those supporting the U.K. Independence Party (U.K.IP) said they believe that refugees would increase the terrorism threat, only 39 percent of the Labour Party's supporters stated they believed so. Respondents of the Conservative Party who believe that terrorism will increase because of refugees and immigrants amounted to 60 percent (Wilke et al. 2016, 7).
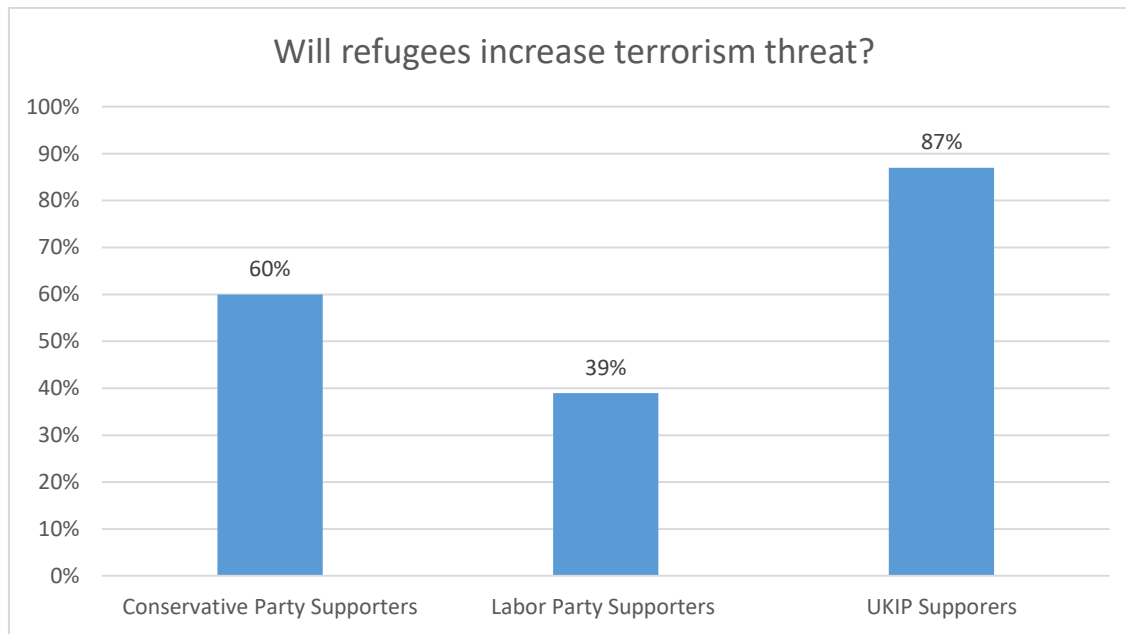
Figure 8. Differences in opinion based on political affiliation.
Source: (ibid).

2.5. Analysis and discussion of results

Terrorism was securitized, but with the securitization of terrorism immigration was involved in the process as well. The foreignness attached to terrorism, and depicting it to be driven by ideology and hate for democracy, is a strategic rhetoric used by the U.S. and British administrations to justify the extreme actions that ensued. As top securitizing actors, U.S. President Bush and British Prime Minister Blair depicted freedom, democracy, and sovereignty to be existentially threatened by terrorist foreigners. There was no mention of any conflict of interest or possible foreign-policy factors involved in triggering these terror attacks. These terrorists were only considered to be driven by extreme evil that attacks out of hate for democracy and freedom. In other words, they portrayed the situation to be a war between good and evil. There is no question that these terrorists are truly evil, and that their actions cannot be justified, but the use of language was strategically adopted to legitimize extraordinary actions taken by the two governments. These actions included multiple invasions of countries that left tens of thousands of people killed, in Afghanistan as well as in Iraq. They also somehow led to

the birth of ISIS, one of the most dangerous terror organizations in modern history. These wars were found to be justified by the audience as the 9/11 terror attacks provided effective facilitating conditions and a perfect context for the extreme actions that followed. This context, combined with the internal context represented by the political discourse, made these measures possible.

The discourse of the two leaders was essential to whip up collective opinion on the dangers of terrorism and the need for extraordinary measures. These extraordinary measures also included restrictions on immigration, and dealing with immigration as an important tool to fight terrorism. One of the facilitating factors for this was the foreign identity of the 9/11 perpetrators. The move to detain immigrants for an infinite time and with no trial would have been very unpopular if not for this context and its extraordinary conditions. Likewise, the move to merge immigration agencies into the DHS would probably have been found to be unnecessary if not for the securitization of immigration. It is very unlikely that the U.S. Congress would have approved the PATRIOT Act under normal circumstances. Similarly, it is unlikely that the British House of Commons would have passed the ATCSA with such speed and without sufficient deliberation.

Yes, terror attacks provide a receptive environment for the securitization of immigration. However, if the discursive practices were different, the outcome might have been different as well. For example, the discursive practices adopted are totally different whenever an American with no immigrant background and no suspicion of Muslim religious affiliation is involved in terrorism. The discourse usually adopted is that these individuals are suffering from mental health issues, but apart from that they are regular people. A case in point here is the discourse used after Stephen Paddock shot dead more than 50 people in Las Vegas in 2017. President Trump said it was an act of "pure evil", but did not call it terrorism, urging people to remain united and not to let violence break their social bonds (Trump 2017e). The shooter was widely reported by media outlets to be a mentally challenged man who liked to play video poker. ISIS claimed responsibility for the attack, but the FBI was quick to deny any link (The Independent 2017) because apparently the shooter did not fit the description. Yet when immigrants or Muslims are involved in terrorism, the storyline adopted is completely different: evil people, driven by hatred for democracy and freedom and the Western way of life. The actions are different as well. While immigration is restricted and immigrant communities are affected by the subsequent policies

when Islamist terror attacks occur, no such measures are experienced when domestic terrorism takes place, which underscores the importance of the discursive practices in depicting the threats.

Indeed, the political discourse helped legitimize a host of measures that would have been extremely unpopular and slammed as xenophobic if the context of the 9/11 terror attacks had not been provided. This underlines the importance of the context for the securitization of the issue, as the speech act becomes very effective. The terror attacks that continued to happen in the West after 9/11 continued to provide legitimacy and facilitating conditions to the actions taken against immigration, including Trump's travel ban or his initiation of the process to terminate the Diversity Visa Program.

Securitizing immigration was very clear by the Trump administration's decision to make public a report, claiming that around 3 out of 4 of terrorists killed or convicted were foreign-born. The speech act used is far from random as it was strategically used to seek the support of the audience for Trump's extreme immigration measures. This was evident by Trump's attempt to garner support for ending the chain immigration and Diversity Visa by citing this report.

The content analysis demonstrated a high level of security lexicons in immigration-related articles in the American and British media. The over-lexicalization of security terms in such articles underscores the important role of the media as a securitizing actor as well as in sustaining the social construct associating terrorism with immigration. These articles report about immigration or asylum seekers, yet security and terrorism are discussed in them, which substantiates the argument that the media have a role in securitizing immigration and feeding the social construct linking immigration to terrorism. The important economic aspect of immigration has been eclipsed by terrorism and security. Many of these articles discuss the possibility of infiltration of terrorists with refugee flows or the security implications of immigration, which could increase the prospects of terrorism in the long term. Such reporting has a great impact on the perceptions of the public about the issue.

The ratification of both the American and British legislative institutions of controversial bills indicates the success of the securitizing actors to get the support of the effective audience. This

41

needed support has made these bills possible. Similarly, the opinion polls in both countries which express concerns of immigrants, associate them with terrorism, or express support for extreme measures such as the travel ban are a testament for the persuasion of the general public by the speech act. Securitizing immigration has made these measures legitimate security precautions.

The results of the quantitative and qualitative research methods used in this chapter go hand in hand in confirming that immigration has been securitized and socially constructed to be linked with terrorism in both the U.S. and the U.K. The construction of the nexus between terrorism and immigration started after the 9/11 terror attacks in both countries with the use of political discourse and introduction of new laws and policies to restrict immigration and discriminately target immigrant communities, which formally linked immigration to terrorism.

There are striking similarities between both the U.S. and the U.K. in terms of political discourse and policies targeting immigrants. However, it is safe to say that the level of securitization of immigration in the United States is higher. The extreme policies adopted in the US, ranging from the incorporation of immigration entities into the DHS to Trump's travel ban, present proof for this. Furthermore, the opinion polls underscore this with a relatively higher level of concern about the terror threat that comes with immigration among the American citizens. Only the media analysis showed a great level of security lexicons in the British media, indicating the bigger role the British media plays in terms of depicting immigration as security.

The discourse of the conservative and right wing parties find its way with their supporters. This also goes in line with the coverage of their media outlets, which tend to use more security lexicons in the articles about immigration. This has been confirmed by the opinion polls, which show that the supporters of conservative and right-wing parties tend to express more concern of immigration and believe more in its link with terrorism.

After this chapter answered the first research question about whether immigration has been securitized and socially constructed to be linked with terrorism and how that happened, the next chapter will investigate whether immigration and terrorism are factually correlated or not

3. DOES IMMIGRATION INCREASE THE LIKELIHOOD OF TERRORISM?

3.1. Contagion and diffusion of Terrorism

As the name implies, contagion refers to the spread of certain behaviors, diseases or actions from one place to another or from a certain individual or a group to others. Contagion of political violence is "the complex set of processes by which one group's actions provides strategic and tactical guidance for groups elsewhere" (Gurr 1993, 175). The contagion theory indicates that individuals emulate the actions that have previous results in situations perceived to be of similarity to theirs (Ogunlade 1979). In terrorism, the contagion theory could mean that the possibility of transferring the intentions, willingness, terrorist techniques, and capabilities to conduct terrorist activities in a different space and time as long as there is a receptive environment (Braithwaite 2010; Brosius and Weimann 1991; Brynjar, Skjølberg 2000; Buhaug, Gleditsch 2008). The interaction which happens through immigration or movement of people across areas could result in the transfer of some cultural practices or beliefs (Braithwaite 2010; Brynjar and Skjølberg, 2000; Faber et al. 1984). However, terrorism in one place does not mean that terrorism will spill over to other places by default. This is because terrorist groups cannot form in all environments (Cliff, First 2013, 293). This is also supported by the theories of radicalization, which maintain that a society with a history of violence can provide for a breeding ground for terrorism (ibid; Conteh-Morgan 2004, 256).

Some scholars argue that immigration flows could provide a spatial link through which political violence and terrorism could diffuse, saying that the physical movement of immigrants, refugees, and terrorists could substitute for the physical borders and provide that spatial link (Heyman, Mickolus 1980; Lai 2007; Cliff, First 2013; Bove, Böhmelt 2016). Christina Cliff and Andrew First (2013) argued that like conflict, terrorism can diffuse from one place to another if certain

receive environment exists. However, the receptive environment is essential for terrorism to diffuse (Cliff, First 2013, 303-304). However, LaFree et al. (2018) found in an empirical study that spanned the period of 1970-2013 that contagious diffusion of terrorism is actually very rare and that noncontagious diffusion of terrorism happens more often than contagious diffusion (LaFree et al. 2017, 274-275).

Contagion theories have been supported and refuted when it comes to terrorism for decades now. Proponents of this theory argue that terrorism has affected countries which were unaffected by terrorism before because of immigration. Others throw doubt in these arguments and argue that immigrants or refugees are escaping poverty or terrorism and are not likely to engage in terror activities (Schmid 2016; Neumann 2016).

3.2. Literature review

Several research papers have been dedicated to researching the intricate and complex nature of the relationship between immigration and terrorism. Despite its importance, this area of study remains highly under-researched due to the lack of in-depth studies on the subject (Schmid 2016, 3). Indeed, only very few empirical studies were done on this topic as most scholars debated this topic but largely depended on "anecdotal" evidence (Bove, Böhmelt 2016, 3-4; Beck et al. 2017, 82).

3.2.1. Quantitative studies

The first comprehensive empirical study on the subject was undertaken by Vincenzo Bove and Tobias Böhmelt in 2016 (Bove, Böhmelt 2016, 25). In their study, they measured the number of terror attacks from 145 countries, considering the flow of immigration as a spatial link between states. Their study spanned the period of 1979-2000. They found that immigration from terrorism-prone countries could actually diffuse terrorism. However, they also find that immigration *per se* does not increase terror activity and could even decrease the terror activity (Bove, Böhmelt 2016, 25-26).

Another empirical research done on the subject was carried out by Ethan Beck et al. (2017), in which they argued that there is a positive correlation between immigration from countries where there is a high terror activity and terrorism. They largely based their assumptions on the previous research paper done by Bove and Böhmelt (2016). In their research, they compared the flow of asylum seekers with the number of terror attacks for the period of 2000-2015 in six countries, namely, Turkey, Greece, Germany, Australia, the United States, and Canada. Their quantitative study found that there are no significant correlations between the terror activities and inflows of asylum seekers in most countries except for Germany and, to an extent, Turkey. They argued that this correlation was because the inflows of asylum seekers into Germany were largely from countries which are home to high terrorist activity. For Turkey, they argued that it was internal politics and the proximity to countries ravaged by terrorism and conflict (Beck et al. 2017, 88-96).

Furthermore, Cliff and First (2013) found that terrorism does diffuse with the exodus of refugees and immigrants from neighboring states. To test the diffusion of terrorism, they formed state dyads — Lebanon–Israel, Colombia–Peru, and India–Pakistan — and found varying positive correlations (Cliff, First 2013, 303-304).

Some of the empirical attempts done before that claimed that immigration and terrorism are interrelated. Most of these empirical attempts were made in the United States in the wake of the 9/11 terror attacks. For example, Robert Leiken argued in his book *Bearers of Global Jihad* that terrorism and immigration are interrelated because nearly all terrorists in the West are immigrants. He reached this conclusion based on studying 212 terrorists killed or convicted in the West (Leiken 2004, 24).

Two years after his first study, Leiken co-authored a more detailed study with Steven Brooke (2006). This time, they studied 373 terrorists convicted or killed in the West. They said that 87 percent of those were immigrants, concluding that immigration and terrorism are linked (Leiken, Brooke 2006, 503-504). However, their research papers are questionable. Leiken (2004) and Leiken and Brooke (2006) based their research on a selective group of terrorists; they narrowed down their selection of terrorists to those affiliated with "groups of global reach", as President

George W. Bush put it (Bush 2001c). This sample cannot be generalized for the conclusion to be scientific. According to Alexander Spencer, the selection of variables for their quantitative research is "questionable if not outright wrong" (Spencer 2008, 7).

3.2.2. Qualitative studies

Furthermore, the emergence of qualitative studies supporting the argument that terrorism and immigration are linked included a report by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) that concluded that terrorism has become an immigration issue due to its transnational characteristic (IOM 2010, 6). Several other scholars argued that terrorism and immigration are linked and that the use of immigration as a tool of counterterrorism is of paramount importance in the global war on terror (Kis-Benedek 2016; Camarota 2002; Krikorian 2002; Kephart 2002& 2015; Malkin 2002).

One of the main arguments they predicated their research papers upon was that the 9/11 terrorists came to the U.S. from abroad. However, it's hard to consider the 9/11 terrorists as immigrants, for they were international terrorist operators who came legally to the U.S. on tourist visas. This underlines the weakness of their argument, as they appear to conflate travelers with immigrants. Using this argument, Mark Krikorian of the Centre for Immigration Studies stressed the importance of using immigration as an effective tool for counterterrorism, arguing "There is probably no more important defensive weapon in our arsenal than a well-functioning immigration system" (Krikorian 2002).

For his part, Kis-Benedek (2016) argued that the link between immigration and terrorism was proven with the Paris terror attacks in 2015, since some of the perpetrators got into Europe with immigration flows (Kis-Benedek 2016, 463).

However, other scholars and studies disagreed with the notion that immigration and terrorism are linked. For example, a report released by the UN Special Rapporteur on counter-terrorism and human rights Ben Emmerson in 2016 stressed that there is no evidence that terrorism and immigration are related (OHCHR 2016).

"While there is no evidence that migration leads to increased terrorist activity, migration policies that are restrictive or that violate human rights may, in fact, create conditions conducive to terrorism" (ibid).

Most scholars who used qualitative approaches to argue that immigration and terrorism are not linked depend on the notion that people who flee poverty or terrorism are unlikely to be involved in terrorism (Beck et al. 2017, 83). Those scholars include Alexander Spencer (2008, 2012), Alex Schmid (2016), Peter Neumann (2016), María Saux (2007), and Mary Fan (2008). Some of them consider the link between immigration and terrorism to be a social construct (Spencer 2012, Mary Fan (2008).

The director of the International Centre for the Study of Radicalization and Political Violence Peter Neumann (ICSR) concurred with Emmerson and argued that that first-generation immigrants who escaped poverty (immigrants) or conflict and oppression (refugees) are unlikely to get involved in terror activities. These people tend to be very preoccupied with building a new life in their host countries and have little time for extremism or politics (Neumann 2016).

Alex Schmid shared Neumann's thinking. He stressed the need to take terror incidents involving immigrants "for what they are 'exceptions'" (Schmid 2016, 49). Schmid provided a very interesting take on the construction of the link between refugees and terrorism in Europe. He said the pictures of terror attacks in both Brussels and Paris have coincided with pictures of flows of refugees and immigrants crossing into Europe, creating the impression that these two cases represent one problem (ibid, 49).

For his part, Alexander Spencer (2008) stressed that the studies supporting the link between immigration and terrorism could easily be questioned. He argued that sacrificing the rights of minority immigrant communities for majority citizens is easy in light of national security and that the use of immigration as a counter-terrorism tool could be self-defeating (Spencer 2008, 7). His argument came in concurrence with Donald Kerwin (2005), who argued that the West's power is basically based on the access to the global economic market. That is why it is not efficient for the

West to adopt restrictive immigration procedures, which could end up isolating their economic networks (Kerwin 2004, 750).

3.3. Quantitative analysis

3.3.1. United States

3.3.1.1. Immigration inflows vs terror attacks

There is a weak negative correlation with the coefficient correlation R number being -0.1377. The value of coefficient of determination (R2) stood at 0.019, as shown in the graph below. The P-Value stood at 0.600054, which is not significant even at the 0.01 level.

Figure 9. Immigration flows vs terror activity in the US
Figure 10. Correlation
Sources: Author's calculations based on data from OECD (2000-2015), DHS (2016), GTD (2000-2016)

3.3.1.2. Flow of immigrants vs fatalities of terrorism

The year 2001 marks the highest number of fatalities inflicted by terror attacks in the history of the United States, as terrorism claimed the lives of 3,005 people. Of those, 2,098 were killed in the September 11 terror attacks, according to the GTD (2016). However, the fatalities inflicted in terror attacks do not show a significant positive correlation with the flow of immigrants, as

shown in the graphs below. The value of R2 is 0.0021. The R value stood at 0.0454 and the P-Value is 0.863836. The correlation is not significant at the 0.01 level.
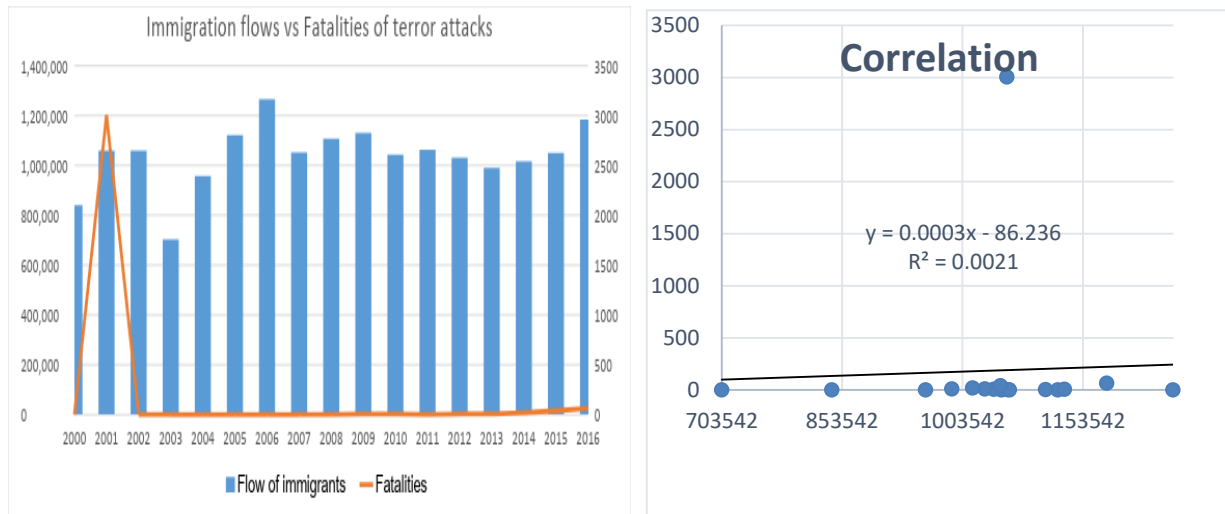
Figure 11. Immigration inflows vs fatalities of terror attacks in the US
Figure 12. Correlation
Sources: Author's calculations based on data from OECD (2000-2015), DHS (2016), GTD (2000-2016)

3.3.1.3. Immigration flow Vs Islamic Terrorism

The value of R is 0.278 and the value of R2 stands at 0.0773. The P-Value is 0.279967, which is not significant even at the 0.01 level. Although there is no official statistics on the number of Muslims immigrating to the US, a study by the Pew Research Centre (2013) estimated that the annual Muslim immigrants increased from approximately 50,000 in 1992 to 100,000 in 2012. The study found some annual variations in terms of the numbers of Muslim immigrants but generally numbers were increasing (Pew Research Centre 2013). It is also hard to identify the religion of immigrants based on their country of citizenship as the largest Muslim population resides in the Asia-Pacific region, with India being home to the second largest Muslim population in the World (Desilver, Masci 2017).

Figure 13. Immigration flows vs Islamist terrorism in the US

Figure 14. Correlation

Sources: Author's calculations based on data from OECD (2000-2015), DHS (2016), GTD (2000-2016)

3.3.1.4. Foreign-born population vs terrorist attacks

When applying the foreign-born population as the independent variable, the result does not change, as there is still no significant positive correlation between the annual growth of foreign-born population and the number of terror attacks, as shown in the graphs below. There seems to be a weak correlation with the value of R being 0.1166 and R2 number being 0.0136. The P-Value stands at 0.655842, which is not significant at the 0.01 level.
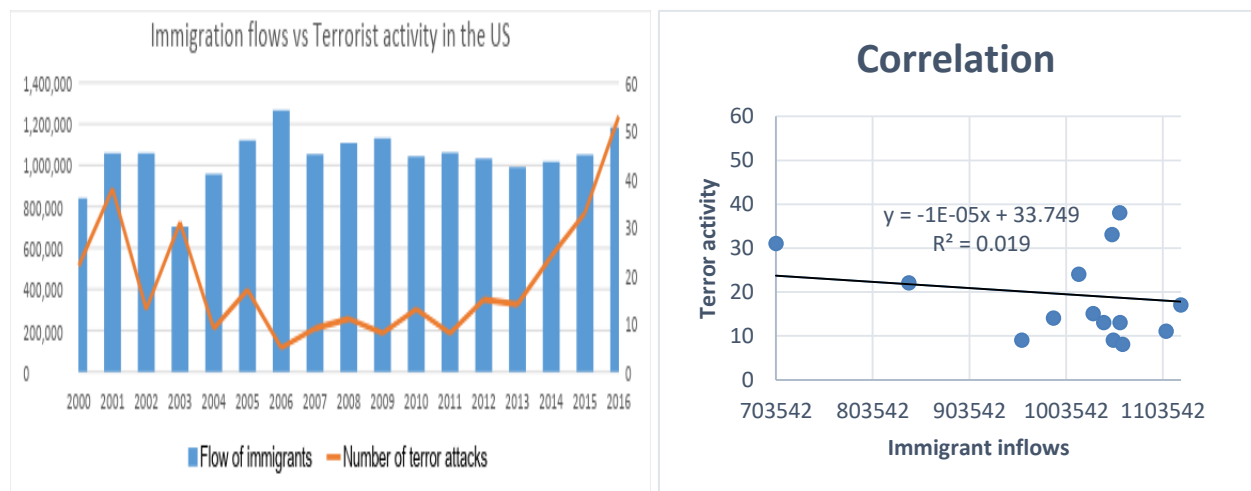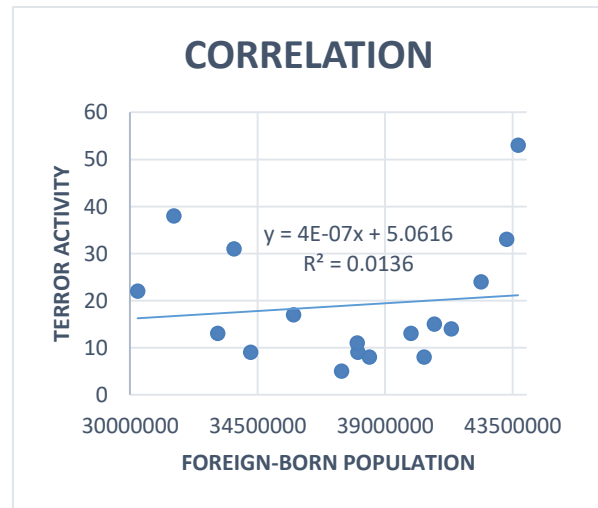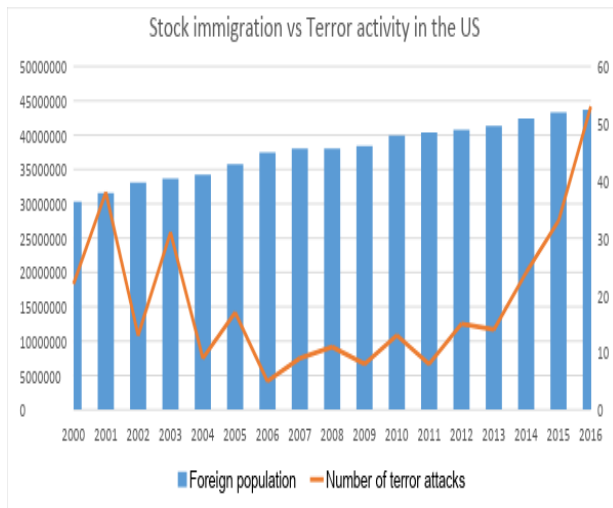
Figure 15. Stock immigration vs terror activity in the US
Figure 16. Correlation
Sources: Author's calculations based on data from OECD (2000-2015), CIS (2016), GTD (2000-2016)

3.3.1.5. Foreign-born Population vs fatalities of terrorism

The graphs below show that the fluctuations in the fatalities of terrorism seem to have little relevance with the annual growth of foreign-born population. There is a weak negative correlation with the R value being -0.3767. The value of R2 stood at 0.1419. The P Value is 0.136903. This result is not significant at the 0.01 level.

Figure 17. Foreign-born population vs fatalities of terrorism attacks in the US
Figure 18. Correlation
Sources: Author's calculations based on data from OECD (2000-2015), CIS (2016), GTD (2000-2016)

3.3.1.6. Foreign Population vs Islamist Terrorism

There seems to be a moderate correlation between the growth of foreign-born population and the Islamist terror activity in the US with the value of R being at 0.588. The value of R2 stood at 0.3458. The P-Value is 0.013046, which indicates a significant correlation at the 0.01 level. The number of terror attacks bearing the hallmarks of Islamist terrorism increased to 4 in 2001 then decreased to zero and then reached the climax in 2015 and 2016 to reach 7 and 8 terror attacks respectively. When running the regression analysis and the f score a significant correlation is still

identified even at the 0.05 level. In the first 12 years or from 2000-2011, no significant correlation was found with the R value being 0.0242 and R2 standing at 0.0006. However, the correlation in the recent five years showed an extremely significant correlation with the R value reaching 0.9346 and R2 0.8735. This means that the growth of foreign-born population in the last five years could answer to 87 percent of Islamist terror attacks.

There is no official data on the number of Muslims in the United States as there are no questions about religion in the census. However, a survey by Pew Research Center estimated the number of Muslims at 3.45 million or 1.1 percent of the total US population in 2017. The number of foreign-born Muslim Americans account for 58 percent of the total Muslim Americans (Pew Research Centre 2018).
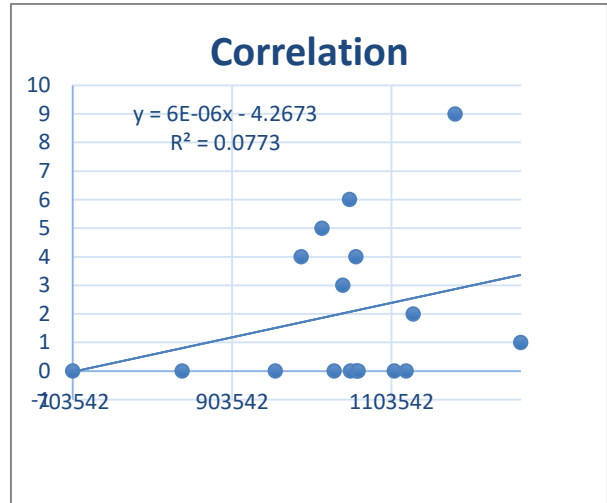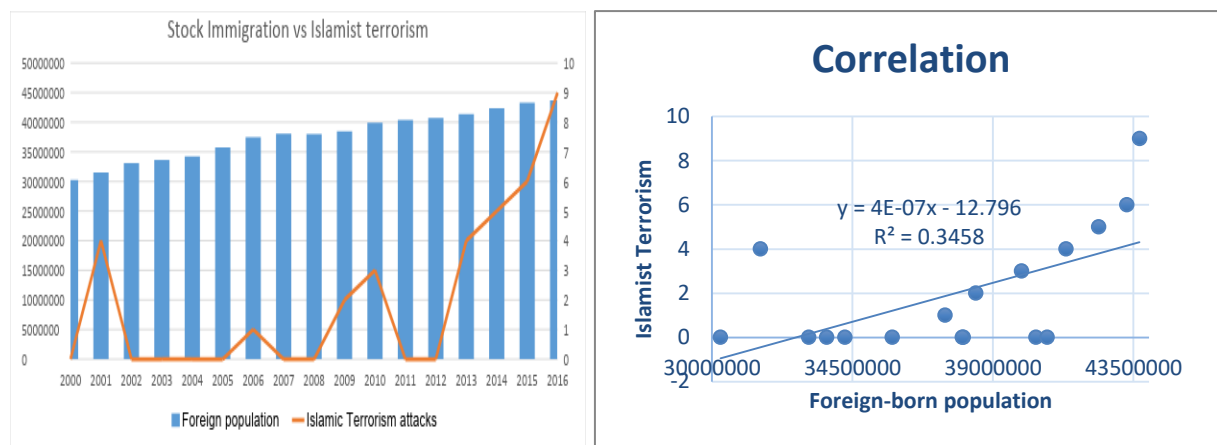

Figure 19. Stock immigration vs Islamist terror in the US
Figure 20. Correlation
Sources: Author's calculations based on data from OECD (2000-2015), CIS (2016), GTD (2000-2016)

3.3.2. The United Kingdom

3.3.2.1. Immigration flow vs terrorist attacks

Like the United States, the flow of immigrants has a weak correlation with the number of terror attacks in the U.K. As the graph below shows, the number of terror attacks actually significantly decreased after 2001 and started to grow again since 2012. North Ireland's dissidents are responsible for a great portion of terror attacks in the U.K., according to GTD's data (2016). The

value of R2 is 0.0384 and the value of R stood at 0.1958, which indicates a weak correlation. The P value is 0.451361, which is not significant at the 0.01 level.
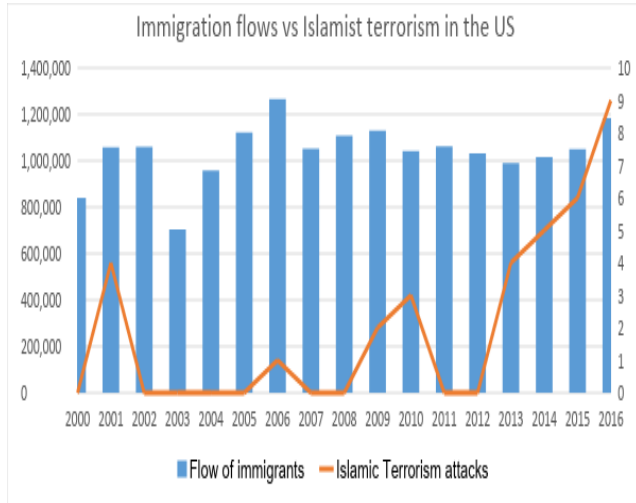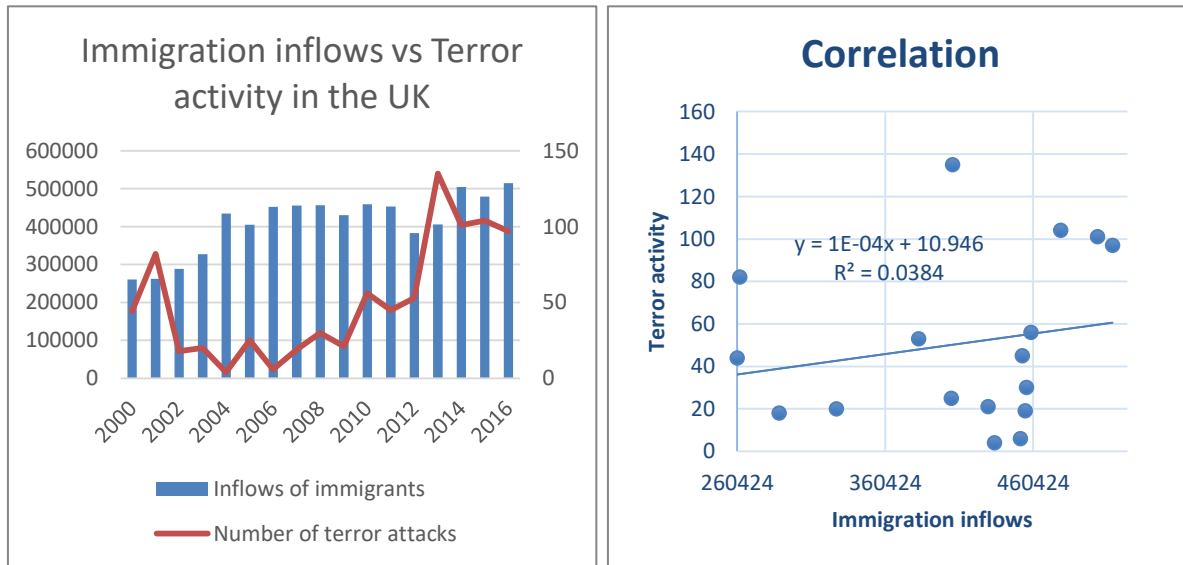

Figure 21. Flow of immigration vs terror activity in the UK
Figure 22. Correlation
Sources: Author's calculations based on data from OECD (2000-2015), Fullfact.org (2016), GTD (2000-2016)

3.3.2.2. Immigration inflows vs fatalities of terrorism

As the graphs below show, the number of fatalities inflicted in terror attacks has no positive correlation with the number of immigrant inflows either. In fact, there seems to be a weak negative correlation. The value of R stood at -0.0448 and the value of R2 at 0.002. The P-Value is 0.866836, which is not significant at the 0.01 level.
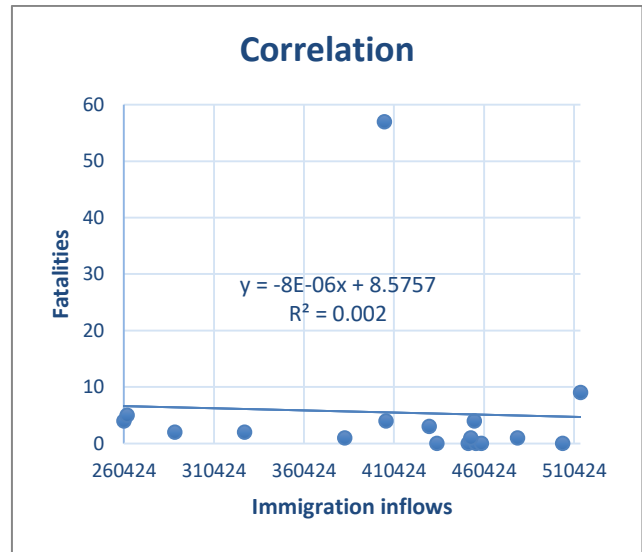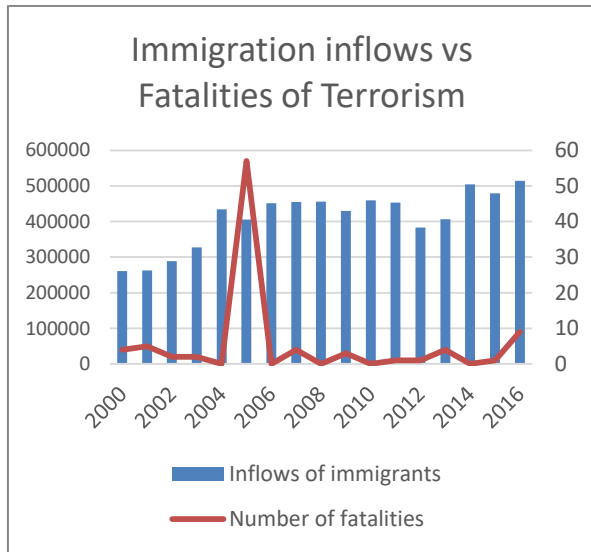
Figure 23. Immigration flow vs fatalities of terrorism

Figure 24. Correlation

Sources: Author's calculations based on data from OECD (2000-2015), Fullfact.org (2016), GTD (2000-2016)

3.3.2.3. Immigration flow vs Islamist terrorism

As the graphs below show, the number of fatalities inflicted in terror attacks has no significant correlation with the number of immigrant inflows either. The value of R stood at 0.1505 and the value of R2 at 0.0226. The P Value is 0.564235, which is not significant at the 0.01 level. There is no official data about the annual Muslim immigrants to the UK, but Muslim majority countries like Pakistan and Bangladesh as well as countries with sizeable Muslim populations like India continue to be among the biggest sources of immigrant inflows to the UK (Migration Observatory 2017). India and Pakistan have a high terror activity (Global Terrorism Index 2016).
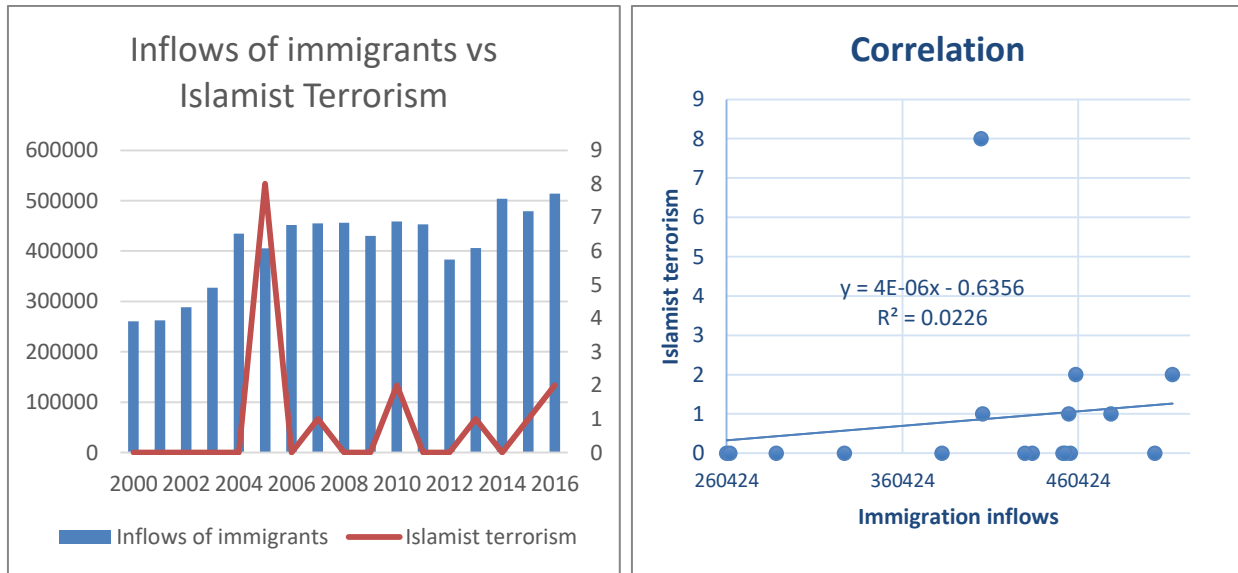
Figure 25. Immigration flow vs Islamist Terror

Figure 26. Correlation

Sources: Author's calculations based on data from OECD (2000-2015), Fullfact.org (2016), GTD (2000-2016)

3.3.2.4. Foreign-born Population vs terrorist activity

As the figure 28 shows, the annual increase of the number of foreign-born population shows a moderate correlation with the number of terror attacks in the country. The value of R is 0.6508, while the value of R2 stands at 0.4235. The P Value stands at 0.004666, which indicates a significant correlation at the 0.01 level. When running the regression analysis and the f score a significant correlation still identified even at the 0.05 level. The adjusted R2 also stood at .385 (see appendix 2.2.5.).

The Countries accounting for the majority of the foreign-born population in 2015 were Poland (9.5 percent), India (9 percent), Pakistan (5.9 percent), Northern Ireland (4.5 percent), and Germany (3.3 percent), according to Migration Observatory (2017).
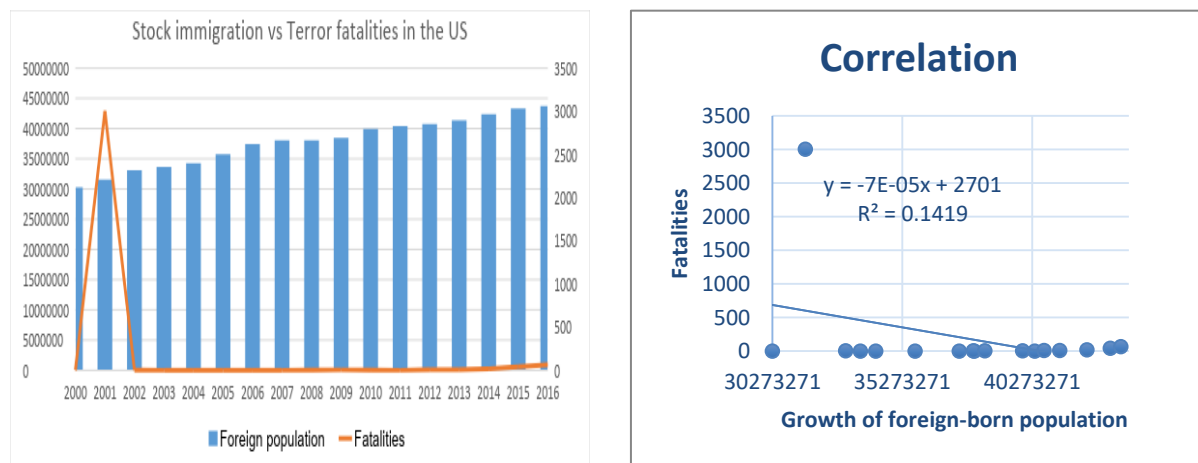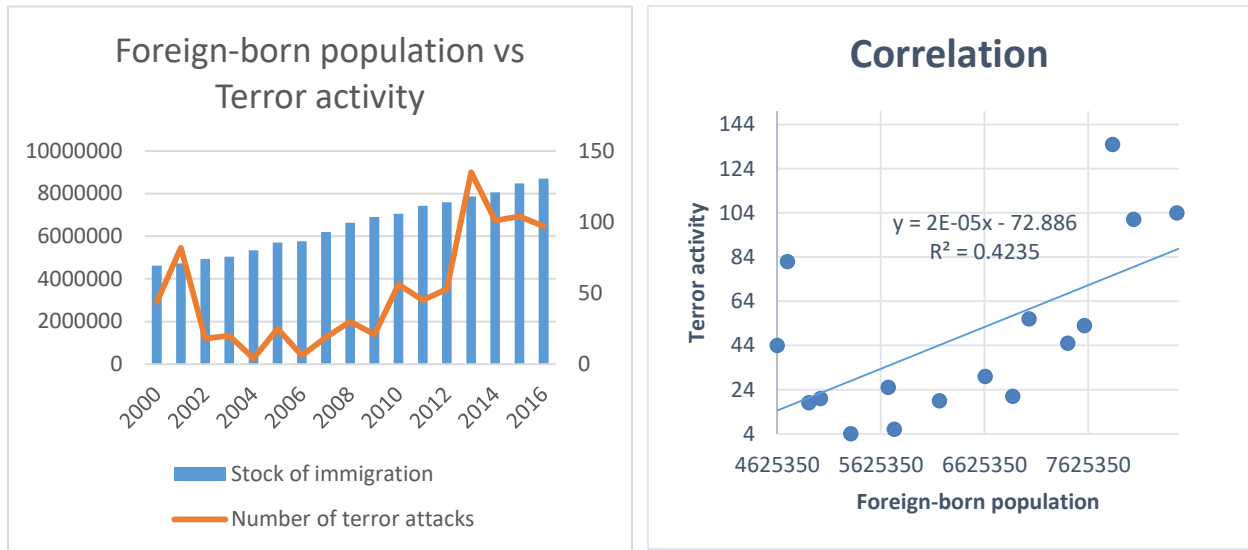
Figure 27. Foreign-born population vs terror attacks

Figure 28. Correlation

Sources: Author's calculations based on data from OECD (2006-2015), Eurostat (2016), The Migration Observatory (2000-2005) and GTD (2000-2016)

3.3.2.5. Foreign-born population vs fatalities of terrorism

While the number of terror attacks showed moderate correlation with the growth of foreign-born population, the fatalities of terrorism shows a weak negative correlation with the growth of foreign born population. The value of R stands at -0.1426, and the value of R2 is 0.0203. The P Value stands at 0.58668, which is not significant even at the 0.01 level.
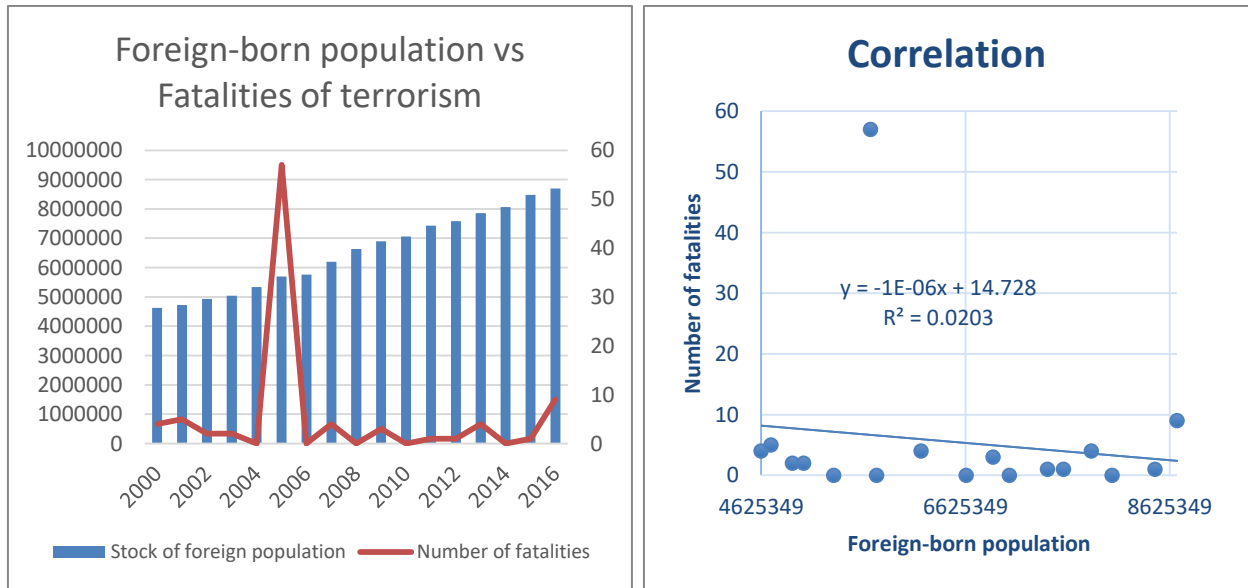
Figure 29. Growth of foreign-born population vs fatalities of terrorism

Figure 30. Correlation

Sources: Author's calculations based on data from OECD (2006-2015), Eurostat (2016), The Migration Observatory (2000-2005) and GTD (2000-2016)

3.3.2.6. Foreign-born population vs Islamist terrorism

There seems to be no significant correlation, either, between the growth of foreign-born population and Islamist terror activity in the U.K. The value of R2 stood at 0.015, and the value of R at 0.0392. The P-Value stood at 0.881261, which is not significant at the 0.01 level. According to the latest official census in 2011, the number of Muslims in the U.K. was 2,706,066, accounting for 4.8 percent of the total English and Welsh population (The Muslim Council of Britain 2015, 22). Citizens of countries with sizeable Muslim populations, including Pakistan, Bangladesh, India, and Nigeria, are on the list of the top ten countries of origin of the foreign-born population in the U.K. (Migration Observatory 2017).
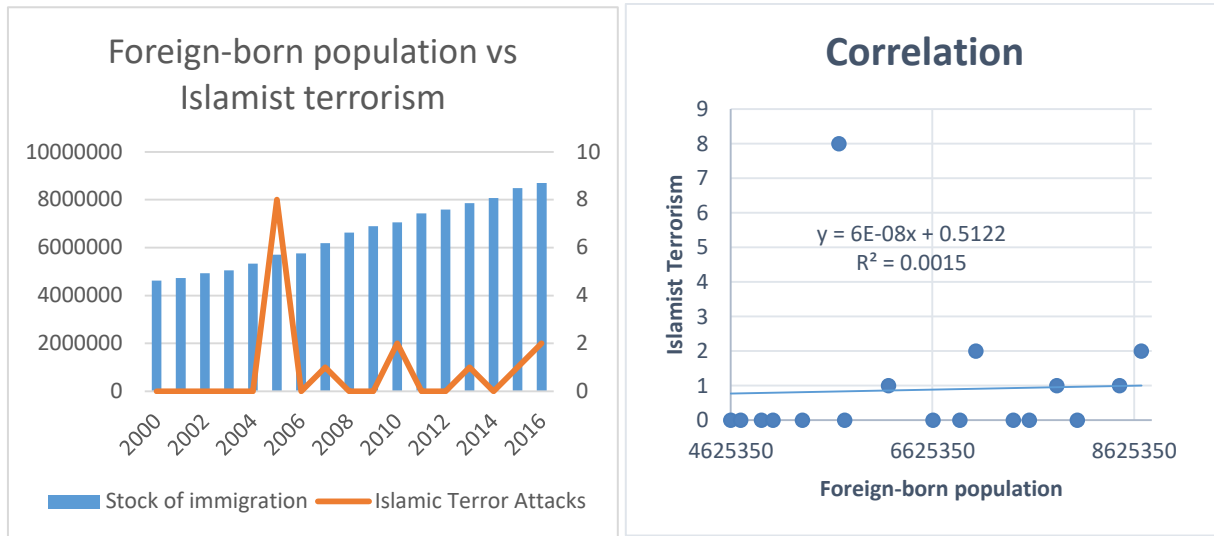
Figure 31. Foreign-born population vs Islamist terrorism
Figure 32. Correlation
Sources: Author's calculations based on data from OECD (2006-2015), Eurostat (2016), The Migration Observatory (2000-2005) and GTD (2000-2016)

3.3.5. Analysis of results

Previous quantitative studies have different views about the link between terrorism and immigration. The recent studies find that immigration as such does not increase the prospects of terrorism, but immigration from terror-prone countries does. This section carried out a statistical analysis of the U.K. and the U.S. The number of terror attacks, fatalities of terror attacks, and Islamist terrorism were used as dependent variables, while the annual inflows of immigrants and growth of foreign-born population were the independent variables. Apart from significant positive correlations between the growth of foreign-born population and Islamist terrorism for the last 5 years of the examined period in the U.S. and a moderate correlation between the growth of foreign-born population and terror attacks in the U.K., the correlations were generally weak, sometimes negative, and all insignificant. Even in the case of the U.K., where a moderate correlation between the growth of foreign-born population and terror activity was identified, the correlation between the growth of foreign-born population and Islamist terrorism was weak and insignificant. The correlation with fatalities of terrorism showed a weak negative correlation.

Therefore, the increase of immigration inflows and growth of foreign-born population generally did not increase the probability of terrorism in the same year. It also did not increase the fatalities of terrorism. These results could be interpreted to confirm recent study findings that immigration as such does not increase the prospects of terrorism, and first-generation immigrants do not increase the possibility of terrorism. Whether the finding that immigration from terror prone countries increases the likelihood of terrorism was not checked due to the lack of sufficient data for some countries for the investigated period.

The lack of sufficient correlations indicates the lack of rigorous evidence for the perceived strong and cause-effect relationship between immigration and terrorism. It also throws more doubt into the foundation upon which the securitization was predicated upon.

There is a huge gap between reality and perception when it comes to terrorism. This study shows that Islamist terrorism only accounts for a fraction of the total number of terror attacks in both the U.S. and the U.K. within the period of 2000-2016. While Islamist terrorism made up 1.74 percent of the total terror attacks in the U.K., it accounted for 10.5 percent of the total terrorist attacks in the US (see appendices 3 & 4). The number in the U.K. is less than proportional since Muslims account for 4.8 percent of the total population. However, 10.5 percent in the US seems to be disproportionate with the number of Muslim population in the US.

However, those terror attacks which bear the hallmarks of Islamist terrorism tend to inflict more fatalities than the others. For example, the deaths inflicted by attacks carried out by Islamist groups accounted for 64.5 percent of the total death toll of terrorism in the U.K. In the U.S., Islamist terrorist attacks resulted in the death of a striking 97.8 percent of all terrorist attacks. This, however, includes the fatalities of 9/11, which alone accounts for almost 95 percent of the death toll.

SUMMARY

This thesis argues that immigration has been securitized and socially constructed to be linked to terrorism in both the United States and the United Kingdom after the 9/11 terror attacks. It provides a thorough explanation, detailing how immigration has been securitized and became linked to terrorism in the public opinion. The political discourse and the policies that targeted immigrants and treated immigrant communities as a threat after 9/11 created a collective social construct that immigration and terrorism are related. The media outlets also have a role in feeding and sustaining this alleged relationship as they tend to write about terrorism and security in immigration-related articles, giving the impression that immigration necessarily leads to increased terrorism and disruption of security.

The 9/11 terror attacks and the foreign identities of the perpetrators have provided a facilitating condition and an effective context without which the speech act would not have been so effective. The securitization of immigration has justified and legitimized a host of measures that would have otherwise been slammed as xenophobic and faced with strong opposition. Indeed, citing security to restrict immigration has proved to be very effective.

The legislative bodies' ratification of some controversial bills that directly targeted immigrants in both the U.S. and the U.K. is a testament that the securitizing move was successful and received the approval of the effective audience. The available opinion polls cited in this thesis also show that the majority of the general public seems to be convinced of the speech act. Therefore, the signs of successful securitizing move have been present.

The terror attacks that continued to happen in the West after 9/11 continued to provide legitimacy and facilitating conditions for the actions taken against immigration. This was evident in Trump's

decision to start the process to terminate the Diversity Visa Program immediately after a beneficiary of the program was involved in a terror attack in New York in 2017.

Despite the securitization of immigration and its perceived link to terrorism, there is a lack of evidence to support this alleged relationship. This thesis provides a statistical analysis to examine the correlations between immigration and terrorism, and finds that except for significant correlations between the growth of the foreign-born population and Islamist terrorism in the U.S. for the last five years (2012-2016), and growth of the foreign-born population and terrorism in the U.K., the correlation tests were generally weak, sometimes negative, and all insignificant. These findings lend credibility to recent research that found that immigration as such doesn't increase terrorist activity. It also supports the previous arguments that first-generation immigrants tend to not increase the likelihood of terrorism.

There is a huge gap between reality and perception when it comes to terrorism. While Robert Leiken (2004, 24) concluded that nearly all terrorists in the West were immigrants, and a recent US report claimed that almost 3 out of 4 terrorists were foreign-born, empirical research findings show different results. Such studies only focus on international terrorism, making their findings misleading. For example, Islamists, who are believed to be behind the bulk of terrorist attacks, were found to account for only 1.74 percent of the total terror attacks in the U.K. and 10.5 percent in the US (see appendices 3 & 4). However, Islamists terror attacks account for the majority of fatalities incurred in terror attacks, claiming 64.5 percent of fatalities of terrorism in the U.K., and 97.8 percent in the US.

More research needs to be directed towards finding answers why Islamist terrorism tends to incur more fatalities. Furthermore, more comprehensive quantitative studies are highly recommended to study the intricate relationship between immigration and terrorism as this area of study is extremely important for policymakers, yet it seems to be highly understudied.

LIST OF REFERENCES

Akram, S., Johnson, K. (2002). Race, Civil Rights, and Immigration Law after September 11, 2001: The Targeting of Arabs and Muslims. – *New York University Annual Survey of American Law,* Vol 58, Issue 3, 295-356.

Baele, S., Sterck, O. (2015). Diagnosing the Securitisation of Immigration atthe EU Level: A New Method for StrongerEmpirical Claims. – *Political Studies*, Vol 63, No. 5, 1120–1139.

Baker-Beall, C. (2013). The evolution of the European Union's 'fight against terrorism' discourse: Constructing the terrorist 'other'. – *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol 49, No. 2, 212-238

Balzacq, T. (2005). The Three Faces of Securitization: Political Agency, Audience and Context. – *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol 11, No. 2, 171-201.

BBC. (2011). Profile: Germaine Lindsay. Accessible: http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-12621385, 11 May 2018.

Beck, E., Diza,U., Searl, A. (2017*).* Bridges and Bandits on the Road to the New Jerusalem: A Study of the Correlation Between Immigration and Terrorism. – *Channels: Where Disciplines Meet*, Vol 2, No. 1, 81-110.

Braithwaite, A. (2010). Resisting infection: How state capacity conditions conflict contagion. – *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol 47, No. 3, 311-319.

Brosius, H., Weimann, G. (1991). The Contagiousness of Mass-Mediated Terrorism. – *European Journal of Communication*, Vol 6, No. 1, 63-75.

Buhaug, H., Gleditsch, K. (2008). Contagion or Confusion? Why Conflicts Cluster in Space. – *International Studies Quarter*, Vol 52, No. 2, 215-233.

Buncombe, A. (2018). Trump administration's 'bogus' terror report had no Homeland Security input despite claims otherwise. – The Independent. Accessible:

https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/us-politics/trump-terror-report-homeland-security-dhs-justice-department-jeff-sessions-terrorism-statistics-a8172436.html, 9 May 2018.

Balzacq, T. (Ed.). (2011). *Securitization Theory: How Security Problems Emerge and Dissolve*. London: Routledge.

Blair, T. (2005). British Prime Minister Speech British Prime Minister Tony Blair spoke to the United Nations General Assembly about topics including terrorism and nuclear proliferation. –*C-Span* Accessible: https://www.c-span.org/video/?188863-3/british-prime-minister-speech, 20 March 2018.

Blair, T. (2001). British PM reacts to NY and WDC attacks. – YouTube. Accessible: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GTI-ML3eOT4, March 21 2018.

Bove, V., Böhmelt, T. (2016). Does immigration induce terrorism? – *The Journal of Politics*, Vol 78, No. 2, 1-36.

Brown, G. (2009). Gordon Brown: crucible of terror threatening British streets. – The Telegraph. Accessible: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/afghanistan/5231429/Gordon-Brown-crucible-of-terror-threatening-British-streets.html, 21 March 2018.

Bulley, D. (2007). Exteriorizing Terror: Inside/Outside The Failing State on 7 July 2005. – *Queen's University Belfast*, 1-27.

Bush, G. (2001a). The text of President Bush's address Tuesday night, after terrorist attacks on New York and Washington. – CNN. Accessible: http://edition.cnn.com/2001/US/09/11/bush.speech.text/, March 27 2018.

Bush, G. (2001b). Text of Bush's act of war statement. – BBC News. Accessible: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/1540544.stm, March 15 2018.

Bush, G. (2001c). George W. Bush State of the Union Address - 9-20-01. – YouTube, Accessible: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9a8UBPogUnE, 28 March 2018.

Bush, G. (2002). President Bush Signs Homeland Security Act. – White House archives. Accessible: https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/11/20021125-6.html, 23 March 2018.

Buzan, B. (2006). Will the 'global war on terrorism' be the new Cold War? – *International Affairs*, Vol 82, No. 6, 1101-1118.

Buzan, B., Wæver, O., Wilde, J. (1998*). Security: A new framework for analysis*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Carey, H. (2002). Immigrants, Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism – *Peace Review,* Vol. 14, No. 4, 395-402.

Campoy, A., Timmons, H. (2018). The Trump administration used bad math in its "foreign terrorists" report. Accessible at: https://qz.com/1180762/trumps-dhs-and-doj-are-overcounting-foreign-born-terrorists/, 9 May 2018.

Ceyhan, A., Tsoukala, A. (2002). The Securitization of Migration in Western Societies: Ambivalent Discourses and Policies. – *Alternatives*, Vol 27, No. 1, 21-39.

Choudhury, T., Fenwick, H. (2011). The impact of counter-terrorism measures on Muslim communities. – *International review of law*, computers and technology. Vol, 25, No. 3, 151-181.

CIS. (2017). U.S. Immigrant Population Hit Record 43.7 Million in 2016. – Central of Immigration Studies, accessible: https://cis.org/Report/US-Immigrant-Population-Hit-Record-437-Million-2016, 5 May 2018.

Cliff, C., First, A. (2013). Testing for Contagion/Diffusion of Terrorism in State Dyads. – *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism,* Vol 36, No. 4, 292–314.

Collingwood, L., Lajevardi, N., Oskooii, K. (2018). A Change of Heart? Why Individual-Level Public Opinion Shifted Against Trump's "Muslim Ban". – *Political behaviour*, 1-38.

Cornish, P. (2005). The United Kingdom in *"Europe Confronts Terrorism"*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 146-167.

Conteh-Morgan, E. (2004). *Collective political violence: An introduction to the theories and cases of violent conflicts*. New York: Routledge.

Dearlove, R. (2016). Brexit would not damage UK security. – Respect Magazine, March 23, Accessible: https://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/magazine/brexit-would-not-damage-uk-security, 20 March 2018.

Department of Justice and Homeland Security press release. (2017). Three out of Four Individuals
Convicted of International Terrorism and Terrorism-Related Offenses were Foreign-Born.
Accessible:
https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/doj-dhs-report-three-out-four-individuals-convicted-international-terrorism-and-terrorism March 15 2018.

Desilver, D, Masci, D. (2017). *World's Muslim population more widespread than you might think*. – Pew
Research Center, Accessible:
http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/01/31/worlds-muslim-population-more-widespread-than-you-might-think/, 8 April 2018.

DHS. (2017). Lawful Permanent Residents (LPR): U.S. Lawful Permanent Residents: 2016 (database).
[online] https://www.dhs.gov/immigration-statistics/lawful-permanent-residents, (30 April 2016).

Eurostat. (2017). Foreign-born population by country of birth, 1 January 2017 (database). [Online]
http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:Foreign-born_population_by_country_of_birth,_1_January_2017_.png&oldid=377933, (5 April 2018).

Faber, J., Houweling, W., and Siccama, G. (1984). Diffusion of War: Some Theoretical Considerations
and Empirical Evidence. – *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol 21, No. 3, 277-288.

Fan, M. (2007). The Immigration-Terrorism Illusory Correlation and Heuristic Mistake. – *Harvard
Latino Law Review*, Vol 10, No. 1, 34-52.

Fullfact. (2017). *Why do immigrants come to the UK?* Accessible:
https://fullfact.org/immigration/why-do-international-migrants-come-uk/, 10 May 2018.

Global Terrorism Index. (2016). – Institute for Economics & Peace, 1-104.

Gurr, T. (1993). Why Minorities Rebel: A Global Analysis of Communal Mobilization and Conflict since
1945. – *International Political Science Review,* Vol 14, No. 2, 161-201.

Henley, J., Jamieson, A. (2017). Anti-immigration politicians link London attack to migrant policy.
Accessible:
https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/mar/23/anti-immigrant-politicians-link-london-attack-migrant-policy, 20 March 2018.

Healy, P., Barbaro, M. (2015). *Donald Trump Calls for Barring Muslims From Entering U.S.* Accessible:

https://www.nytimes.com/Healy/first-draft/2015/12/07/donald-trump-calls-for-banning-muslims-from-entering-u-s/, 1 April 2018.

Heyman, H., Mickolus, E. (1980). "Observations on 'Why Violence Spreads? – *International Studies Quarterly,* Vol 24, No. 2, 299–305.

Honeywood, C. (2016). Britain's Approach to Balancing Counter-Terrorism Laws with Human Rights. – *Journal of Strategic Security,* Vol 9, No. 3, 28-48.

Huysmans, J. (2000). The European Union and the securitization of migration. – *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol 38, No. 5. 751-777.

Huysmans, J. (2002). Defining social constructivism in security studies: The normative dilemma of writing security. – *Alternatives, Vol 27, No. 1, 41-62.*

Huysmans, J. (2011). What's in an act? On security speech acts and little security nothings. – *Security Dialogue,* Vol, No. 5, 371-383.

Huysmans, J., Buonfino, A. (2008). Politics of exception and unease: Immigration, asylum and terrorism in parliamentary debates in the UK. – *Political studies*, Vol 56, No. 4, 766-788.

IBM Corp (2013). IBM SPSS Statistics for Windows, Version 22.0. Armonk, NY: IBM Corp.

IOM. (2010). *International Terrorism and Migration.* – IOM, 1-47.

IOM. (2018). *World Migration Report 2018.* – IOM, 1-364.

IPSOS. (2016). *Global Views on Immigration and the Refugee Crisis*. Accessible: https://www.ipsos.com/en/global-views-immigration-and-refugee-crisis, 29 March 2018.

Jarvis, L. (2010). Stakeholder security: the new western way of counter-terrorism? – *Contemporary Politics,* Vol 16, No. 2, 173-188.

Kerwin, D. (2005). The use and misuse of national security rationale in crafting US refugee and immigration policies. – *International Journal of Refugee Law*, Vol 17, No. 4, 749-763.

Kis-Benedek, J. (2016). Illegal immigration and terrorism. – *Journal of Security and Sustainability Issues*, Vol 5. No. 4, 455-464.

Krikorian, M. (2002). *Asymmetrical Warfare and Immigration.* – Centre of Immigration Studies, Vol. 1, No. 6. Accessible:

https://cis.org/sites/cis.org/files/articles/2002/mskni1016.html

Kurzman, C. (2018). Muslim-American Involvement with Violent Extremism, 2017. – *Triangle Center on Terrorism and Homeland Security*, 1-9.

LaFree, G., Xie, M., Matanock, A. (2018). The Contagious Diffusion of Worldwide Terrorism: Is It Less Common Than We Might Think? – *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Vol 41, No. 4, 261-280.

Lai, B. (2007). Draining the Swamp': An Empirical Examination of the Production of International Terrorism, 1968–1998. – *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, Vol 24, No. 4, 297–310.

Laque, E. (2010).Immigration Law and Policy: Before and After September 11, 2001. – *Social Sciences Journal*, Vol 10, No. 1, 25-34.

Lebowitz, L., Podheiser, I. (2002). A Summary of the Changes in Immigration Policies and Practices after the Terrorist Attacks of September 11, 2001: The USA Patriot Act and Other Measures" – *University of Pittsburgh Law Review*, Vol. 63, pp. 873-888.

Leiken, R. (2004). Bearers of Global Jihad? Immigration and National Security after 9/11. – *The Nixon Research Centre,* 1-151.

Leiken, R., Brooke,S.(2006). The Quantitative Analysis of Terrorism and Immigration: An Initial Exploration. – *Terrorism and Political Violence*. Vol 18, No. 4, 503-521.

Lerner, J., Gonzalez, R., Small, D., Fischhoff, B. (2003). Effects of fear and anger on perceived risk of terrorism. – *Psychological Science*, Vol14, No 2, 144–150.

Loshitzky, Y. (2010). *Screening Strangers: Migration and Diaspora in Contemporary European Cinema (New Directions in National Cinemas*. Bloomington Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Luke, R., Dück, E. (2016). 9/11 and Paris Compared: The Same Old Securitization Story? – *The European Consortium for Political Research*, 1-24.

Mettler, S., Soss, J. (2004). The consequences of public policy for democratic citizenship: Bridging policy studies and mass politics. *Perspectives on politics*, Vol 2, No. 1, 55-73.

Migration Observatory. (2017b*). Migrants in the UK: An Overview*. [Online] http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/migrants-in-the-uk-an-overview/#kp1, (6 April 2018).

Migration Policy Institute (2017). U.S. Immigrant Population and Share over Time, 1850-Present (database). [Online] Accessible: https://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub/charts/immigrant-population-over-time, (6 April 2018).

Milton, D., Spencer, M., Findley, M. (2013). Radicalism of the Hopeless: Refugee Flows and Transnational Terrorism. – *International Interactions,* Vol 39, No 5, 621-645.

Minitab Statistical Software (2010). [Computer software]. State College, PA: Minitab, Inc. (www.minitab.com)

Montgomery, J. (2017). *Polish President: 'There is no doubt the growing wave of terrorism is linked to migration*. Accessible: http://www.breitbart.com/london/2017/09/16/polish-president-no-doubt-growing-wave-terrorism-linked-migration/, 20 March 2018.

Neumann, P. (2016). *The Refugees are not the problem.* – The Security Times, February 2016, 26. Accessible: https://www.securityconference.de/en/discussion/the-security-times/, 10 April 2018.

Nicklels, H., Hickman, L., Silvestri, S. (2012). Constructing 'suspect' communities and Britishness: Mapping British press coverage of Irish and Muslim communities, 1974–2007. – *European Journal of Communication*, 135-151.

Nowrasteh. A. (2016). *Have Terrorists Illegally Crossed the Border?* Cato Institute. Accessible: https://www.cato.org/blog/have-terrorists-illegally-crossed-border, 10 May 2018.

Nowrasteh, A. (2018). *New Government Terrorism Report Provides Little Useful Information.* – Cato Institute. Accessible: https://www.cato.org/blog/new-government-terrorism-report-nearly-worthless, 10 May 2018.

OECD. Foreign born population (database). [Online] https://data.oecd.org/migration/foreign-population.htm, (5 April 2018).

OECD. International Migration: Flow of foreign population by nationality (database). [Online] https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=MIG, (6 April 2018).

OECD (2016). International Migration: Stock of foreign-born population by country of birth. [Online] https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=MIG, (6 April 2018).

OHCHR. (2016). *Refugees and terrorism: "No evidence of risk" – New report by UN expert on counter-terrorism.* Accessible: http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=20734, 18 April 2018.

Ogunlade, J. (1979). Personality Characteristics Related to Susceptibility to Behavioral Contagion. – *Social Behaviour and Personality,* Vol 7, No. 2, 8-205.

Pantazis, C., Pemberton, S. (2009). From the 'Old' to the 'New' Suspect Community: Examining the Impacts of Recent UK Counter-Terrorist Legislation. – *The British Journal of Criminology*, Volume 49, No 5, 646–666.

Patten, W., Wade, E. (2011). Human Rights implications of post-9/11 immigration policies: a look back Ten years late. – *Center for Immigrants' Rights Clinic Publications,* Vol 9, No 1, 1-67.

Peirce, G. (2008). Was it like this for the Irish? – *London Reviews of Books*, Vol 30, No. 7, 3-8.

Penn State Law Immigrants' Rights Clinic and Penn State School of International Affairs. *(2011).* The 9/11 Effect and its Legacy on U.S. Immigration Laws: Essays, Remarks, and Photographs. – *Center for Immigrants' Rights Clinic Publications*, Vol 9, 1-67.

Pennebaker, J.W., Booth, R.J., Boyd, R.L., & Francis, M.E. (2015*). Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count: LIWC2015*. Austin, TX: Pennebaker Conglomerates (www.LIWC.net).

Pew Research Center. (2013*). The Religious Affiliation of U.S. Immigrants: Majority Christian, Rising Share of Other Faiths*. Accessible: http://www.pewforum.org/2013/05/17/the-religious-affiliation-of-us-immigrants/, 2 April 2018.

Pew Research Center. (2018). *Muslims in America: Immigrants and those born in U.S. see life differently in many ways.* Accessible: http://www.pewforum.org/essay/muslims-in-america-immigrants-and-those-born-in-u-s-see-life-differently-in-many-ways/, 15 April 2018.

Piazza, J. (2009). Is Islamist terrorism more dangerous?: An empirical study of group ideology, organization, and goal structure. – *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol 21, No. 1, 62-88.

Politico. (2017). *Poll: Majority of voters back Trump travel ban*. Accessible: https://www.politico.com/story/2017/07/05/trump-travel-ban-poll-voters-240215, February 26 2018.

Robinson, M. (2007*). Freedom in an Era of Terror: A Critical Analysis of the USA Patriot Act. – *Justice Policy Journal*, Vol 4, No. 1, 1-48.

Roe, P. (2008). Actor, audience (s) and emergency measures: Securitization and the UK's decision to invade Iraq. – *Security Dialogue,* Vol 39, No. 6, 615-635.

Saux, M. (2007). Immigration and Terrorism: A Constructed Connection. – *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*, Vol 13, No. 13, 57–72.

Schmid, A. (2016). Links between Terrorism and Migration: An Exploration. – *The International Centre for Counter-Terrorism: Hague*, Vol 7, No. 4, 162.

Sikorski, C., Schmuck, D., Matthes, J, Binder, A. (2017). Muslims are not Terrorists: Islamic State Coverage, Journalistic Differentiation between Terrorism and Islam, Fear Reactions, and Attitudes toward Muslims. – *Mass Communication and Society*, Vol 20, 825–848.

Spencer, A. (2008). Linking Immigrants and Terrorists: The Use of Immigration as an Anti-Terror Policy. – *The Online Journal of Peace and Conflict Resolution*, Vol 8, No. 1, 1-24.

Spencer, A. (2012*).* The social construction of terrorism: media, metaphors and policy implications. *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Vol 15, No. 3, 393-419.

Taureck, R. (2006). Securitization Theory and Securitization Studies. – *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Vol 9, No 1, 53-61.

The Independent (2017). *Las Vegas shooting: Isis claims responsibility for deadliest gun massacre in modern US history*. Accessible: https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/las-vegas-isis-shooting-claims-stephen-paddock-responsibility-latest-a7978941.html, 14 May 2018.

The Muslim Council of Britain. (2015). British Muslims in Numbers. – *Muslim Council of Britain*, 1-78.

Trump, D. (2017a). *President Trump's claim that 'nearly 3 in 4' convicted of terrorism are foreign-born*. Washington Post, accessible: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2018/01/22/president-trumps-claim-that-nearly-3-in-4-convicted-of-terrorism-are-foreign-born/?utm_term=.0ad6a8359c2b, 18 March 2018.

Trump, D. (2017b). *Trump asks Congress to end diversity visa lottery program*. YouTube, accessible: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vXHKAJjHFwg

Trump, D. (2017c). *Trump On Refugees: Look At What's Happening Last Night In Sweden*. YouTube, accessible: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sCTyd_ihCqE, 5 May 2018.

Trump, D. (2017d). *President Donald Trump Calls to Terminate Diversity Visa Program after NYC Terror Attack*. YouTube, Accessible: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aWodQiZR06E, 6 May 2018.

Trump, D. (2017e). *'Our Unity Cannot be Shattered by Evil.' Read President Trump's Remarks on Las Vegas Shooting*. *Time,* Accessible: http://time.com/4965168/read-donald-trump-las-vegas-shooting-transcript/, 11 May 2018.

Trump, D. (2015). *Full text: Donald Trump announces a presidential bid*. – Washington Post, accessible: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2015/06/16/full-text-donald-trump-announces-a-presidential-bid/, March 17 2018.

Tuval, J. (2008). Anti-*Terrorism Legislation in Britain and the U.S. after 9/11*. – The Israel Democracy Institute, accessible: https://en.idi.org.il/articles/6936, 5 March 2018.

UN. (2017*).* International Migration Report. – *United Nations*, 1-31.

UNHCR. (2017). Figures at a Glance. – UNHCR, accessible: http://www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html, 26 April 2018.

Walt, S. (1991). The Renaissance of Security Studies. – *International studies quarterly*, Vol 35, No 2, 211-239.

Warren, Z., Power, S. (2015). It's contagious: Rethinking a metaphor dialogically. – Culture & Psychology, Vol 21, No. 3, 359-379.

Williams, M. (2003). Words, images, enemies: Securitization and international politics. – *International studies quarterly*, Vol 47, No. 4, 511-531.

Weiss, D. (2018). *Experts say Justice Department manipulated statistics on foreign-born terrorists*. Accessible at: http://www.abajournal.com/news/article/experts_say_justice_department_manipulated_statistics_on_percentage_of_fore/, 9 May 2018.

Wilke, R., Stokes, B., Kimmons, K. (2016*).* Europeans Fear Wave of Refugees Will Mean More Terrorism, Fewer Jobs. – Pew *Research Centre,* 1-44.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. LIWC dictionary used for the media analysis

Security	Terrorism	Economy
abatement	alert	Mexico
aggression	alqaeda	Mexican
airland	ISIS	labor*
airpower	ISIL	poverty
alliance	Daesh	resources
ammunition	claim responsibility	Jobs
amphibious	antipersonnel	Welfare
anarchy	Arab	Low-skilled
APT	assassi*	Economy
arm*	attack	Wage*
assault	Bin	Loss
atomic	bomb*	Social benefits
attack	coerc*	Benefits
authority	counteract*	Economic
Baader	Islamist*	migrants
balance	bomber	Burden
ballistic	danger*	financial
battle	fear	taxpay*
biological	fundamentalis*	tax*

bipolar*	guerrilla	Workforce
blitzkrieg	Hamas	cost
block*	infiltrat*	housing
bullet	Pakistan	Compete
capabilit*	Palestine	Profit
capitulat*	radical*	purchas*
casualt*	strike	returns*
catastroph*	suicide	stocks
ceasefire	hit*	swap
chechnya	surveillance	value
chemical	terror*	wealth*
clos*	threat	build*
collaps	Terrorist	entrepreneur*
combat*	Detonat*	supply
compel*	explos*	Competition
compromise	Suici*	Money
concession	Shot*	Interest
conciliat*	blow up	Insurance
conflict*	Blew up	Infrastructure
contain*	Hijack*	currency
control*	Gun*	invest*
cooperat*	Run over*	trade
counteract*	extrem*	devalua*
counterinsurgen*	shooting	depreciat*
countervail*	monster*	credit

coup	militia*	corruption
crim*		budget
crisis		drought
critical		mortgage
cybersphere		assets
cyberwar		construction
damag*		bond
danger*		yields
decisive		debt
defen*		revenue
demilitaris*		loan
demobilis*		
destab*		
destruct*		
détente		
deter*		
dictator		
dilemma		
disarm*		
disaster		
disease		
disintegrat*		
disobedience		
dispute		
division		

domin*		
drugs		
embargo		
emergency		
enemy		
escalation		
evil		
existential		
expeditionary		
explos*		
extraordinary		
faction		
failed		
fear		
fight*		
firearms		
FLN		
forbid*		
force*		
freedom		
friction		
gang		
gaz		
genocide		
globalization		

guerrilla		
Guevara		
Gulf		
hard		
hazard*		
hegemon*		
homeland		
hostage		
identity		
illegal*		
illicit		
imminen*		
incumbent		
infiltrat*		
inhuman		
insecur*		
insurgen*		
intelligence		
interdependen*		
interdiction		
Interpol		
intervention		
invade*		
invasion		
IRA		

kill*		
landmine		
law*		
liberat*		
Libya		
Malacca		
militar*		
missile		
munition*		
muslims		
narcotics		
nationalis*		
NATO		
nazi		
netwar		
nonproliferation		
Korea		

offensive		
oil		
OSCE		
overwhelm*		
partisan		
police		
power		

preempt*		
prevent*		
proliferat*		
protect*		
puniti*		
racis*		
rescue		
resist*		
resolution		
Resources		
Response		
retaliation		
revenge		
revolution		
rival*		
rogue		
safe		
SALT		
SALW		
sanction*		
sarin		
scarc*		
seapower		
secur*		
separatis*		

shock		
shortage*		
sovereign*		
stabilis*		
strateg*		
strike		
surge		
tactic*		
target		
traffic*		
transnational		
uprising		
values		
vietnam		
violen*		
war*		
water		
weapon*		
WMD		
wound*		
cartel*		
rape*		

Source: Baele, Sterck (2015, 1135-1137), the author did some additions to the original dictionary to fit the purpose of the study.

Appendix 2. Quantitative Analysis

2.1. The United States

2.1.1. Immigrant inflows vs terrorist activity

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Range	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance
Immigration inflow	17	562587.00	703542.00	1266129.00	1039843.1176	126333.35461	15960116488.235
Terror activity	17	48.00	5.00	53.00	19.0000	13.01442	169.375
Valid N (listwise)	17						

Correlations

		Immigration inflows	Terror activity
Immigration inflows	Pearson Correlation	1	-.138
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.299
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	255361863811.765	-3622079.000
	Covariance	15960116488.235	-226379.937
	N	17	17
Terror activity	Pearson Correlation	-.138	1
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.299	
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	-3622079.000	2710.000
	Covariance	-226379.937	169.375
	N	17	17

2.1.2. Immigrant inflows vs fatalities of terrorism

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Range	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance
Immigration inflows	17	562587.00	703542.00	1266129.00	1039843.1176	126333.35461	15960116488.235
Fatalities	17	3005.00	.00	3005.00	185.5294	726.76330	528184.890
Valid N (listwise)	17						

Correlations

		Inflows	Fatalities
Immigration inflows	Pearson Correlation	1	.045
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.431
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	255361863811.765	66739367.941
	Covariance	15960116488.235	4171210.496
	N	17	17
Fatalities	Pearson Correlation	.045	1
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.431	
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	66739367.941	8450958.235
	Covariance	4171210.496	528184.890
	N	17	17

2.1.3. Immigrant inflows vs Islamist terrorism

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Range	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance
Immigration inflows	17	562587.00	703542.00	1266129.00	1039843.1176	126333.35461	15960116488.235
Islamist terrorism	17	9.00	.00	9.00	2.0000	2.73861	7.500
Valid N (listwise)	17						

Correlations

		Inflows	Islamist terrorism
Immigration inflows	Pearson Correlation	1	.278
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.140
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	255361863811.765	1539115.000
	Covariance	15960116488.235	96194.688
	N	17	17
Islamist terrorism	Pearson Correlation	.278	1
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.140	
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	1539115.000	120.000
	Covariance	96194.688	7.500
	N	17	17

2.1.4. Foreign-born population vs terrorist activity

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Range	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance
Stock immigration	17	13426729.00	30273271.00	43700000.00	37785921.8824	4112578.52763	16913302145964.363
Terror activity	17	48.00	5.00	53.00	19.0000	13.01442	169.375
Valid N (listwise)	17						

Correlations

		Stock immigration	Terror activity
Stock immigration	Pearson Correlation	1	.117
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.328
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	270612834335429.720	99822812.000
	Covariance	16913302145964.357	6238925.750
	N	17	17
Terror activity	Pearson Correlation	.117	1
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.328	
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	99822812.000	2710.000
	Covariance	6238925.750	169.375
	N	17	17

2.1.5. Foreign-born population vs fatalities of terrorism

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Range	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance
Stock immigration	17	13426729.00	30273271.0 0	43700000. 00	37785921.8 824	4112578.52 763	169133021 45964.363
Fatalities	17	3005.00	.00	3005.00	185.5294	726.76330	528184.890
Valid N (listwise)	17						

Correlations

		Stock immigration	Fatalities
Stock immigration	Pearson Correlation	1	-.377
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.068
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	270612834335429.720	- 18024713782.94 1
	Covariance	16913302145964.357	- 1126544611.434
	N	17	17
Fatalities	Pearson Correlation	-.377	1
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.068	
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	-18024713782.941	8450958.235
	Covariance	-1126544611.434	528184.890
	N	17	17

2.1.6. Foreign-born population vs Islamist terrorism

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Range	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance
Stock immigration	17	13426729.00	30273271.00	43700000.00	37785921.8824	4112578.52763	16913302145964.363
Islamist terrorism	17	9.00	.00	9.00	2.0000	2.73861	7.500
Valid N (listwise)	17						

Correlations

		Stock immigration	Islamist terrorism
Stock immigration	Pearson Correlation	1	.588[**]
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.007
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	270612834335429.720	105965641.000
	Covariance	16913302145964.357	6622852.563
	N	17	17
Islamist terrorism	Pearson Correlation	.588[**]	1
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.007	
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	105965641.000	120.000
	Covariance	6622852.563	7.500
	N	17	17

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

2.1.7. Regression analysis: Foreign-born population vs Islamist terrorism

Because the correlation was found to be moderate and significant at the P 0.01 level, regression analysis will be run for the foreign-born population vs Islamist terrorism.

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.588[a]	.346	.302	2.28774

a. Predictors: (Constant), Stock immigration

ANOVA[a]

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	41.494	1	41.494	7.928	.013[b]
	Residual	78.506	15	5.234		
	Total	120.000	16			

a. Dependent Variable: Islamist terrorism
b. Predictors: (Constant), Stock immigration

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients			95.0% Confidence Interval for B	
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1	(Constant)	-12.796	5.284		-2.422	.029	-24.059	-1.533
	Stock immigration	3.916E-7	.000	.588	2.816	.013	.000	.000

a. Dependent Variable: Islamist terrorism

Residuals Statistics[a]

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Predicted Value	-.9418	4.3158	2.0000	1.61039	17
Std. Predicted Value	-1.827	1.438	.000	1.000	17
Standard Error of Predicted Value	.556	1.183	.763	.189	17
Adjusted Predicted Value	-1.5714	3.7752	1.8802	1.67549	17
Residual	-3.15605	4.68419	.00000	2.21510	17
Std. Residual	-1.380	2.048	.000	.968	17
Stud. Residual	-1.447	2.272	.024	1.051	17
Deleted Residual	-3.47213	5.76921	.11983	2.61343	17
Stud. Deleted Residual	-1.507	2.711	.066	1.165	17
Mahal. Distance	.003	3.337	.941	.961	17
Cook's Distance	.000	.601	.096	.192	17
Centered Leverage Value	.000	.209	.059	.060	17

a. Dependent Variable: Islamist terrorism

2.2. UK

2.2.1. Immigrant inflows vs terrorist activity

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance
Immigration Inflows	17	260424.00	514000.00	409939.5882	79854.71049	6376774786.757
Terror activity	17	4.00	135.00	50.5882	39.43200	1554.882
Valid N (listwise)	17					

Correlations

		Immigration inflows	Terror activity
Immigration inflows	Pearson Correlation	1	.196
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.226
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	102028396588.118	9866443.118
	Covariance	6376774786.757	616652.695
	N	17	17
Terror activity	Pearson Correlation	.196	1
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.226	
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	9866443.118	24878.118
	Covariance	616652.695	1554.882
	N	17	17

2.2.2. Immigrant Inflows vs fatalities of terrorism

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Range	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance
Immigration inflows	17	253576.00	260424.00	514000.00	409939.5882	79854.71049	6376774786.757
Fatalities	17	57.00	.00	57.00	5.4706	13.49591	182.140
Valid N (listwise)	17						

Correlations

		Immigration inflows	Fatalities
Immigration inflows	Pearson Correlation	1	-.045
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.432
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	102028396588.118	-772813.706
	Covariance	6376774786.757	-48300.857
	N	17	17
Fatalities	Pearson Correlation	-.045	1
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.432	
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	-772813.706	2914.235
	Covariance	-48300.857	182.140
	N	17	17

2.2.3. Immigrant inflows vs Islamist terrorism

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Range	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance
Immigration inflows	17	253576.00	260424.00	514000.00	409939.5882	79854.71049	6376774786.757
Islamist terror	17	8.00	.00	8.00	.8824	1.96476	3.860
Valid N (listwise)	17						

		Immigration inflows	Islamist terror
Immigration inflows	Pearson Correlation	1	.150
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.282
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	102028396588.118	377794.176
	Covariance	6376774786.757	23612.136
	N	17	17
Islamist terror	Pearson Correlation	.150	1
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.282	
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	377794.176	61.765
	Covariance	23612.136	3.860
	N	17	17

2.2.4. Foreign-born population vs terrorist activity

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Range	Minimum	Maximum	Sum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance
Stock immigration	17	4072803.00	4625349.00	8698152.00	111016896.00	6530405.6471	1357203.56551	1842001518226.494
Terror activity	17	131.00	4.00	135.00	860.00	50.5882	39.43200	1554.882
Valid N (listwise)	17							

Correlations

		Stock immigration	Terror activity
Stock immigration	Pearson Correlation	1	.651[**]
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.002
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	29472024291623.883	557243914.529
	Covariance	1842001518226.493	34827744.658
	N	17	17
Terror activity	Pearson Correlation	.651[**]	1
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.002	
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	557243914.529	24878.118
	Covariance	34827744.658	1554.882
	N	17	17

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

2.2.5. Regression analysis: Foreign-born population vs terrorist activity

Because the correlation test proved positive, regression analysis will be run for the foreign-born population vs terror activity.

Variables Entered/Removed[a]

Model	Variables Entered	Variables Removed	Method
1	Stock immigration	.	Enter

a. Dependent Variable: Terror activity
b. All requested variables entered.

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.651[a]	.424	.385	30.92140

a. Predictors: (Constant), Stock immigration

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients B	Unstandardized Coefficients Std. Error	Standardized Coefficients Beta	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	-72.886	37.944		-1.921	.074
	Stock immigration	1.891E-5	.000	.651	3.320	.005

a. Dependent Variable: Terror activity

ANOVA[a]

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	10536.120	1	10536.120	11.020	.005[b]
	Residual	14341.998	15	956.133		
	Total	24878.118	16			

a. Dependent Variable: Terror activity
b. Predictors: (Constant), Stock immigration

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients B	Unstandardized Coefficients Std. Error	Standardized Coefficients Beta	t	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B Lower Bound	95.0% Confidence Interval for B Upper Bound
1	(Constant)	-72.886	37.944		-1.921	.074	-153.762	7.991
	Stock immigration	1.891E-5	.000	.651	3.320	.005	.000	.000

a. Dependent Variable: Terror activity

Residuals Statistics[a]

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Predicted Value	14.5683	91.5750	50.5882	25.66140	17
Residual	-36.55745	65.57690	.00000	29.93952	17
Std. Predicted Value	-1.404	1.597	.000	1.000	17
Std. Residual	-1.182	2.121	.000	.968	17

b. Dependent Variable: Terror activity

The confidence level of this was 95.

2.2.6. Foreign-born population vs fatalities of terrorism

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Range	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance
Stock immigration	17	4072803.00	4625349.00	8698152.00	6530405.6471	1357203.565 51	184200151 8226.494
Fatalities	17	57.00	.00	57.00	5.4706	13.49591	182.140
Valid N (listwise)	17						

Correlations

		Stock immigration	Fatalities
Stock immigration	Pearson Correlation	1	-.143
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.293
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	29472024291623.883	-41781021.176
	Covariance	1842001518226.493	-2611313.824
	N	17	17
Fatalities	Pearson Correlation	-.143	1
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.293	
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	-41781021.176	2914.235
	Covariance	-2611313.824	182.140
	N	17	17

2.2.7. Foreign-born population vs Islamist terrorism

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Range	Minimum	Maximum	Sum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance
Stock immigration	17	4072803.00	4625349.00	8698152.00	111016896.00	6530405.6471	1357203.56551	1842001518226.494
Islamist terror	17	8.00	.00	8.00	15.00	.8824	1.96476	3.860
Valid N (listwise)	17							

Correlations

		Stock immigration	Islamist terror
Stock immigration	Pearson Correlation	1	.039
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.441
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	29472024291623.883	1670723.294
	Covariance	1842001518226.493	104420.206
	N	17	17
Islamist terror	Pearson Correlation	.039	1
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.441	
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	1670723.294	61.765
	Covariance	104420.206	3.860
	N	17	17

Appendix 3. U.S. data

Year	Immigrant Inflows	Number of terror attacks	Islamic Terrorism	Fatalities	Foreign population	Islamist terror fatalities
2000	841002	22	0	0	30273271	0
2001	1058902	38	4	3005	31548128	2998
2002	1059356	13	0	3	33096150	0
2003	703542	31	0	0	33667678	0
2004	957883	9	0	0	34257701	0
2005	1122257	17	0	0	35769603	0
2006	1266129	5	1	0	37469387	0
2007	1052415	9	0	0	38048456	0
2008	1107126	11	0	2	38016102	0
2009	1130818	8	2	5	38452822	1
2010	1042625	13	3	4	39916875	0
2011	1062040	8	0	0	40381570	0
2012	1031631	15	0	7	40738224	0
2013	990553	14	4	7	41344354	6
2014	1016518	24	5	19	42390705	6
2015	1051031	33	6	40	43289646	25
2016	1183505	53	9	64	43700000	53
Total		323	34	3156		3089

Sources: Author's calculations based on data from OECD, DHS (2017), CIS (2017), GTD

Appendix 4. U.K. data

Year	Immigrant inflows	Foreign-born population	Number of terror attacks	Fatalities	Islamist terrorism	Fatalities of Islamist Terror
2000	260424	4625349	44	4	0	0
2001	262239	4723449	82	5	0	0
2002	288770	4931543	18	2	0	0
2003	327405	5043509	20	2	0	0
2004	434322	5335831	4	0	0	0
2005	405111	5698063	25	57	8	56
2006	451702	5757000	6	0	0	0
2007	455000	6192000	19	4	1	1
2008	456000	6633000	30	0	0	0
2009	430000	6899000	21	3	0	0
2010	459000	7056000	56	0	2	0
2011	453000	7430000	45	1	0	0
2012	383000	7588000	53	1	0	0
2013	406000	7860000	135	4	1	1
2014	504000	8064000	101	0	0	0
2015	479000	8482000	104	1	1	0
2016	514000	8698152	97	9	2	2
Total			860	93	15	60

Sources: Author's calculations based on data from OECD, Eurostat (2017), Migration Observatory (2017), Fullfact.org (2017), and GTD