Book Review

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Handbook on Migration and Security
by: Philippe Bourbeau
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The securitisation of migration is a growing area of study. The *Handbook on Migration and Security* contributes to this area with analyses, approaches and questions relevant to the nexus between migration and security. It offers studies on contemporary issues such as gendered bodies in securitised migration regimes, migration in the neoliberal city and the normalisation of surveillance of movement. The handbook, which is a collection of 19 chapters within four parts, provides multi-disciplinary research written by diverse scholars on various topics, all of which explore divergent aspects of migration and security. Part 1 emphasises the importance of migration and security whilst Parts 2 and 3 discuss more specific topics focused on facets of the securitisation of migration. Finally, Part 4 explores the ways in which international organisations (IOs) and certain countries perceive the securitisation of migration.

In Part 1, Messina uses cost benefit analysis and immigration policy discourse to claim that the interests of sovereign states shape immigration policies. He stresses that no quantitative data supports elites' illiberal speech on national security, which alters the perception of immigration among the public. In the next chapter, Browning argues that debates surrounding the security effects of migration are political and vary according to the prioritisation of divergent interests, preferences and values.

Part 2 starts with Rudolph's chapter on immigration and the political economy of security in which he argues that under very rare conditions, the substitution between trade and migration flows can function well, thus, precluding any 'magic bullet' (p.80) responses to the challenges of immigration. Wilcox's (p.88) Chapter 4 asserts that migration regimes regulate gender in a way that is inseparable from racial assumptions such as inscriptions in biometric devices and the practices using 'normal' embodiment. On a more theoretical basis, Bourbeau's Chapter 5 criticises the current analytical stalemate between the logics of exception and routine in the literature and encourages security scholars to move the discussion towards the factors including security performance and path dependence to unite them. The penultimate chapter co-authored by Zapata-Barrero and Gabrielli explains ethical policy frameworks that focus on security concerns of both destination country and migrants, societies of origin and transit countries. Zuberi and Taylor's adoption of Toronto and Vancouver as case studies in the

final chapter argues that securitisation and the use of public space have become a tool to segregate poor from elite urban residents.

Part 3 explores nine themes, each with a different facet of the securitisation of migration. In Chapter 8, Doty argues that the family detention system in the USA is a form of structural violence and cruelty. In the following chapter, White (p.175) discusses that the concept of 'environmental refugees' changes according to the context, the agenda and the intended audience, all of which are to their detriment. White discovers that no empirical evidence supports a popular idea that climate change will trigger an influx of asylum seekers. In Chapter 10, Potvin and Davis analyse the relationship between migration and security through the lens of resilience. Using Jordanian and Lebanese policies, the authors describe the notion of resilience as a productive paradigm. In Chapter 11, Triandafyllidou argues that the criminalisation of migrant smuggling disguises its socio-economic dynamics in countries of origin and transit. Thus, socio-economic context is essential in analysing migrant smuggling since smuggling provides for side jobs. In the next chapter, Mitsilegas and Vavoula analyse the securitisation of migration through digitalisation in the EU and the mass surveillance' effect on fundamental human rights.

Xenophobia and racism are the central themes in Chapter 13 where d'Appollonia demonstrates that selectivity in criminal cases transforms Islam into a racial category. Despite low numbers of criminal cases, xenophobic statements aggravated a view that asylum seekers were invading Western countries. In the following chapter, Gattinara and Morales analyse how political parties address immigration and how this situation affects public sentiments across seven EU countries. They discovered that neither negative politicisation conducted by political parties, nor intensification hypothesis, are able to explain different perceptions of securitisation of migration across European countries. In Chapter 15, Caviedes uses quantitative and qualitative methods to compare media security reports in the UK, Spain and Germany. In the next chapter, Greenaway and Gushulak argue that although modern international travel is a significant factor in the spread of diseases, limited data supports the impact of migration on pandemic infections. Yet, stigmatisation of migrants as potential transmitter of diseases caused exclusionary health measures towards them.

Part 4 starts with Geiger and Pécoud's analysis on how IOs contribute to the securitisation of migration. They note that certain language used by IOs might not be value-neutral. In Chapter 18, Alexseev argues that the former USSR and aftermath of the Cold War provide a model whereby common approaches to the security effects of migration should be reconsidered because traditional migration concepts are inapplicable in Eurasia. In the final chapter, Muggah explains migrant patterns in Latin America in groups, and argues that although Latin America developed regional responses to displacement, regional institutions fail to enforce standards at the national scale. Despite of the progress, protection and durable solutions are still too limited and access to services is erratic.

The critique of the handbook

The diverse methodology in the handbook is noteworthy as the authors used both quantitative and qualitative approaches. However, there are seven major points that could be improved. *First*, the scope of the analysis is mostly limited to Western Europe

and North America. Although the last two chapters explore Russia, Central Asia and Latin America; the Middle Eastern, Asian and African scope is very limited. Today, the top hosting countries in the world are Turkey, Pakistan, Lebanon, Iran, Uganda and Ethiopia.[1] What is happening in those countries concerning the securitisation of migration would be necessary to learn since they might have already developed policies that the Global North is facing now. (An exception is Chapter 10, which provides insights from Jordanian and Lebanese policies regulating refugee settlements). *Second*, the handbook does not explore some important topics. These include how states respond to migrants who are suspected of criminality and how future researchers should approach to a nexus between asylum seekers and foreign fighters. These topics strike at the centre of the balance between respect for human rights and security concerns of host states in the light of war against terrorism. *Third*, some of the factors in the chapters need further analysis and evidence. For example, in Chapter 1, Messina claims that the trauma of September 11 did not change public perception; instead, national trajectories go hand in hand with public perceptions of immigration. However, he fails in offering quantitative data assessing public perception on immigration in relation to September 11. The author further argues that political elite' illiberal speeches do not affect public perception of immigration. However, the campaigns of Marinne le Pen, Trump and Brexit almost exclusively targeted migrants, which also received relatively successful support from public.[2] Therefore, the impact of illiberal speeches of political elites on public perception fails to convince readers. In Chapter 17, Geiger and Pécoud argue that regional forums in the EU such as Dublin and Schengen agreement were results of rising fears about mass migratory movements from East to West Europe after the fall of the Soviet Union. However, this claim is inconsistent as most eastern European states have become members of the EU and are parts of all these agreements. Strikingly, the authors suggest that UNHCR and IOM aim for work opportunities outside Europe to expand their interventions globally. IOs are also accused of being ineffective and of taking no action (pp.348, 354). Lacking quantitative data, their arguments are unconvincing given that IOs intervention might be necessary in a world where 65.6 million people are displaced[3] and that 17.2 million refugees were recognised under the mandate of UNHCR as of 2016. In Chapter 4, Wilcox fails in explaining how gender non-conforming people are considered as security threats in biometrics border regimes. The author only explains gender-discriminatory parts of the biometrics border regimes, which is *per se* insufficient to argue that gender non-conforming people are directly considered as security threats.

Fourth, there is a need for recent data in certain chapters. In Chapter 14, the authors used data derived from Eurobarometer and International Social Survey Programme that provided data up until 2013. In other words, recent political and social changes in the EU such as Brexit, the rise of Front National in France, terrorist attacks in Belgium, France and the UK are excluded from the analysis. Those developments might have altered a nexus between politicisation and securitisation of immigration. Likewise, majority of the statistics used in Chapter 1 are dated 2013. Considering all political and social changes occurred after 2013, Messina's conclusions might not be relevant anymore.[4] New primary sources are necessary to evaluate current public perception.

Fifth, conclusions of a few chapters are not summative. D'Appollonia concludes Chapter 13 with an example stating that young Muslims mostly perpetrated the racist attacks in France, which is a completely different topic requiring further analysis and discussion. Similarly, in Chapter 8, Doty introduces critical arguments in the conclusion by mentioning that economic failures in Central America, which is the main motivation

for many immigrants to leave their countries, are related to the NAFTA. Yet, this argument requires further analysis. *Sixth*, there are contradictory statements in some chapters. Notably, in Chapter 16, although Greenaway and Gushulak claim that there is limited evidence with regard to the impact of migration on pandemic infections, their conclusion is to suggest universal health care for everyone including refugees. If migration is not a leading factor in spreading infections worldwide and refugees are diligently scrutinised before or after their arrival to host countries, why create a global health strategy for refugees and displaced persons? *Finally*, selected data for analysis might reflect a biased approach. For example, in Chapter 13, D'Appollonia rightfully mentions that the USA hosts only 1,500 Syrians since 2011 out of four million waiting for resettlement. However, providing data on the numbers of other nationals such as Iraqis, Afghans, Iranians and Yemenis that the USA has hosted over the same period would allow for a more impartial comparison. In addition, the author uses examples only from Europe and the USA. The justification for omitting examples from other immigrant countries such as Australia and Canada would be useful to know. To conclude, although the handbook has some shortcomings, it is a good source to review the contemporary research on the securitisation of migration. It could be of interest to both students and researchers who conduct research on specific parts of the securitisation logic.

Notes

1   UNHCR, *Figures at Glance* [online] http://www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html (accessed 1 October 2018).

2   Johnston, I., *Brexit: Anti-immigrant Prejudice Major Factor in Deciding Vote, Study Finds*, Independent [online] https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-racism-immigrant-prejudice-major-factor-leave-vote-win-study-a7801676.html (accessed 1 October 2018). Please also see the Guardian's comments on French Presidential Election 2017, *Marine Le Pen Defeated but France's Far Right is Far from Finished* [online] https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/07/marine-le-pen-defeated-front-national-far-from-finished (accessed 1 October 2018).

3   Ibid.

4   Some noteworthy developments after 2013: Charlie Hebdo attacks in 2015, Brexit in June 2016, Paris attacks in November 2015 and subsequent state of emergency in France, four terrorist attacks in the UK only in 2017, Brussels bombing in 2016 and Trump's election in 2016.