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Çlirim Toci*

Abstract

Migration, especially in the last decade, has become a pivotal and challenging issue affecting national security in Europe. It is a complex issue due to its internal and external implications. This study presents a comprehensive literature review analyzing and identifying drivers, actors involved, effects and implications of migration on domestic integration, and its further threats to societies. The study shows migration is widely politicized in which migrants and asylum seekers are considered a challenge to the national security and well-being of the country. The findings also underline a correlation between migration and security, the latter being defined based on perception of the former as benefit, burden or a mixture of both.

Keywords: Migration, security, drivers, public attitude, implications.

Introduction

In an area of growing security concerns, migration and security are two terms often used synonymous and interrelated to each other. More precisely, migration emerged as an inseparable part of a wider security concept re-defined after the Cold War when the political changes associated with globalization began. The since-then fluid migration concept does not cease to reflect changes in nature and way of thinking. It has become pivotal in debates on global politics. It is also part of the security studies offering an alternative reading after the fall of the Iron Curtain and the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

Nowadays, governments, the media, and analysts increasingly portray migration as a security threat. In many cases, migrants are described as “invaders,” a “threat” to western civilisation, cultural and religious identity. However, Swing (2016) strongly noted that “We cannot and should not stop people from migration. We have to give them a better life at home. Migration is a process, not a problem.” In recent years, millions of people have moved from one country to another. Generally, migration may impact social and internal security and may pose a threat. However, “the state is the referent object needing protection from threatening forces, particularly that of war (Krause and Williams, 1996, p.230; Peoples and Vaughan-Williams, 2010, p.23).”

At the end of the Cold War, nations have sought to address the new security concerns differently due to the changing nature of the global environment and numerous calls to adapt and shift the focus from the traditional national defence dimension towards a new security concept. Until the early 1990s, the international agenda was characterised by political and security confrontations between the West and the East. The bipolar world order was focused more on conventional warfare rather than international migration. After the fall of the Berlin wall, “security studies in the post- Cold War era have moved away from the state-centric approach, broadening the definition of security to include a number of potential threats (Krause and Williams, 1996, p.230; Lohrmann, 2000, p.5).” The threshold of violence and threat reasonably has to be clear. At present, scholars address mostly non-conventional threats identifying potential problems and suggesting a direction for the future. A new security environment is more complex and ambiguous.

Barry Buzan, “the founder of the Copenhagen School of security studies, argues that security studies should not only focus on the military sector, but should be further developed to encompass societal, environmental, economic, and political security (Peoples and Vaughan-Williams, 2010, pp.22-23).” Nowadays, international migration is one of the security matters when the government consciously increases awareness and explains the ambiguity of understanding security. Among scholars of

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strategic studies, Buzan stands out and notes that “the concept of security now encompasses not just the protection of a state or society against foreign military attack but also the protection of an independent identity of that state or society from forces of change that challenge (Buzan, 1991, pp.447-50).” Thus the connection between forms of international migration and security must be seen within the context of the effects of globalisation and states’ attempts as sovereign actors to manage these “new” issues and trends cooperatively.

Looking the current developments, western societies are undergoing a “*social and political revolution*” (Buzan, 1991, pp.447-50) caused by migration creating social security effects. These effects have a substantial impact and increase the pressure on the integration of migrants at the individual and national levels. The security nexus includes several factors, such as push and pull different actors and facilitating entities and constraints. Lee (1966, pp.47-57) emphasized empathetically that “the push factors of migration lie in the social, economic, and political conditions in sending countries.” For instance, in Italy, “the migration dilemma has become a very debatable issue among ordinary Italians, political decision-makers, and a topic of debate and a source of the agenda of different scholars (Lindly, 2014, pp.1-23).” Apart from that, developed societies are in a strong demand for low-skilled works in sectors searching for not much-trained labour force. Thus, the phenomenon of migration elevates the internal conflict and differences between migrants and natives. “As Buzan points out, migration threatens communal identity and culture by directly altering the ethnic, cultural, religious, and linguistic composition of the population (Buzan, 1991, pp. 447-50).” For instance, the leader of Lega Nord (the North League) in Italy, Mr. Salvini, emphatically noted, “the uncontrolled immigration brings in chaos, uncertainty, anger ... crime and violence (Horowitz, 2018).”

This article provides a framework for thinking about the relationships between migration and national security. It will develop and explore primary and secondary sources and research studies, providing a broader theorization of the link between international migration and national security. First, the paper will identify the main drivers and current trends of why people decide to move. Later, the impacts of migration and the attitude of media and public opinion will be analysed. The penultimate section will assess and present different views of society towards migration, which may be a value or not. The final section is a conclusion that presents and underlines observations addressed through three questions emphasising the migration-security link.

Why do people move?

Migration is not new, and it is as old as humanity. In antiquity, humankind started to move from one continent to another. Our ancestors were faced with numerous natural, geographical, extreme climate changes and conflicts among people. They were looking for better living conditions and food security. There are many identified cases in the history of humanity when people were moving to other places. For instance, “the map of Europe is the product of several major early migrations involving the Germanic people, the Slavs, and the Turks (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2020).” These are not the only movements visible in creating populated areas, including different ethnicities. “And in the courses of 400 years – from the latest 16th through the 20th century – the Americans, Australians, Oceania, the northern half of Asia, and part of Africa was colonised by European migrants (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2020).” Migration continues in the 21st century when climate change, economic conditions, and deadly conflicts are driving the massive exodus of migrants and refugees. Civil wars in Libya and Syria alone are responsible for more than half of migrants in the world. “Since 2012, the Syrian civil war has produced 12 million displaced people, one-fifth of the world displaced, and over half of the country’s population (Guehenno, 2016).”

National security and migration are two widely used terms in politics. Both of them have a broad range of definitions, and they are often used to fit the specific narrative. The term national security does not have an agreed or universal term. Some definitions describe a global understanding of national security. At the same time, others identify it as the protection of the nation’s sovereignty. While migration is a challenge but remains an issue to identify who is a migrant. A number of unlimited definitions

have been provided. Various scholars and institutions have concluded that the concept of international migration differs distinctly because of their academic background and patterns of how they approach the problem. For instance, "the UN defines migrants as any person who is moving or has moved across the international borders or within the state away from his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of (1) the person's legal status; (2) whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; (3) what the causes for the movement are; or (4) what the length of the stay is (UN Migration Agency, 2020)." As we see, the term migrant refers to a foreign person moving into or within the country. While migration is a process of moving across national borders regardless of length or status.

The scope and flow of migration

The data and analysis show a substantial increase of people moving vertically from south to north and horizontally from East to West. There are clear evidence and a substantial increase in people moving from their country of origin to Europe. For example, the IOM (2020, p.3) noted "the number of international migration is estimated to be almost 272 million people globally (3.5% of the world's population) in 2019," while "the UN Department of Economics and Social Affairs (2019a) estimates that the figure is as high as 271.6 million in 2019." From the identified data, "47 million moved horizontal from a southern country to another southern country. In contrast, only 61 million were people migrating moved vertically from the south to the north (UN/DESA, 2019a)." The rest were remaining individuals migrating from the north to the south or from the north to the north. Nevertheless, "the number of migrants crossing the border illegally in the EU fell 13% in 2020, to around 124,000 (EU, 2021)." This was mainly due to the impact of COVID-19 restrictions. Data sets from the UN IOM and EU Frontex may differ because they follow different methods.

The Mediterranean Sea has become an important geographical area connecting the Orient and Occident, the North and the South. Fernand Braudel defines "the Mediterranean as an "espace movement" (space of movement), and several other authors have considered the Mediterranean nature of migration through the metaphors such as caravanserai (Ribas-Mateos, 2000, pp. 22-40)." However, the experience has shown that migration routes may change, as the motivation of the migrants may differ. The involvement of migration in the Mediterranean manifests a security dimension with historical effects and substantial impacts on regional and European security.

The research and studies on migration show that the trajectories of migrants are too hard to understand. In some cases, migrants enter the country or are only transit. In these two instances, they are referred to as transit migrants or asylum seekers. Monitoring and predicting migrations are very challenging processes. Basically, you need to understand the nature of conflicts, the actors involved, and accurate data availability. The availability of data enables, to a considerable extent, the control of movements. Migration statistics represent a static measure, while flows represent a dynamic measure of the migration process. For this reason, it is difficult to understand and control inflow and outflow. European governments, in 2015, found it difficult to control the movements of migrants.

Nowadays, migratory movements are caused mainly by conflicts or fragile states. These events create conditions simulating local populations to consider movement. Factors and conditions that affect the movement may be personal, political, or economic issues. Migrants will explore and use all available means and possibilities. Predominantly, "decisions are initially individually influenced by security factors, state policies, and internal ruling procedures, which affect decisions and movements to another country where opportunities and conditions may be better (Kuschminder et al., 2015 and Trindafyllidou, 2009)." "Two major factors are often cited as shaping people's decision to migrate: personal and political security, and the quest for a secure livelihood (UNODC, 2015, p. vi)." These factors will not be as influential without the role and indication of media and social networks. In both cases, media and social networks play a pivotal part in encouraging people to move.

Drivers of Migration

During the Arab spring and especially during the Syrian civil war, the western media have been saturated with images and comments related to the migration crises in Europe. The history and demographical developments uttered a number of drivers influencing and encouraging people to move. Several countries and institutions are carefully assessing and addressing the question of what are the drivers of irregular migration? Research studies displayed that drivers are mostly caused by the "economic, demographic, and environmental factors and social and political dynamics (A. Geddes et al., 2012, pp. 951-67)." For example, the UN/IOM (2019) concluded that "the drivers of migration are a complex phenomenon that depends on the interaction of multiple factors influencing migrants' decision to migrate, from the country of origin to the destination country." Drivers may operate at different scales and levels of social culture, while technology facilitates it through information sharing. Always, drivers of migration are shaped and influenced by internal factors and the willingness to migrate. Nevertheless, these factors "determine the final decision of an individual to migrate (Castelli, 2018, p. 3)."

The economic drivers of migration

Economic insecurity should not be considered isolated from political instability. It can directly influence people to fulfill their life aspirations locally or migrate to other places. "The lack of economic opportunities in the country of origin and the hope of great opportunities in European countries are an important driver of irregular migration (Czaika and Hobolth, 2014, p. 17; Wissink et al., 2013, p. 1094; UNHCR, 2010, p. 15)." The finding argues that migrants will continue their journey to seek economic opportunities and greater quality of life. It is no a surprise that the lack of economic opportunities will force individuals to leave their country and go to Europe for greater opportunities. This issue is supported by ILO findings in 2015, showing that "the labour force or migrants looking for a job comprises over 70% of international migrants (ILO, 2015, p. 6)." For instance, migrants from the north and sub-Saharan Africa are looking for better economic opportunities in Europe ... especially in large economies like Spain, Italy, Germany, and the UK. Their countries of origin and nations could not offer proper job opportunities or industry to employ them. These are important factors motivating attempts to migrate to Europe. Poor economic conditions and not very well paid lead young and educated individuals to think for other possibilities. "Lack of job opportunities, wage differentials, and aspirations propel young people away from home in search of employment and income opportunities. The informal economy accounts for 33-90% of total employment (ILOSTAT, 2020, p. 3)."

However, economic opportunities and demographic issues in the developed world are simulating conditions attracting people to move. These movements drive people towards the West. A study of the IOM Migration Global Report 2020 (UN DESA, 2019a; ILO, 2018, p. 20) suggested that "the number of international migrants, in 2019, is estimated to be almost 272 million globally, with nearly two-thirds being labour migrants." Migrants are mostly coming from North and sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East. For example, "in the next 15 years, the working-age population in Sub-Saharan Africa is projected to increase by 55%, while Europe is expected to experience a fall in the working-age population of 9% (DESA WPP, 2015)."

However, "the estimated number and proportion of international migrants already surpasses some projections made for the year 2050, which were in the order of 2.6 % or 230 million (IOM, 2003)." It is an alarm call for the developed world to deal with migration movements from Africa and the Middle East. Skilled employees and other unskilled and untrained workers would like to move and explore the opportunity through legal and illegal means. Even they know the illegal means may be a risk of death and uncertainties explored by the migrant smugglers and unscrupulous labour recruits. For instance, "half" of potential illegal migrants from Senegal think there is a risk of death higher or equal to 25%, and the vast majority of illegal migrants, up to 75%, are willing to risk their lives to reach Europe (Mbaye, 2014, pp. 1-19)."

Apart from migration and drivers' characteristics, migration is considered an important source of labour force and population growth. The EU population is changing due to births and deaths and the difference between incoming migrants and outgoing emigrants leaving the EU27. For instance, Eurostat (EU, 2017, p. 4) found out "that from 2012 to 2016, net migration plus statistical adjustment contributed more than 80 % to total population growth in the EU-28, compared with less than 20 % from natural population change." However, migrants make a good contribution to high and low-skilled occupations.

Political insecurity and conflict at home

The Western world is focused on migration and refugee crises, especially in Europe and North America. Migration very often produces legal and illegal migrants. The illegal migrants are primarily identified as refugees or asylum seekers. The last two are seen as the most problematic by the host countries. Defining a migrant has very often caused public debates in Western societies. "For example, migrants are often conflated with ethnic or religious minorities and with asylum seekers (Saggar and Drean 2001, Crawley 2009, Beutin et al. 2006, Baker et al. 2008)." The world is facing a global crisis of displacement, which endangers the international order. "This is a crisis largely born out of war, and one that will be with us for decades to come (Guéhenno, 2016)." We need to understand reality and identify ways to respond effectively.

Deadly conflicts have caused the mass migration and exodus of refugees. The wars in Afghanistan, Syria, Libyan, and Somalia alone are responsible for more than half of the world's refugees. Political upheaval and conflicts in the Middle East and Africa are sources of the growing number of refugees and migrants. "The lack of respect for international human rights and humanitarian law has compounded the growing displacement of many as a consequence of their deteriorating living conditions (UNHCR, 2016)." The stream of refugees and migrants trying to enter Europe is increasing dramatically.

No one should know and predict what will happen in the future and what impacts migration will cause. Conflicts will undoubtedly continue and worsen the conditions of local population, especially in the Middle East and sub-Saharan Africa. Conflicts in Syria, Libya, Chad, South Sudan, Eritrea, Somalia, and other fragile states in Africa will become a major source and generate more international terrorism and uncertainties of national security. "The negative socio-economic impacts of war, and its legacies, or permanent unrest, may drive migration through negative impacts on labour markets, livelihoods, food and health security, social service delivery and through political instability and social tensions (including the psychological pressure on people living near conflict situations) and the growth of criminal networks (WFP, 2017)."

The conflicts happening today are driving migrants and refugees as symptomatic of the breakdown of the international order. The lack of a democratic system, the escalation of violence, and the intensification of rivalries between global powers have fueled conflicts and made wars even worse to solve. This phenomenon has weakened the international order and created divisions between Western countries in managing the migration crises. These reasons have shaken values and political solidarity among Western societies. Usually, countries debate and argue about crises and common issues. The acceptance of migrants and refugees affect communities and societies. Perhaps, the environment can affect lower or even increase the perception of reality in migrants coming from the Middle East and sub-Saharan Africa. The level of threat perception becomes even worse when radicalized and criminal elements are attached.

However, "radicalisation is a process, both ideological and material, of which social differentiation and exclusion, grounded in assumptions of shared ancestry, assign certain groups to a specific position in the production relations and social hierarchy (Creese and Peterson, 1996, pp. 117-45)." Consistently, radicalisation has diverse dimensions and indications in host societies with an impact on societal security. By preventing radicalisation, societies need to invest in a successful integration process and strengthen inclusion. No existing tool or system identifies the radicalisation apart from other forms of stress or influences on societies.

Public attitude towards migration

In recent years, "migration has become one of the most controversial and important topics in public policy (Javdani, 2020, p. 2)." Regularly, the narrative has been part of the host countries and political agenda. "It shows that, e.g., Italy and Greece have become countries of migration instead of nations of emigration (Gattinara, 2017, pp. 318-31)," and the concept has manipulated the public perception and attitude. Very often, "the social sciences presumed that attitudes are very stable social constructions that change only very slightly and very slowly (Messing-Sagvari, 2018, p. 3)." It does not change very often, but the economic depressions, terrorist attacks, and refugee crises are key factors and indicators to change and shift attitudes. For instance, "according to data from Eurobarometer – a longitude multi-topic pan-European survey of public opinions – the percentage of respondents who considered migration as one of the two most important issues facing their countries increased from 14% in 2005 to 22% in 2017, changing its importance ranking among more than a dozen issues from sixth to second (Messing-Sagvari, 2018, p. 3)."

Looking at the characteristics and perception of migration, Watson (2012, p. 284) suggested that "... an issue is securitized only if and when the audience accepts it as such, and securitization is not decided by the securitizer, but by the audience, and in most cases, these audiences are plural and diverse." Internal audiences and public attitudes towards migrants, e.g., Italy, Greece, and Spain, are strongly linked to their economic interests and sociological facts. In this case, states need to engage effectively with audiences and the public, which includes a better understanding of the concerns, emotions, and values of the real world. Scholars have often pointed out that the country's perspective, political domain, and historical context are determinantal factors that influence citizens' attitudes. For instance, the European Commission Survey "finds large cross-national differences on attitude towards migrants in Mediterranean countries (Greece 87% of respondents express resistance to migration), in Central European societies (87% of Hungarians shows resistance to migration). In contrast, Nordic countries disassociate themselves (only 15% of Swedish express resistance to migrants) (Beutin et al., 2006, p. 14)."

Migration continues to be a critical internal topic and public debate across the political spectrum, considering it "an important security shock threatening the collective identity of the host society (Baurbeau, 2015, p. 1964)." For the EU, "they are already securitized through labeling them a threat as "illegal" and "bogus" (Hintjens, 2019, p. 181)." "The rhetoric and discursive powers influence the social and economic integration of migrants, and media agents actively formulated security discourses premised on the notion that immigration threatens social-collective identity (Hintjens, 2019, p. 181)." For instance, in the north, public attitude is considered largely ambivalent in nature and emotionally charged in reality. It shows the existing reflection between threat perception and human rights. There is no clear definition or understanding of who is a threat to our civil security and who needs support and assistance. In general, societies and especially right-wing movements consider and perceive migration as basically a crisis-driven issue. However, important politicians and societal actors need to have a comprehensive understanding of security. To better understand it, the "Copenhagen School has defined security as an act of speech. An issue becomes a matter of security when it is presented as such, not necessarily because, in reality, it exists as such (Ole et al., 1993)."

The migration-security nexus, in practice, influences more on the economic and social domains. Both concepts are significantly affecting the social consciousness and stereotypical thinking of the involved actors. These effects can manipulate the attitude of locals towards migrants. Economic and security factors are strong stereotypes and correlate with possible antagonist societal attitudes against migration. In Italy, for instance, the issue of migration becomes the primary stereotypical thinking across the country, and people favored tight migration policies that restrict migrants, especially those of different ethnicities and religions. If we refer to 9/11, "it has transformed Muslims from an ethnic/religious minority in society to a transnational risk category; potential sources of religiously inspired extremist violence (Humphrey, 2005, p. 12)."

It is worth mentioning that the toxic narrative of migration has raised the limits of cultural tolerance

and religious issues. Nowadays, migrants are experiencing multipolar changes in cultural norms and religion. On the contrary, host countries oppose migration and multiculturalism, and both are considered a threat. For instance, "when looking at 'religion,' Maliepaard and Phalet (2012, pp. 131-148) have examined religiosity in terms of social identity and social practice." Both religion and social identity are very debatable and critical issues in the migration domain, future studies, and analysis of the security nexus. The media uses cultural and religious narratives to influence public opinions, mainly in Italy, Greece, France, and Germany. Articles and news coverage have increased dramatically during the last decade. For example, "migration crises, in 2005, in Italy, have been displayed in the media up to 380-times. The number of articles and time allocation increased ten times more in 2017, and statistics show that migration is covered and showed in media 4238 times (Caritas and Migrants, 2018, p. 8)."

During the last decade, the narrative has been evident in media, and more time and space have been devoted to illegal migration, crime and social security problems. It has been a driving factor in influencing and manipulating public opinion, becoming a "weapon" in the hands of extremists. During the Syrian civil war and insecurity in several fragile states like Iraq, Afghanistan, and Libya, the migration crises were considered a humanitarian issue. By the end of 2015, however, the narrative had changed, and migration crises become purely political and security issues. In a broader perspective, the public perceptions were shaped and influenced mainly through, e.g., illegal border crossings, labour force, refugees, asylum seekers, and terrorism within the EU. The duality of perception and threat are considered as determining factors influencing individual behavior and security.

In the context of migration, in Europe, there was a lack of organization and resources, misunderstanding with transit countries, and lack of solidarity among the EU countries. The issue culminated in 2018 and became a crisis of values, increasing xenophobia and radicalism among political spectrums and key actors, particularly in Italy, Spain, and Germany. At this time, the media played a crucial role in influencing anti-migration sentiments and hostile reactions to migrants. Populist groups exploited the circumstances, labeling migrants as "*invaders*" or "*others*." "The term 'refugees' and the word 'migrant' might sound correct in English, but in Hungarian, a 'migrant' is an enemy who will kill us (Khan, 2019)." However, the role of media and perceptions of migration vary from country to country. Even the norms of dealing with migration issues can be fundamentally different. In most cases in Europe, the perception is related mainly to labour issues, national security problems, illegal trafficking, and terrorism. At the same time, media and politics have seen migrants "as a threat, as opponents of the home regimes, as a political risk to the host country, as a threat to cultural identity, as a social or economic burden and as hostages, risks for the sending country (Weiner, 1993, pp. 10-18)."

It is clear that all of this can lead to unstable public attitudes and antagonistic right-wing responses to migrants and refugees. For instance, "Italians consider all newcomers merely as migrants, not making a single distinction between legal, illegal, or asylum seekers (Doxon et al., 2018, p. 14)." There are many doubts among EU countries that migrants often look for better-leaving conditions than a safer shelter far away from conflict areas. Mostly, EU countries have rejected a significant number of asylum applicants. The stereotypical thinking of public opinion, the role of media and social networks, and the involvement of extremism, in some cases, were detrimental factors that decided the rejection of asylum applications. The triangle between public attitude, media and the political spectrum, and the duality of migration and threat perception have played an essential role in the decision-making process. "The dual correlation of migration and threat showed that 47% of Italians believe that criminality is connected to refugees, while 50% emphasized that there is a connection between illegal migrants and terrorism (Gattinara, 2017, pp 318-31)."

In Europe, the media and the political spectrum are closely associated and shape public attitudes. For instance, various European societies perceive Muslim refugees as a "*threat*" to national security. This attitude is strictly connected to migrants coming from the Middle East and North Africa. Due to terrorist attacks in Europe and the US, there is growing fear and uncertainty. The current public attitude "*encourages*" xenophobic narratives and links "*threats*" mainly with Muslims. For instance,

"a considerable number of citizens in Italy and Greece believe that migrants fragmented the public perception, caused a burden to health service, and budgeted and made it harder for natives to get jobs (Doxon et al., 2018, p. 14)."

"The narrative and uncertainties initiated a vast political debate in Italy in 2013 and during elections in 2018, presenting the radicalisation and divisions among Italians (Caiani, 2019)." Italy, for instance, experienced the growing popularity of two populist parties: the left-wing party Movimento 5-Stele (*The Movement of Five Stars*) and the right-wing party the Lega Nord (*the North League*). The Italian "trend" was followed in Germany (2017) and Hungary (2018). "The far-right Alternative for Germany (AfD) entered the federal parliament for the first time, with 12.6% of the vote, becoming Germany's biggest opposition party (Caiani, 2019)." In comparison, "Mr. Orban secured the third term in office with a landslide victory in an election dominated by migration (BBC, 2019)."

Consistently, right-wing parties in Europe (*Lega Nord (ITA)*, *National Front (FR)*, *the Freedom Party (AUT)*, *Vox (SPA)*, *Alternative for Germany (DEU)*) and the media have increased pressure and manipulated public opinion blaming governments for inability to manage the migration crises, portraying them mainly as a bogey. For example, in Italy and Greece, societies have a high difference between perception and reality. "Apart from that, several surveys show that Italians believe that the presence of migrants is approximately 18%, while in Greece, it is a little low, up to 15% (Valbruzzi, 2018)."

Finally, we can confidently say that toxic narrative and political extremism have influenced public perception and compromised the role of the media. Stereotypical thinking has manipulated societies and increased the number of citizens who believe that migration is a threat-based crisis. The attitude and misperception of migrants are interconnected. Both domains have not been sufficiently studied. Moreover, it is difficult to identify which is more critical and what are the economic impacts.

Is migration a benefit or a burden?

The migration nexus in the developed world is attracting both public and academic attention. So, "it is better to understand how nations respond to the migration process affects the negative and positive consequences of immigration (Freilich, et al., 2006)." The process is associated with internal and national security. "The securitization nexus of migration is viewed as a "security" issue giving it a political priority (Leonard, 2007)." For instance, "the Brexiteers and anti-immigration supporters alike claim that migrants are a "burden" to the UK economy (Goodwin and Milazzo, 2017, p. 458)."

Currently, European countries are struggling to cope with a large number of arrivals. The number of migrants entering the EU is higher today than it was at the turn of the last century. Waves of migration have caused friction and debate among politicians and society, and this has become increasingly a very emotional issue. For instance, Ms. Theresa May gave, the UK. Home Secretary (CNBC, 2015) said that "when immigration is too high when the pace of change is too fast, it is impossible to build a cohesive society."

The number of people willing to move to the West for a better life is growing rapidly. The statistics provided by Eurostat (2020) show that "there were 676,250 asylum applications in 2019, an increase of 199,000 in the previous year." This number is only increasing. "The asylum seekers, refugees and migrants have been framed as an existential threat to the EU, starting around 2000 (Huysmans, 2000; Bigo, 2002; Bounfino, 2006; Leonardo, 2011; Murray and Longo, 2018)." A study conducted in Spain follows these ideas. It underlines that "the connection between illegal immigration and terrorism is constructive rather than an objective reality (Saux, 2007, p. 63)." It might be expected that migration can be a threat when migration is forced (in case of conflict or failed states), rather than voluntary (in case of migration). The difference between forced migration and voluntary movements is distinguished by their impacts and reactions on host societies. They may cause short and long effects, especially on national security issues, psychological and social-cultural problems. However, Whyte Saux (2007, p. 63) analysed the migration issues more straightforward and "drew upon and analyzed the Moral-Panics Theory, arguing that the perceived danger of terrorism caused people to blame a certain group

of people, designating them as the enemy and creating a division between 'us' and 'them.'" The debate continued in the book of Barry Buzan, Ole Waever and others on *Identity, Migration and The Security Agenda in Europe* "underlined that the societal security had lost its understanding of groups and they are based only on 'we' identity (Waever, et. el., 1993, pp. 17-40)." What we are doing now is to utter our egotistic nonsense of 'we' and 'them,' and label migrants 'invaders,' 'terrorists,' 'criminals,' and constantly producing scenarios to attach and prejudice them. Unfortunately, "in Europe, the reverse has been true. Bombs in Madrid and London were immediately associate with migrants in the press even when this was shown not to be true in London (Tarlo, 2005, pp. 13-17)."

The security domain has changed and migration has become part of it. The abstract nature of security is mainly associated with migration, refugees, asylum seekers, crime, and terrorism. The concept of security is divided into two: external and societal security. External security dealt primarily with the physical integrity of the state. While, "societies, in most cases, look at migration as an internal security matter to societal security threatening and challenging the state's traditional national identity and core values (Heisler and Layton-Henry, 1993, p. 158)."

To that extent, "the impact of 9/11 transformed Muslims from an ethnic/religious minority in a multicultural society to a transnational risk category (Humphrey, 2005, pp. 132-148)." It started as a public debate among politicians and civil society on the differences between threat perception and security nexus. It is an issue and a question that requires a clear answer and understanding of the definition of ordinary migrants. To do this, all parties must be involved, distinguishing what a threat is and who caused it. It all has to do with understanding and addressing 'so what' and 'why does it matter' questions. It is about the perception and understanding of reality. The two interrelated domains require harmonization and awareness of the problem and environmental understanding. It all has to do with perception, action, and reactions. "The perception is based on perception rather than empirical facts (Tallmeister, 2013, p. 3)." Unfortunately, nowadays, the current security nexus is ambiguous, sometimes chaotic, and questionable.

Societal Security

The term security suggests that internal security issues are not securitized until they go through the process. It is a call for attention to the construction of societal security. In use, security is an abstract concept referred to as something not real until it operates. In other words, issues become security issues when they are perceived as such. The migration dilemma can be attributed to the creation of a hostile environment and uncertainties in societies. They can influence and determine the historical development of different regions and countries. At this stage, it is essential to overcome the duality between migrants and host societies and not become complicated in the political and social domain. In Western societies, migration has become one of the most perceived threats to domestic security along with illegal trafficking, organized crime, and terrorism. Migration is potentially dangerous, and US Senator Tom Tancredo (2004) labeled them "*silent invasion*."

While, Barry Buzan portrays the concept of societal security more about survival in the case of existential threat. The threat must be accepted by society, which is ready to take action against it. Societies are made up of different groups and ethnicities. Each speaks for themselves or politicians, and community leaders can present them. Political elite and leaders play a critical role in turning, e.g., migration issues into a societal security problem by securitizing them and portraying themselves as having right to deal with it.

The threat is perceived and presented differently by different groups, societies, and nations. Each group or society recognizes itself based on its collective identity, language, culture, and religion. "Societal security, then, is about the preservation of traditional patterns of language, culture, association, and religious and national identity, within acceptable conditions for evolution. In other words, societal security is about "large, self-sustaining identity groups (Buzan et al., 1998, pl. 119)." All individuals identify themselves as part of the community, members of society, and religious groups. When internal

and external developments of events threaten these values, they consider themselves under threat. These may not be identified as a security threat but will be perceived as a threat to their community and individual identity. “In recent years, integration is identified as a confrontation process and a cultural change of values and behavior patterns between migrants and host societies (Natale et al., 1997, p. 252).”

Within migration, the framework poses a threat to the identity of societies. Scholars such as Buzan and Waever address this issue in detail. They refer and underline the importance of the ‘others’ in maintaining and reinforcing their identity. Societies have already established their own stereotypes over migrants and have prepared themselves how to address this issue. Ironically, the issue of migration is securitized. It has become part of the political debate, as a result, it is considered problematic, and migrants are generally seen as “*others*.” Therefore, “the act of securitizing immigration is more threatening than immigration itself, as it often results in racism and xenophobia, ultimately leading to social integration (Tallmeister, 2013, p.2).”

Economic Security

Migration not only affects the national interests of the state but also affects the national economy. Since the economic crises of 2008, the migration nexus has been a contentious issue. Nowadays, migration is not a cliché but a very simple fact. In this debate, there are supporters and opponents of migration. On the one hand, supporters of migration believe that the labour market benefits from both high and low-skilled occupancies. In Europe, for instance, they can help address labor market imbalance, contribute to taxes and social security, and promote economic growth. This phenomenon is known as “brain gain.” Several studies and researches have shown the data focus on cost versus benefits. “A poll conducted in the US found out that 51 percent of responders believe immigrants take jobs away from native-born workers. However, 86 percent of interviewers believe that immigrants are hard workers, and 61 percent think immigrants create jobs and set up new businesses. (Mary, C. W et al., 2015, p.9)” In support of the benefits, World Bank President Jim Yong Kim (CNBC, 2015) said that “countries with aging population can create a path for refugees and migrants to participate in the economy, everyone benefits.” He went on mentioning that “the evidence showed that migrants work hard and contribute more in taxes than they consume in social services.”

On the other hand, opponents of migration saw it as a burden or a “3D effect (dirty, dangerous, and difficult) (King & Lulle, 2016)” on the host country’s economy. For instance, in 2008, the labour market in Italy suffered significant consequences and profound deterioration of working conditions. In some cases, migration has been seen as a “*solution*” replacing native workers, especially in-home care and unskilled jobs. Therefore, “migrants are considered to take away jobs from native-born workers” (Tallmeister, 2013, p. 2). This has, firstly, a psychological effect and secondly has reduced the chances of the low-income residents to find a job. At first, it may seem like the country is getting cheap and flexible labour. However, in the long run, the country may lose competitiveness, create social problems, higher unemployment, and provoke societal reactions. Very often, “public opinion supported the idea that immigrants depress wages and take away jobs, contributing to economic problems (Somerville and Sumption, 2009, pp.3).” The phenomenon was reflected in statistics displayed by OECD/EU (2018), “migrants between the ages of 15 and 64 were approximately 40% of workers in the low-skilled sector, and only 10% were native-born.”

At first glance, it seems that migration negatively impacts the labor market and social welfare. However, we must carefully identify migrants who are a burden and a source of crime and others who positively affect the national economy’s development. “The economic impact of migration differs in every country and depends on the economic conditions of the time, and it can be seen that immigration often has a positive impact on the employment levels of the host state (Islam, 2007, p. 53).” Nowadays, globalization is an established concept of the modern world, bringing more benefits to our daily lives ... such as access to economic growth and high living standards. The notion of free trade can lead to massive movements. Politics consider it as a burden on the economy and societal security.

Scholars do not primarily support this finding. Tallmeister (2013,p.3) emphasized that “contrary to the public perception and opinion that migrants threaten job security, depress wages and lead to an increase in unemployment levels, immigration, in reality, can increase job opportunities and enhance the economy of the receiving state.”

Internal Security

The analysis of the social security and the economic impact of migration directly affects the internal security that emerged as part of the national security. For instance, “the Schengen Agreement and Convention of Dublin connected migration to terrorism, international crime, and border control (Huysmans, 2000, p. 756).” “Terrorism has emerged as the most widely recognizable and visible threat to a national security, especially after the 9/11 attacks (Srikanth, 2014, p. 61).” For instance, Jamal Al Nassar (2005) “presents the relation between terrorism and migration in metaphorical terms as the migration of dreams and migration of nightmares.”

After 9/11, the US developed a counterterrorism strategy and created the new Homeland Department, increasing the effectiveness of border control. Measures taken by the government to prevent and reduce the illegal or legal entry of dangerous and suspicious elements did not mitigate terrorist attacks or criminal activities. However, we should not ignore “that terrorism is undoubtedly a real threat to the internal security of states throughout the world, but its connection to immigration must be questioned (Tallmeister, 2013, p. 4).”

If we go back in time and look at what happened in the 2013 Boston Marathon, the attack was caused by people who hold US citizenship, not by those entering the country illegally. It sparked a wide-ranging debate in American society. Even “President Obama expressed his concerns of how is possible a young man who grew up and studied here, as part of our communities and our country, resort, to such violence? (Ray, 2013).” At first glance, it seems implausible how a young man who studies harms the society that has welcomed him. This event caused many debates and questions for the American administration to strengthen legal and illegal procedures entering the US. The Trump administration went even further, reducing the US migration lottery and building the wall on Mexico's border. Even the US is experiencing hundreds of millions of migrants crossing state borders illegally every year. Despite migratory movements in Europe or the US, various scholars disagree that migrants and migration are essential sources of crime or terrorism. In support, Mueller argued, “that the threat of terrorism by either national or immigrant terrorists had been highly exaggerated (Mueller, 2006, pp. 2-8).”

In some cases, threats and violence were mainly related to migrants. Immediately, the media reacted by raising the veil of doubt, spreading racist messages, and introducing xenophobic behavior. The media reaction mainly shapes perception, influences personal emotions, and the atmosphere that argues the difference between ‘us’ and identifies migrants as ‘them’. For instance, some terrorist acts were not prepared by migrants. Unfortunately, “because of bombings in Madrid (2004) and London (2005), immigrants and asylum seekers are labeled as the enemy Saux (2007, p. 63).” In these cases, the message immediately spread worldwide, and societies begin to create stereotypical perceptions of ‘them’ as a threat. Migration and terrorism became political discourse and media campaigns ranging across life aspects. It pursued on all media outlets, emphasising the connection between migration and terrorism. On the other hand, governments advise robust responses and anti-radicalization doctrines against the “*home-growing*” terrorism.

To conclude, scholars of strategic studies noted that reality itself is a challenge to be addressed and understood. However, they fail to distinguish and identify differences between “*migrants*” and “*foreigners*”. For instance, “*individuals*” enter the US on a temporary visa led to the attack of 9/11 (Spencer, 2008, pp. 1-24).” Apart from that, migrants are randomly portrayed as the primary source of crime in several EU countries. Even in many cases, this is not proven.

Conclusion

This review has assessed the indication of international migration on national security and potential future challenges. The topic is subject to heated debates among scholars of security studies and different actors in the developed world. It is not easy to identify and assess an illegal economic migrant, terrorist, or even a criminal. Therefore, this review is focused on migration and its effect on national security. Simultaneously, the migration nexus and refugee movements to the north are usually considered and identified as “crises”. The conclusions are structured around the following three questions:

1. Why people move, and what are the drivers of migration?

The UN definition of migration identifies when an individual is called migrant and shows how it takes place. The definition can extend and facilitate analysis and understanding of why people move. Most of the analysis points out an apparent increase in the numbers of migrants using irregular means. Refugees come mainly from the Middle East and North Africa. Currently, illegal migration is often unpredictable and mostly explored by smugglers and unscrupulous labour recruiters. Even so, possible scenarios may arise, and different drivers in their home and receiving countries may increase migration.

The migration routes evolve based on several internal and external factors, including available means and information. Security, economic, and political conditions are among the main drivers influencing movement alongside whether regular routes are available or not. Evidence and analysis show that movement, in most cases, is affected by deadly conflicts and economic underdevelopment. Measures taken to restrict entry do not seem to effectively reduce refugees but rather force them to explore illegal and dangerous routes. In such situations, media and social networks play a role in sharing information and “*shaping*” the audience. The immediate impact of internal conflicts influences individual decisions, and employment opportunities slowly control the flow.

2. What is the public attitude towards migration?

The phenomenon of migration is becoming an important and debatable topic among social and political actors, arguing about implications and effects. Migrants have a clear impact on both sending and receiving countries and influence political decisions and preferences. The public mainly follows and supports policies. Understanding public attitudes are very crucial. In general, attitudes differ from one country to another. Understanding the attitude of migrants can help manage and understand the situation. However, sometimes better situation awareness may not be enough. We need to understand the growth of international networks and the role of social media.

In general, the analysis focuses on public attitudes towards migrants. It provides a complex view of the public. However, this approach has not been without problems. The stakeholders have securitized the issue, and the audiences are part of the securitisation environments. Most of the audiences are plural and diverse. Under these conditions, it is not easy to assess the audience correctly and investigate its migration attitude. There is a strong feeling and hostile perception that labels migrants ‘invaders’ and migration is considered a threat-driven issue in Europe. The migration narrative initiated a political debate and favored extremist politicians like Mr. Salvini in Italy and Ms. Le Pen in France to dominate the political scene.

3. Is the migration for the developed world a benefit or a burden?

The relationship between migration and development is complicated and, in many cases, related. It is problematic for all the reasons outlined above. We do not want to be naive and undermine the value or even the burden of migrants. They involve all economic, cultural, and religious aspects that need to be considered. Here, the main question is not whether or not to accept migrants but how to manage and make them part of society. Developed countries need to explore ways to maximise value and minimise negative impacts. It requires constructive and effective management of migration policies

and practices.

The security domain has changed, so has altered migration. The abstract nature of security is mostly associated with migration and threat-based issues. Societies and migrants need to build up flexible relations. All stakeholders need to recognize the problem and develop effective policies to approach recognized values and mitigate identified challenges. With that in mind, governments need to understand the diversity and the potential benefit of migrants. We need to maximize the value of migrants through carefully planned policies and practices than the benefit of migrants overcoming the burden in the host country. Despite the fact and public attitude towards migration, scholars and several polls have identified very little correlation between migration and crime.

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