

Response to reviews of *Frontiers of fear – immigration and insecurity in the United States and Europe*

I am honoured that JEMS has chosen to focus on my work and privileged to have the opportunity to engage into a dialogue with three experts from varied backgrounds. When the focus is your own work, if you are fortunate, there are two principal results: first, you learn a lot from others' reviews; second, you question your own research and start to think about future research questions. These three reviews – by Dider Bigo, Josiah Heyman, and Francesco Ragazzi – have assisted me in both dimensions, for which I am grateful. In responding, as my contribution to this JEMS symposium, I briefly summarise my main arguments and findings in order to address their criticisms and suggestions about both my theoretical framework and empirical evidence.

My initial objective when I wrote *Frontiers of Fear: Immigration and Insecurity in the United States and Europe* was to address a series of paradoxes that were consequences of the actual outcomes of policies framed by the immigration-security nexus on both sides of the Atlantic. In the book, I define that nexus as the implementation of restrictive immigration measures intended to fight terrorism, while counterterrorism is employed as a way to manage migration flows and control minorities. As a result of this reapplication of policy instruments, the categories of foreigners, immigrants, and suspicious minorities have been conflated – irrespective of their actual status – because of the current process of securitisation that predominates among policy-makers in the USA and Europe. I consequentially examine the security requirement these policy-makers advocate by asking two questions: First, has the securitisation of immigration issues actually contributed to the enhancement of internal security? Second, has the use of counterterrorist measures helped to resolve the problems commonly related to immigration, such as the increasing number of illegal immigrants, the resilience of ethnic tensions that sometimes fuels civic unrest, and the emergence of homegrown radicals and jihadists? In addressing these questions, I examine the main assumptions that inform the political agenda, analyse the relevant implementation processes, and evaluate the effectiveness of policies in terms of their stated goals. By their own benchmarks, have these policies in fact succeeded or failed?

In the book I provide evidence that the securitisation of immigration has proven ineffective in achieving its prescribed goals. The strengthening of border controls has neither curbed flows of illegal immigrants nor provided effective tools for fighting terrorism in either the USA or Europe. Worse, in fact, the excesses of securitisation have proved detrimental to both immigration and counterterrorist policies. They have generated a greater sense of alienation among minorities targeted by discriminatory practices and a heightened sense of insecurity among the general public.

I characterise these unexpected negative outcomes by employing two concepts accurately portrayed by the reviewers: the security-insecurity spiral and security escalation. The two interlocking processes generate the first paradox, which is the urge to 'do more of the same' not despite, but because of, their counterproductive results. A second paradox relates to the actual effects of the trade-off between civil rights and public security. The fight against terrorism has deeply affected the exercise of fundamental democratic principles, notably the rule of law, the separation of powers, the independence of judicial authority, and the openness and accountability of government. But it has not strengthened the fight against terrorism.

Two puzzling research questions arose in light of these findings. First, how do we explain why immigrants are perceived as a security threat – despite evidence that most immigrants are not terrorists and most terrorists are not immigrants? Second, how can we explain why failed

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