

DGA. Fall 2013
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“Immigration and Security in Europe and the United States:

Instructor :

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SPAA, 111 Washington Street, Suite 334
Office hours: before class on Wednesday or by appointment

Meeting time:

Wednesday 2:00 PM to 4:40 PM (CON – 445)

Major Assignments:

Each student will have to make two oral presentations (of about 15 minutes) and to write a research paper (based on one of the two presentations) of about 10,000 words.

There are 24 subjects listed for the oral presentation. Students will be asked to present on two of these subjects in any given week.

The research paper will be based on one of the oral presentations. It is due on **December 18**. Late papers will be penalized

Grading:

Student grades will be based on the oral presentations (40%) and the final research paper (40%). Regular attendance, careful reading, and active participation (based on required readings) are also taken into account (20%).

Course description:

The intention of this course is to assess the dimensions and importance of immigration and terrorism as a present and future security issue. From the late 1970s onward, many European governments introduced tighter restrictions on their immigration and asylum policies, largely in response to the mounting sense of an “immigration problem.” Prior to the events of September 11, an EU-wide “internal security ideology” encompassed a collection of issues ranging from immigration and asylum to border control, organized crime, public order, and terrorism. These issues could be arrayed along a single “security continuum.”

But the terrorist attacks of 9/11 spawned a era period in Europe, just as they did in the United States. Reaction to al-Qaeda and “global” terrorism created an amalgamation of immigration and security issues throughout the EU. Accordingly, this event influenced the process of immigration on both continents—generating new restrictive policy measures, new institutions designed to improve the fight against terrorism, and affecting the perception of migrants among host populations in both sides of the Atlantic.

This course is based on a comparative analysis of European and American responses to the recent challenges posed by expanded notions of “internal security”. It seeks to understand the ways in which immigration policy has been affected by national security interests and foreign policies, as well as the ways in which immigration has affected national security concerns and consequentially foreign policies. Fundamentally, the goal is to understand how the immigration- terrorism dynamic plays out over time, as well as how anti-migration and counter-terrorism policies impacts civil liberties.

1. Key Components – September 4

- Global overview of the main concepts (old and new terrorism, societal security, securitization)
- Presentation of the main research tools and data sources

Required readings:

- W.F Shughart II, “An Analytical History of Terrorism (1945-2000)”, *Public Choice*, 128, 2006, pp. 7-39.
- A.Pedahzur et al, “The Challenges of Conceptualizing Terrorism”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 16, n°4, Winter 2004, pp. 777-794.
- Rens van Munster, “Logics of Security: The Copenhagen School, Risk Management and the War on Terror”, *Political Science Publications*, 2005.

Suggested readings:

- Garrison (Arthur), “Defining Terrorism: Philosophy of the Bomb, Propaganda by Deed and Change through Fear and Violence”, *Criminal Justice Studies*, vol. 17, n°3, September 2004, pp. 259-279.
- Garrison (Arthur), “Terrorism: The Nature of Its History”, *Criminal Justice Studies*, vol. 16, n°1, 2003, pp. 39-52.
- Waever (O.), Buzan(B.), Kelstrup (M.), Lemaitre (P.), *Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda*, New York, St Martin’s, 1993.

2. Historical Background – September 11

- Nativism in the United States and Europe
- New comers, old threats
- The issue of migrant criminality

Required readings:

- Martinez (Ramiro) and Lee (Matthew T.), “On Immigration and Crime”, *Criminal Justice*, vol. 1, 2000, pp. 485-524.
- Rumbaut (Ruben G.) and Ewing (Walter A.), “The Myth of Immigrant Criminality and the Paradox of Assimilation“, Immigration Policy Center, American Immigration Law Foundation, Spring 2007, pp. 1-16.
- Paoli (Letizia) and Fijnaut (Cyrille), “Organized Crime and its Control Policies”, *European Journal of Crime, Criminal Law and Criminal Justice*, vol. 14, n°3, 2006, pp. 307-327.

Suggested readings:

- Butcher (Kristin F.) and Piehl (Ann Morrison), “Recent Immigrants: Unexpected Implications for Crime and Incarceration”, NBER Working Paper Series, n°6067, June 1997, pp. 1-34
- Warner (Judith Ann), “The Social Construction of the Criminal Alien in Immigration Law, Enforcement Practice and Statistical Enumeration: Consequences for Immigrant Stereotyping”, *Journal of Social and Ecological Boundaries*, Winter 2005-2006, n°1-2, pp. 56-80.
- Cose (Ellis), *A Nation of Strangers: Prejudice, Politics, and the Populating of America*, New York, Morrow, 1992.

3. Migration as a Security Issue – September 18
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- Social and political construction of the enemy
- Real and perceived threats
- The size/hostility nexus
- The economic threat hypothesis
- The impact of symbolic threats

→ **Subjects for oral presentations:** Perceptions of immigrants as a threat by the native population (case studies)

Required readings:

- Collyer (Michael), “Migrants, Migration and the Security Paradigm: Constraints and Opportunities”, *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol. 11, n°2, July 2006, pp. 255-270.
- Ceyhan (A.), “Migrants as a Threat: A Comparative Analysis of Securitization Discourse – France and the United States”, in Gray (V.) (ed.), *A European Dilemma - Immigration, Citizenship and Identity in Western Europe*, Bergham Books, Oxford, 1999.
- Scheve (Kenneth) and Slaughter (Matthew), “Labor Market Competition and Individual Preferences over Immigration Policy”, *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, vol.83, n°1, February 2001, pp. 133-145.

Suggested readings:

- Weiner (Myron), “Security, Stability and International Migration”, *International Security*, 17 (3), 1992/93, pp. 91-126.
- Kotic (Ankica), Phalet (Karen), “Ethnic Categorization of Immigrants: The Role of Prejudice, Perceived Acculturation Strategies and Group Size”, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 30, 2006, pp. 769-782.
- Crawford (Adam) (ed.), *Crime and Insecurity: The Governance of Safety in Europe*, William Publishing, 2002
- Buzan (Barry), Waever (Ole), Wilde (Jaap de), *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1998.
- Eurobarometer surveys and Pew surveys.

4. Securitization before 9/11: Europe – September 25

- The “criminalization” of immigrants as a side effect of border controls
- The perception of security issues in Europe within the new “area of freedom, security and justice” (AFSJ)

- The fight against terrorism in Europe (objectives, national and EU legislations)

→ **Subjects for oral presentations:** a) The development of the *Schengen acquis*
b) Terrorism in Europe during the 1980s and the 1990s

Required readings:

- Jef Huysmans, "The EU and the Securitization of Migration", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 38, n°5, December 2000, pp. 751-777
- V.Guiraudon and G.Lahav, "A Reappraisal of the State Sovereignty Debate: The Case of Migration Control", *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 33, n°2, March 2000, pp. 163-195
- Crelisten (Ronald D.) and Schmid (Alex P.), "Western Responses to Terrorism: A Twenty-five Year Balance Sheet", in Schmid (Alex P.) and Crelisten (Ronald D.)(eds), *Western Responses to Terrorism*, London: Frank Cass, 1993.

Suggested readings:

- Bigo (Didier), "The European International Security Field: Stakes and Rivalries in a Newly Developing Area of Police Intervention", in Anderson (M.) and den Boer (M.) (eds.), *Policing Across National Boundaries*, London, Pinter, 1994, pp. 161-173.
- Crelisten (Ronald), "The Discourse and Practice of Counter-Terrorism in Liberal Democracies", *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 44, n°1, 1998, pp. 389-413.
- Faist (Thomas), "Extension du Domaine de la Lutte: International Migration and Security Before and After September 11th 2001", *International Migration Review*, 36 (1), 2002, pp. 7-14.
- Huysmans (Jef), *The Politics of Insecurity: Fear, Migration and Asylum in the EU*, London, Routledge, 2006.
- Messina (Anthony M.) (ed.), *West European Immigration and Immigrant Policy in the New Century*, London, Praeger, 2002.
- Engene (Jan Oskar), "Five Decades of Terrorism in Europe", *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 44, n°1, 2007, pp. 109-121.
- Jongman (A.J), "Trends in International and Domestic Terrorism in Western Europe, 1969-1988", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol.4, n°4, 1992, pp. 26-76.

5. Securitization before 9/11: USA – October 2

- National security before 9/11
- The relationship between immigration, foreign policy and national security
- President Clinton's policy on counter-terrorism

→ **Subjects for oral presentations:** a) The impact of NAFTA on immigration enforcement and border controls
b) The evolution of the US asylum policy

Required readings:

- Wayne. A Cornelius, "Controlling 'Unwanted' Immigration: Lessons from the United States (1993-2004)", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 31, n°4, July 2005, pp. 775-794.
- Donohue (Laura K.), « In the Name of National Security: US Counterterrorism Measures, 1960-2000 », *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 13, n°3, Autumn 2001, pp. 15-60.

- Joppke (Christian), "Asylum and State Sovereignty: A Comparison of the United States, Germany and Britain", *Comparative Political Studies*, vol.30, n°3, June 1997, pp. 259-298.

Suggested readings:

- Zolberg (Aristide) and Woon (Long Litt), "Why Islam is Like Spanish: Cultural Incorporation in Europe and the United States", *Politics & Society*, vol. 27, n° 1, March 1999, pp. 5-38.
- Andreas (Peter), *Border Games. Policing the US-Mexico Divide*, Ithaca, London, Cornell University Press, 2000.
- Bruce Hoffman, "Change and Continuity in Terrorism", *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 2001.
- Gibney (Mark), Dalton (Vanessa), Vockell (Marc), "USA Refugee Policy: A Human Rights Analysis Update", *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 5 (1), 1992, pp. 33-46.
- McBride (Michael), "Migrants and Asylum Seekers: Policy Responses in the United States to Immigrants and Refugees from Central America and the Caribbean", *International Migration*, vol.37, n°1, 1999, pp. 289-317.
- Rosenblum (Marc), "Norms and Interests in US Asylum Enforcement", *Journal of Peace Research*, PRIO, vol.41, n°6, 2004, pp. 677-697.

6. Critical Evaluation of the "New Security Continuum" – October 9

- Border controls and illegal immigration before 9/11
- Intelligence and security before 9/11

→ **Subjects for oral presentations:** a) Presentation of the new Area of Freedom, Security, and Justice (AFSJ)

b) EU security and neighborhood policy

Required readings:

- Lutterbeck (Derek), "Blurring the Dividing Line: The Convergence of Internal and External Security in Western Europe", *European Security*, vol. 14, n°2, June 2005, pp. 231-253.
- Sasse (Gwendolyn), "Securitization or Securing Rights? Exploring the Conceptual Foundations of Policies towards Minorities and Migrants in Europe", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 43, n04, 2005, pp. 673-693.
- Huysmans (Jef), "Migrants As a Security Problem: Dangers of 'Securitizing' Societal Issues", in: Miles (R.), Thänhardt (D.) (eds.), *Migration and European Integration. The Dynamics of Inclusion and Exclusion*, London, Pinter, 1995, pp. 53-72.

Suggested readings:

- Loader (Ian), Walker (Neil), *Civilizing Security*, Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Rudolph (Christopher), *National Security and Immigration. Policy Development in the United States and Western Europe since 1945*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2006.
- Bigo (D) and Guild (E), "Policing in the Name of Freedom", in: Dider Bigo (ed.), *Controlling Frontiers*, Ashgate, 2005, pp.14-48.
- Schmid (Alex), "Terrorism and Democracy", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 4, n°4, 1992, pp. 14-25.
- Wilkinson, "The European Response to Terrorism: Retrospect and Prospect", *Defence and Peace Economics*, vol.3, n°4, 1999, pp. 289-304.
- Zaiotti (Ruben), "Of Friends and Fences: Europe's Neighbourhood Policy and the Gated Community Syndrome", *European Integration*, vol. 29, n°2, May 2007, pp. 143-162.

7. Securitization after 9/11: USA – October 16

- The main components of the war on terror
- The effect of the “Homeland Security” package on immigration
- Restrictive immigration policy as a way to fight terrorism
- Counter-terrorism as a way to control immigration

→ **Subjects for oral presentations:** a) Presentation of the DHS (structures and strategy)
b) Racial profiling and security

Required readings:

- Rapoport (D.C.), “The Fourth Wave: September 11 in the History of Terrorism” , *Current History*, December 2001, pp. 419-424.
- Isabelle Duyvesteyn, “How New Is the New Terrorism?” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 27, 2004, pp. 439-454.
- Amoore (Louise), “Biometrics Borders: Governing Mobility in the War on Terror”, *Political Geography*, vol. 25, n°3, March 2006, pp. 336-351.

Suggested readings:

- Lytle (Kelly), “Constructing the Criminal Alien: A Historical Framework for Analyzing Border Vigilantes at the Turn of the 21st century”, The Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, Working Paper 83, October 2003, pp. 1-8.
- Ignatieff (Michael) (ed.), *American Exceptionalism and Human Rights*, Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Weinberg (Leonard), Pedahzur (Ami), Hirsch-Hoefler (Sivan), “The Challenges of Conceptualizing Terrorism”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 16, n°4, 2004, pp. 777-794.

8. Securitization after 9/11: Europe – October 23

- Comparative analysis of the “security packages” adopted by European states
- The London and Madrid bombings
- Impact on immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees

→ **Subjects for oral presentations:** a) The “de-territorialization” of security measures
b) Police and intelligence cooperation in Europe

Required readings:

- Haubrich (Dirk), “September 11, Anti-Terror Laws and Civil Liberties: Britain, France and Germany”, *Government and Opposition*, 33 (1), 2003, pp.3-28.
- den Boer (Monica) and Monar (Jorg), “11 September and the Challenge of Global Terrorism to the EU as a Security Actor”, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 40, 2002, pp. 11-28.
- Guild (Elspeth), “International Terrorism and EU Immigration, Asylum and Borders Policy: The Unexpected Victims of 11 September 2001”, *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 8, 2003, pp. 331-346.

Suggested readings:

- Jackson (Richard), *Writing the War on Terror: Language, Politics, and Counter-Terrorism*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2005.
- Buonfino (Alessandra), “Between Unity and Plurality: The Politicization and Securitization of the Discourse of Immigration in Europe”, *New Political Science*, vol. 26, n°1, March 2004, pp. 23-49.
- Kirchner (E.) and Sperling (J.), “The New Security Threats in Europe: Theory and Evidence“, *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 2002
- Monar (Jörg), “Common Threat and Common Response. The European Union’s Counter-Terrorism Strategy and its Problems”, *Government and Opposition*, vol. 42, n° 3, Summer 2007, pp. 292-313.

9. Critical Evaluation of the War on Terror (I) – October 30

- The spill-over effect of border escalation
- The cost of anti-immigrants measures
- Wrong targets, new enemies?

→ **Subjects for oral presentations:** The impact of the war on terror on illegal immigration (case studies)

Required readings:

- Den Boer (Monica), “9/11 and the Europeanization of Anti-Terrorism Policy: A Critical Assessment”, *Policy Paper n°6*, Notre Europe, Groupement d’Etudes et de Recherches, September 2003, pp. 1-25.
- Meyers (Deborah Waller), “US Border Enforcement: From Horseback to High-Tech”, *MPI Insight*, n°7, November 2005, pp. 1-32.
- B. Muller, “(Dis)Qualified Bodies: Securitization, Citizenship and Identity Management”, *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 8, n°3, September 2004, pp. 279-294.

Suggested readings:

- Bigo (Didier), “Frontier Controls in the European Union: Who is in Control?” in Bigo (Didier) and Guild (Elspeth) (eds.), *Controlling Frontiers: Free Movement Into and Within Europe*, Asghate, 2005.
- Cornelius (Wayne), “Evaluating Enhanced US Border Enforcement”, *Migration Information Source*, MPI, 2004.
- Hing (Bill Ong), “Misusing Immigration Policies in the Name of Homeland Security”, *The New Centennial Review*, 6 (1), 2006, pp. 195-224.
- Sharon Pickering, “Border Terror: Policing, Forced Migration and Terrorism”, *Global Change, Peace and Security*, vol. 16, n°3, October 2004, pp. 211-226.
- Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, NY, Columbia University Press, 2006.
- *Civilian Perspective or Security Strategy – European Development Policy Confronting New Challenges in Foreign and Security Policy*, International Conference, Berlin, 23 November 2004, Berlin, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2004.

10. Critical Evaluation of the War on Terror (II) – November 6

- How to balance civil liberties and security?
- The issue of democratic accountability

- **Subjects for oral presentation:** a) The issue of judicial review
b) The role of non state actors in immigration law enforcement

Required readings:

- Golstone (Richard), "The Tension Between Combating Terrorism and Protecting Civil Liberties", in: Wilson (Richard Ashby) (ed.), *Human Rights in the "War on Terror"*, Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 157-168.
- Colin Warbrick, "The European Response to Terrorism in an Age of Human Rights", *The European Journal of International Law*, vol. 15, n°5, 2004, pp. 989-1018.

Suggested readings:

- Luban (David), "Eight Fallacies About Liberty and Security", in Wilson (Richard Ashby) (ed.), *Human Rights in the War on Terror*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 242-256.
- Cole (David), "The New McCarthyism: Repeating History in the War on Terrorism", *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review*, Vol. 38, n°1, 2003, pp. 1-30.
- Ackerman (Bruce), *Before the Next Attack: Preserving Civil Liberties in an Age of Terrorism*, Yale University Press, 2006.
- Andreas (P.) and Biersteker (T.) (eds.), *Rebordering North America? Integration and Exclusion After 9-11*, London, Routledge, 2003.
- Cornelius (Wayne) and Rosenblum (Marc), "Immigration and Politics", *Annual Review of Political Science*, 8, 2004, pp. 99-119.
- Sabine von Schorlemer, "Human Rights: Substantive and Institutional Implications of the War against Terrorism", *EJIL*, 2003.
- Sidel (Mark), *More Secure, Less Free? Antiterrorism Policy and Civil Liberties After September 11*, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 2004

11. The Security/Insecurity Paradox – November 13
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- The dynamics of policy failure
- The role of the security business

→ **Subjects for oral presentations:** Securitization and the retreat from multiculturalism in Europe (case studies)

Required readings:

- Wolfendale (Jessica), "Terrorism, Security, and the Threat of Counterterrorism", *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, vol. 30, 2007, pp. 75-92.
- Zimmermann (Doron), "The European Union and Post 9/11 Counterterrorism: A Reappraisal", *Studies in Conflicts & Terrorism*, vol. 29, 2006, pp. 123-145.

Suggested readings:

- Fernandes (Deepa), *Targeted: Homeland Security and the Business of Immigration*, New York, Seven Stories Press, 2007.
- Kerwin (Donald), "The Use and Misuse of 'National Security' Rationale in Crafting US Refugee and Immigration Policies", *Oxfordjournals.org*, 2005.
- Golder (Ben) and Williams (George), "Balancing National Security and Human Rights: Assessing the Legal Response of Common Law Notions to the Threat of Terrorism", *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis*, vol. 8, n°1, March 2006, pp. 43-62.

12. The Issue of Radicalization – November 20

- Factors of radicalization (geo-political and domestic factors)
- The issue of socio-economic deprivation
- Religion and identity crisis
- The clash of perceptions

→ **Subjects for oral presentations:** a) Perceptions and misperceptions of the loyalty of the “others”

b) War on terror abroad and domestic violence

Required readings:

- Mogahed (Dalia) and Nyiri (Zsolt), “Reinventing Integration: Muslims in the West”, *Harvard International Review*, vol 29 (2), Summer 2007.
- Amnesty International USA, *Threat and Humiliation: Racial Profiling, Domestic Security, and Human Rights in the United States*, New York, 2004, pp. 1-50.
- Taarnby (Michael), *Recruitment of Islamist Terrorists in Europe*, Research Report funded by the Danish Ministry of Justice, January 2005.

Suggested readings:

- Club of Madrid, *Addressing the Causes of Terrorism*, The Club of Madrid Series on Democracy and Terrorism, Madrid, 2005.
- Maxwell (Rahsaan), “Muslims, South Asians, and the British Mainstream? A National Identity Crisis”, *West European Politics*, 2006.
- Pape (Robert), *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*, New York, Random House, 2005.
- Renshon (Stanley A.), *The 50% American. Immigration and National Identity in an Age of Terror*, Washington (D.C.), Georgetown University Press, 2005
- Pew surveys on Muslims.
- Cesari (Jocelyne) *et al*, “Securitization and Religious Divides in Europe – Muslims in Western Europe after 9/11: Why the Term Islamophobia is More a Predicament than an Explanation”, Report on the Changing Landscape of Citizenship and Security, 6th PCRD of European Commission, June 2006, pp. 1-323.

No class on November 27

13. Home Grown Terrorism – December 4

- The emergence of the “enemy inside”
- Evolution of counter-terrorist strategies
- The fight against further radicalization

→ **Subjects for oral presentations:** a) The evolution of the British counterterrorist strategy
b) The attempts to strengthen dialogue with Muslim communities in Europe and the United States

Required readings:

- Fekete (Liz), “Anti-Muslim Racism and the European Security-State”, *Race Class*, vol. 46 (1), 2004, pp.3-29.
- Kirby (Adam), “The London Bombers as ‘Self-Starters’: A Case Study in Indigenous Radicalization and the Emergence of Autonomous Cliques”, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 30, 2007, pp. 415-428.
- Bleich (Erik), “State Responses to Muslim Violence”, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 35, n°3, March 2009, pp. 361-379.

Suggested readings:

- Barros (Carlos Pestana) and Proença (Isabel), “Mixed Logic Estimation of Radical Islamic Terrorism in Europe and North Africa”, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 49, n°2, April 2005, pp. 298-314.
- O’Duffy (Brendan), “Radical Atmosphere: Explaining Jihadist Radicalization in the UK”, *PSOnline*, January 2008, pp. 37-42.
- Alison Pargeter, “North African Immigrants in Europe and Political Violence”, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 29, 2006, pp. 731-747.
- Saggar (Shamit), “Boomerangs and Slingshots: Radical Islamism and Counterterrorism Strategy”, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 35, n°3, March 2009, pp. 381-492.
- Fetzer (Joel S.), Soper (Christopher), *Muslims and the State in Britain, France, and Germany*, Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Roy (Olivier), “Europe’s Response to Radical Islam”, *Current History*, November 2005, pp. 360-364.

14. How to reconcile security and immigration? – December 11

- The fight against discrimination
- Immigrant policy and integration
- The “desecuritization” of immigration policy

→ **Subjects for oral presentations:** a) The desecuritization of minority rights
 b) The desecuritization of immigration law enforcement

Required readings:

- D.Haubrich, “Modern Politics in a Age of Global Terror: New Challenges for Domestic Public Policy”, *Political Studies (Association)*, vol. 54, 2006, pp. 399-423.
- Roe (Paul), “Securitization and Minority Rights: Conditions of Desecuritization”, *Security Dialogue* (PRIO), vol. 35, n°3, 2004, pp. 279-294.
- Jutila (Matti), “Desecuritizing Minority Rights: Against Determinism”, *Security Dialogue* (PRIO), vol. 37, n°2, 2006, pp. 167-185.

Suggested readings:

- Schmid (Alex P.), *Why Terrorism? Addressing the Conditions Conducive to the Spread of Terrorism*, Report for the Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 2007.
- Bjorgo (Tore) (ed.), *Root Causes of Terrorism. Myths, Reality and Ways Forward*, London, Routledge, 2005.
- Sageman (Marc), *Understanding Terror Networks*, Philadelphia, University of Philadelphia Press, 2004.
- Karin von Hippel, “The Roots of Terrorism: Probing the Myths”, *The Political Quarterly*, 2002.

Selected Bibliography

Useful readings:

- Alexseev (Mikhail A.), *Immigration Phobia and The Security Dilemma: Russia, Europe and the United States*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Chebel d'Appollonia (Ariane) and Reich (Simon), *Immigration, Integration, and Security: America and Europe in Perspective*, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008.
- Givens (Terri), Freeman (Gary), and Leal (David), *Immigration Policy and Security: US, European and Commonwealth Perspectives*, New York; Routledge, 2008.
- Guild (Elsbeth) and Selm (Joanne van) (Eds.), *International Migration and Security. Opportunities and Challenges*, London, NYC, Routledge, 2005.

Books:

- Ackerman (B.), *Before the Next Attack: Preserving Civil Liberties in an Age of Terrorism*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2006.
- Andreas (Peter) and Biersteker (Thomas), *The Rebordering of North America: Integration and Exclusion in a New Security Context*, Routledge, 2003.
- Baker (T.E.) and Stack (J.F) (eds), *At War With Civil Rights and Civil Liberties*, Lanham, Rowmann & Littlefield Publishers, 2006.
- Ball (H.), *The USA Patriot Act of 2001: Balancing Civil Liberties and National Security*, Santa Barbara, California (ABC-CLIO's contemporary world issues series), 2004.
- Bogusz (Barbara) et al, *Irregular Migration and Human Rights: Theoretical, European and International Perspectives*, Leiden, Boston, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2004.
- Brouwer (E.) and Guild (E.), *Immigration, Asylum and Terrorism: A Changing Dynamic in European Law*, Nijmegen (NL), Instituut voor Rechtsociologie, 2003.
- Buijs (Frank J.) and Rath (Jan), *Muslims in Europe : The State of Research*, Russell Sage Foundation, October 2002, pp.1-54.
- Calhoun (Craig J.), Price (Paul), and Timmer (Ashley S.), *Understanding September 11*, New York: New Press, 2002.
- Cesari (Jocelyn), *When Islam and Democracy Meet: Muslims in Europe and the United States* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan), 2004.
- Chalk (P.), *West European Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism: The Evolving Dynamic*, NY, St Martin's Press, 1996.
- Chebel d'Appollonia (Ariane), *Frontiers of Fear: Immigration and Insecurity in the United States and Europe*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013
- Clarke (Richard), *Against All Enemies*, NY, Free Press, 2004.
- Cole (David), *Enemy Aliens: Double Standards and Constitutional Freedoms in the War on Terrorism*, New York and London: Free Press, 2003.
- Cole (D.) and Dempsey (J.), *Terrorism and the Constitution : Sacrificing Civil Liberties in the Name of National Security*, NY, The New Press, 2002.
- Danner (M), *Torture and Truth: American, Abu Ghraib, and the War on Terror*, London, Granta Books, 2004.
- Etzioni (A), *How Patriotic Is the Patriotic Act? Freedom versus Security in the Age of Terrorism*, NY, London, Routledge, 2004.

- European Union Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), *Attitudes towards Minority Groups in the European Union*, Vienna, 2001 ; *Report on Islamophobia*, Vienna, 2002 ; *manifestations on Antisemitism in the EU (2002-2003)*, Vienna, 2004.
- Flynn (Stephen E.), *America the Vulnerable: How Our Government Is Failing to Protect Us from Terrorism*, New York, HarperCollins, 2004.
- Franzblau (Kenneth), "Immigration's Impact on US National Security and Foreign Policy", US Commission on Immigration Reform, 1997, pp. 1-39.
- Freedman (L), *Superterrorism: Policy Responses*, Blackwell Publishing, 2002.
- Geddes (Andrew), *Immigration and European Integration : Towards Fortress Europe ?*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2000.
- Graham (D.T.), Poku (N.) (eds.), *Migration, Globalization and Human Security*, London: Routledge, 2000.
- Gross (E.), *The Struggle of Democracy Against Terrorism: Lessons From the United States, the UK and Israel*, Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2006.
- Guild (E.) and van Selm (J.) (eds.), *International Migration and Security: Opportunities and Challenges*, London, NY, Routledge, 2005.
- Huysmans (Jef), *The Politics of Insecurity: Fear, Migration and Asylum in the EU*, London, Routledge, 2006.
- Ignatieff (Michael) (ed.), *American Exceptionalism and Human Rights*, Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Ignatieff (Michael), *The Lesser Evil. Political Ethics in an Age of Terror*, Edimburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2004.
- Ivie (R.), *Democracy and America's War on Terror*, Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama Press, 2005.
- Johnston (L.), Shearing (C.), *Governing Security: Explorations in Policing and Justice*, London, Routledge, 2003.
- Klausen (Jytte), *The Islamic Challenge : Politics and Religion in Western Europe* (Oxford and NY, NY: Oxford University Press), 2005.
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