

George W. Bush's securitization of immigration across the United States- Mexico border

Esther van 't Veen

S1256025

MSc Crisis & Security Management

Supervisor: I.L. Elias Carillo

Word count: 28,783

Abstract

This study analyzes President George W. Bush's contradictory discourse on immigration across the United States (U.S.) -Mexico border. It examines how Bush tries to convince his audience that immigrants are a potential threat but also necessary for the nation's economic security as well as the security of the nation's identity. This striking combination of immigration discourses is examined with the use of securitization theory. The thesis concludes that Bush was only partially able to securitize immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border. His audience only accepted that immigrants were a threat to the nation. Securitization theory does not reveal that his audience also accepted that immigrants were necessary for the nation's economic security and the security of the nation's identity.

Content

1	Introduction	4-8
2	Literature review	9-13
3	Theoretical framework	14-21
4	Research Design	22-29
5	Existential Threat Narrative	30-44
6	Extraordinary Means	45-58
7	Audience Acceptance	59-68
8	Conclusion	69-76
9	Bibliography	77-90
10	Appendix I	91-98

1 Introduction

After the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the Twin Towers and the Pentagon, President George W. Bush's presidency seemed to revolve around the War on Terror.¹ Fighting terrorism, catching Osama Bin Laden and bringing down Saddam Hussein appeared to be his primary concerns.² Many have therefore forgotten the paradoxical narratives that Bush used to discuss the issue of immigration across the United States (U.S.)- Mexico border. Bush referred to immigrants who crossed the U.S.-Mexico border as both valuable contributors to the American economy and potential terrorists and dangerous criminals. He, for instance, remarked:

“It is clear to us that the people who come to this country [across the U.S.-Mexico border] make a significant contribution to the American economy” (Bush, 2004e).

“Our skilled immigration security officers are (...) going against some of the most dangerous people in our society—smugglers, terrorists, gang members, and human traffickers” (Bush, 2005d).

Framing immigrants at the same time as threats and economic assets is strikingly contradictory. It is this rather forgotten contradiction that this thesis analyzes. It analyzes this by posing the question: *To what extent did President George W. Bush securitize the issue of immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border during his presidency?* The aim of this thesis is, thereby, to use the so-called securitization theory of Buzan, Waever and de Wilde of the Copenhagen School (CS) to illuminate the extent to which President Bush was able to convince his audience that immigrants who come across the U.S.-Mexico border are a security concern. In accordance with securitization theory, such immigrants are a security concern in this thesis if Bush uses an existential threat narrative, mobilizes extraordinary measures and generates audience acceptance (this is expanded upon in the theoretical framework). These three criteria form the basis of this research's sub-questions:

¹ The *September 11* (9/11) terrorist attacks in 2001 were airline hijackings and suicide attacks committed by Islamic extremists of the terrorist group Al-Qaeda. Two planes were flown into the Twin Towers in New York, one hit the Pentagon and one crashed in the Pennsylvania countryside. It is (until now) the deadliest attack on U.S. history. In the wake of the attacks the U.S. started the War on Terror (September 11 attacks, 2017). The *War on Terror* is the term used to describe the efforts of the U.S. and its allies to combat terrorists organizations, nations that host terrorist, and terrorist individuals. The war was triggered by the 9/11 attacks (Morgan & Morgan, 2011).

² *Osama Bin Laden* was the leader of Al-Qaeda (Osama Bin Laden, 2014). *Saddam Hussein* was president of Iraq, a nation the U.S. invaded as part of its War on Terror (Saddam Hussein, 2017).

- 1) *Does President Bush use a narrative in which immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border is framed as an existential threat to the United States?*
- 2) *Does Bush propose a series of extraordinary means to tackle the existential threats?*
- 3) *Is Bush able to generate his audience's approval of his existential threat narrative and the accompanying extraordinary means?*

The term “immigrant” in this thesis refers to people who enter the U.S. illegally, with official documentation, or legally, with documentation. This definition is in accordance with the U.S. Immigration and Nationalization Service’s definition of immigration (Permanent Resident Alien, 2016). For practical reasons, if not otherwise specified, the term “immigrant” refers to an immigrant who comes across the U.S.-Mexico border. Throughout the thesis it is argued that Bush is only partially successful in securitizing immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border. Bush only successfully convinces his audience that immigrants are dangerous individuals and potential terrorists. He is unable to convince his audience that immigrants are needed for the economic security of the nation and the security of the nation’s identity. In order to properly introduce the research, the remainder of this introduction will first expand on several components of the research question. Secondly, the thesis’ academic and societal relevance will be discussed. Fourthly, the research’s design is explained. Lastly, an outline of the thesis is provided.

1.1. The Research Question

This section will expand on several of the research question’s components: securitization theory, George W. Bush, and the U.S.-Mexico border.

1.1.1 Securitization theory

The term “securitize” refers to the securitization theory of Buzan, Waever and de Wilde (1998) of the Copenhagen School (CS). That theory forms the basis of this research. Its primary argument is that issues become security concerns through language. It is by saying that something is a security concern that it becomes one. There is no objective threat to which has to be referred (Buzan, Waever and de Wilde, 1998; Doty 1998; Taureck, 2006). A successful securitization act consists of three components: an existential threat narrative, the mobilization of extraordinary means, and audience acceptance. An existential threat narrative outlines that “if we do not tackle this problem, everything else will be irrelevant (because we will not be here or will not be free to deal with it in our own way)” (Buzan, Waever, and de

Wilde, 1998, p.24). Extraordinary means are measures that cannot be mobilized in an every-day political situation. They can only be mobilized in response to an existential threat (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p.24-25). Audience acceptance is about the audience approving both the existential threat narrative and the mobilization of extraordinary means (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p.31). It is this CS version of securitization theory that forms the theoretical framework for analyzing Bush's securitization discourse.

1.1.2 George W. Bush

The discourse of President Bush will be analyzed in this research. The focus is on the president because he is the figurehead of the nation. His discourse has the ability to significantly shape people's perception of a particular issue. Considering this, the timeframe that is used is January 20, 2001 till January 20, 2009. This is how long Bush's presidency lasted. The focus is on Bush's presidency because that fills a gap in the existing literature and allows for a more thorough understanding of America's current U.S.-Mexico border control system. It fills a gap in the existing literature because currently scholars have not yet analyzed Bush's immigration policy with the use of securitization rhetoric (Gutiérrez, 2007; Edwards and Herder, 2012; Cronin, 2005; Bosworth, 2005). Securitization of immigration studies are, moreover, preoccupied with studying the securitization moves of particular sectors (such as the political sector). Studies on the securitization moves of only one political actor are rare (see Literature Review) (Messina, 2014; Karyotis and Patrikios, 2010; Buonfirno, 2004; Skleparis, 2015; Lazaridis and Skleparis, 2016; Ceyhan and Tsoukala, 2002; Dover, 2008; Ilgit and Klotz, 2014). A study of Bush's securitization move will fill these gaps in the existing literature. The other reason why this thesis focuses on the presidency of Bush is that a variety of Bush's policies are still part of today's immigration control system on the U.S.-Mexico border. Many of the fences that are currently on the U.S.-Mexico border were, for instance, build during the Bush era (Jacobo and Marshall, 2017). It is for these reasons that the focus is on Bush's discourse.

1.1.3 U.S.-Mexico border

The focus is on that section of Bush's discourse that refers to the U.S.-Mexico border. The U.S.-Mexico border has been chosen as a point of departure because of its societal relevance. Most illegal immigrants come across this border (United States Border Patrol, 2016b). In addition, the border figures prominently also in contemporary political debates. Trump, for instance, repeatedly addressed the U.S.-Mexico border (Donald Trump: Mexico sends drugs,

criminals and rapists to US, 2015). An in-depth analysis of the history of immigration policies about the U.S.-Mexico border will therefore aid people's understanding of the current situation on the border. The next section will further expand on this.

1.2 Academic and Societal Relevance

The thesis has both societal and academic relevance. It is relevant for society because, as the previous paragraph outlined, it allows for a more thorough understanding of the U.S. border with most illegal crossings but also a large amount of legal crossings. Mexicans are, for instance, the largest immigrant group in the U.S. (Largest U.S. Immigrant Groups over Time, 2015; Mexican-Born Population, 2015). The thesis also has societal relevance because it allows for a deeper understanding of a border that figures prominently and controversially in contemporary political debates. President elect Trump has, for instance, called for a wall on the U.S.-Mexico border to keep the “drugs, criminals and rapist” out (Donald Trump: Mexico sends drugs, criminals and rapists to US, 2015). Apart from providing readers with a deeper understanding of the situation on the U.S.-Mexico border, this study also shows people how immigration is formed into a security concern. If people better understand how immigration becomes a security concern, they can rise up if they do not agree with it. Put differently, they can police the rhetoric and policies of politicians who argue that immigration is a security concern. This seems especially valuable at a time when Trump expresses the desire to build a wall on the entire U.S.-Mexico border and when European leaders are struggling whether to frame immigration as a security concern or a humanitarian crisis in today's so-called “migrant crisis” (Donald Trump: Mexico sends drugs, criminals and rapists to US, 2015; Migrant Crisis, 2016).³ Apart from having societal relevance, the thesis is also academically relevant. It is academically relevant because it fills (as outlined in the “George W. Bush” section) a gap in the existing literature. It is, moreover, academically relevant because it provides the reader with options for future research. It, for instance, illustrates how further research has to be done on several limitations of securitization theory such as the ambiguity of the concept “audience acceptance.” In addition, it offers a framework for future research on the securitization of immigration in general or across other U.S. borders. Now that the different

³ The term European “migrant crisis” or “refugee crisis” refers to the thousands of refugees that have been flooding European shores since 2015 in search of asylum or a better life in general (Migrant Crisis, 2016). This crisis has led to widespread xenophobia in Europe (UN Refugee Chief, 2016). Leaders such as Le Pen in France and Wilders in the Netherlands are taking a hard stand on immigration (van Steenbergen, 2017; Nowak and Branford, 2017). Wilders, for instance, does not wish to let any more refugees enter the Netherlands (van Steenbergen, 2017).

components of this thesis' research question have been introduced in a simplified manner, the next section will introduce the research's design.

1.3 Research Design

This thesis uses a combination of discourse- and case-study analysis. Discourse analysis fits well with the ideas of securitization theory. Discourse analysis stresses that discourse influences a person's understanding of the world. Similarly, securitization theory emphasizes that language can generate security concerns. Case-study analysis fits well with the thesis aim. The thesis aims to provide an overview of the extent to which Bush securitized immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border. The intention is thus to study Bush's securitization move in-depth. A case-study design (which has as its main advantages that one issue can be studied in great depth) will make this possible.

1.4 Data analysis

The methodology will be used to analyze a particular dataset (see Appendix I). That dataset exists out of Bush's discourse on immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border. This discourse has been drawn from an online database with messages and papers of American presidents that exists online called The Presidency Project. By using search terms like "immigration" and "Mexico border" that particular section of Bush's discourse that refers to immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border was retrieved. That section forms the basis of this research.

1.5 Outline of the Thesis

Following this introduction, this thesis firstly provides a short literature review in order to position the thesis in the already existing academic debate and further illustrate the study's academic relevance. Secondly, a theoretical framework is formed. Thirdly, the research design is outlined in more depth. Fourthly, three chapters are devoted to the actual discourse- and case-study analysis on the extent to which Bush securitized immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border. Each of these chapters discusses one of the three requirements for a securitization move's success: existential threat narrative, mobilization of extraordinary means, and audience acceptance. Lastly, a conclusion. In this conclusion also the limitations of this research and options for future research are discussed.

2 Literature review

2.1 Introduction

Since the September 11 attacks, migration studies has been reiteratively preoccupied with what can be called the “securitization of immigration” (Messina, 2014, p. 530; Karyotis and Patrikios, 2010, p. 43). Put differently, the securitization theory of Buzan, Waever and de Wilde has increasingly been applied to studies on migration. It is that bulk of work on the securitization of migration that is examined in this short literature review. The literature is compared to those academic studies that exist on President Bush’s immigration policy (Figure 1). This is done to illustrate where a study on “how Bush securitized immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border” fits in the existing academic debate, as well as to show that such a study has not been conducted before. It is argued that a study on the securitization of immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border by President Bush fills a gap in the existing literature because it focusses on just one actor, immigration across one border, and uses securitization theory.

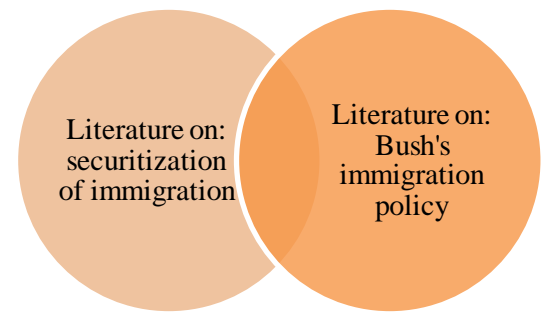


Figure 1: *The two sets of academic literature that are analyzed. The thesis fits where the two overlap*

2.2 The securitization of immigration literature

To position a study on “how Bush securitized immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border” in the existing academic debate on the securitization of immigration, an overview of that academic debate is provided in this section. This section therefore touches upon the geographic scope that the debate covers, the research design scholars use, the securitizing actors that they focus on, and the content they present.

2.2.1 Geographic scope

When analyzing the literature on the securitization of immigration, it becomes apparent that authors have a tendency to focus on the securitization of immigration in the European Union (Buonfino, 2004; Skleparis, 2016; Karyotis and Patrikios, 2010; Lazaridis and Skleparis, 2016; Baele and Sterck, 2015; Karyotis, 2012). Buonfino (2004), for example, addresses the manner in which securitizing immigration became a prominent phenomenon in Europe at the

last turn of the century.⁴ In addition to these studies on European securitization processes, other studies, such as Ceyhan and Tsoukala's (2002), combine both immigration discourses in the United States and Europe. Studies on the securitization of immigration in the United States alone are, however, rare. In addition to conducting studies on the securitization of immigration in Western nations, a variety of scholars has also tried to expand the geographical boundaries of "securitization of immigration" studies (Dover, 2008; Ilgit and Klotz, 2014). Departing from Europe's boundaries, Ilget and Klotz (2014), for example, apply securitization theory to South Africa's immigration policies in the post-Apartheid period and conclude that the theory upholds there as well (p. 138). However, to test the full limits and merits of securitization theory, Ilget and Klotz (2014) note that more securitization studies will have to be conducted about non-Western nations (p.150). Analyses of the securitization of immigration thus generally focus on Europe. Studies on the U.S. and non-Western countries form a gap in the literature. Therefore, this thesis sets out to fill part of this gap by analyzing the securitization of immigration in the U.S..

2.2.2 Research design

For their studies on the securitization of immigration, scholars often use similar designs. They generally use some form of content- or discourse analysis and a case-study design (Skleparis, 2016; Karyotis and Patrikios, 2010; Lazaridis and Skleparis, 2016; Baele and Sterck, 2015; Ceyhan and Tsoukala, 2002; Buonfirno, 2004). Buonfirno (2004), for example, uses discourse analysis to study the securitization of immigration in European member states. The case-studies that authors use in the "securitization of immigration" debate are, however, not constructed by selecting a number of individuals whose discourse will be analyzed. Instead, the case-studies revolve around studying a particular national sector, such as the political sector or the media sector. Lazaridis and Skleparis (2016), for instance, analyze an assemblage of utterances of a variety of political actors in Greece, as does Karyotis (2010). Case studies in which just the discourse of one particular actor in a nation is analyzed are rare. This thesis sets out to fill this gap in the existing literature by focusing on the securitization move of an individual actor: George W. Bush.

While not necessarily focusing on one particular actor, most scholars that combine immigration and securitization theory focus on the discourse of one particular type of actor: political actors (Buonfirno, 2004; Ilget and Klotz, 2014). Ilget and Klotz (2014), for instance,

⁴ In her study, she concludes that this was because of an interplay of state, media and public actors (Buonfirno, 2004, p. 23).

focus on the securitizing role of political actors in South-Africa. Despite this focus on the role of political actors, several studies have tried to focus on both the role of the political elite and the media in securitization processes. An example would for instance be the previously mentioned study of Buonfino (2004). Despite the few instances where the focus is on other actors as well, the majority of scholars seems to agree that state actors play an influential role in the securitization process (Messina, 2014, p. 537). This thesis sets out to test that assumption by focusing on the role of George W. Bush.

2.2.3 Content

In terms of content, a variety of the securitization of immigration scholars find that immigration is posited as either an economic concern or a security issue. Buonfino (2004), for instance, identifies two types of discourses in her study on European immigration discourses: the economization- and securitization of immigration (p.24). With the economization of immigration, she means that nations argue that foreign workers should be allowed to take on jobs no one else wants to do to guarantee the thriving of those nations' economies (Buonfino, 2004, p.37). Securitization of immigration in Buonfino's work refers to a nation's attempts to curb the inflow of immigrants by framing immigration as a security issue. According to Buonfino (2004), this securitization of immigration is usually done in response to public outrage over immigrants who are said to be "stealing" jobs and threatening the cohesion of society (p.39). Ceyan and Tsoukala (2002) identify similar narratives in their work on the securitization of immigration in Western societies. They, however, divide the discourse of immigration along four axes: the socioeconomic (migration is linked with job loss and economic decline), securitarian (migration is framed as a threat), identitarian (migrants as a threat to a nation's identity) and political axis (where anti-immigration rhetoric is used to create support for certain political standpoints)(Ceyan and Tsoukala, 2002, p.24). Ceyan and Tsoukala's axes are thus, to a large extent, Buonfino's two discourses but then divided into four categories. This thesis complements these studies by identifying whether similar axes/discourses exist in the U.S. during the Bush era.

To conclude this section on the securitization of immigration literature, the academic literature available tends to focus on Europe and the influence of the political sector on the securitization process. When talking about the design of "securitization of immigration" studies, most scholars seem to have conducted some form of case-study, usually by focusing on one particular sector in a nation. Furthermore, a variety of studies has identified

immigration discourses that frame immigration as either a security concern or as a perk for the economy. A study on the securitization of immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border by President Bush would fit well in this existing debate. It focuses on one particular actor in a nation (Bush), not an entire sector of society or a wide variety of nations such as all of Europe. To determine whether a study on the securitization of immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border by President Bush truly fills a gap in the existing literature, the next section provides an overview of the studies that have been written on Bush's immigration policy.

2.3 Bush's immigration policy literature

To determine where a thesis on Bush's securitization of immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border fits in the academic debate, the already existing literature on Bush's immigration policy also has to be analyzed. That literature can be roughly divided into studies that discuss Bush's immigration policy in general and analyses that focus solely on Bush's temporary-worker program.

2.3.1 General Overview

Gutiérrez belongs to the category of authors that provide a more general overview of Bush's immigration policy. He illustrates how solving the immigration problem through, for instance, a temporary worker program was a priority for Bush in his first years as president, but that this changed after 9/11 when immigration became increasingly defined in terms of security. It was not until 2004 that substantial immigration reforms, like the temporary worker program resurfaced in political debates (Gutiérrez, 2007). While Gutiérrez (2007) provides more of an overview of (proposed) immigration programs, Kim et al. (2011) and Edwards and Herder (2012) both analyze Bush's (proposed) immigration reforms through discourse analysis. Kim et al., for instance, analyze the discourse of several news reports that reported on Bush's immigration policy and conclude that immigration was likely to be linked to crime in newspapers. When linked, newspapers were able to generate more profit (p.292, 310). Edwards and Herder (2012) conduct a discourse analysis of thirty-three of President Bush's speeches. Throughout their analysis, they conclude that Bush used two conflicting narratives: one in which immigrants were depicted as an economic necessity, and another in which immigrants were framed as dangers for society (Edwards and Herder, 2012). However, neither the studies that provide a general overview nor the discourse analyses focus on Bush's handling of immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border in particular. Instead, they focus on

Bush's immigration policy in general. In addition, none of the studies use securitization theory as a framework for their analysis. This thesis addresses those gaps.

2.3.2 Temporary-worker program

Securitization theory is also absent in the works on Bush's temporary worker program. Instead, scholars have, for instance, chosen to conduct a comparative analysis. For example, Cronin (2005) compares Bush's program to similar programs in the U.S. and the E.U., such as the West German 1960s Guest Worker Program (p.196-197). Others have chosen to focus solely on Bush's temporary-worker program (Bosworth, 2005). Bosworth (2005), for instance, outlines how Bush's program came about. Despite these differences most scholars judge the abilities of the program. They thereby generally identify the same flaw in Bush's immigration policy, namely that people would go back after their temporary worker visa expires (Cronin, 2005, p.200; Bosworth, 2005, p. 1119). For example, Bosworth argues that the program should instead allow participants to eventually obtain a legal resident status (2005, p.1119). Studies thus analyze Bush's temporary-worker program by addressing how it originated or by comparing it to other worker-programs, but they all seem to conclude that it was flawed. A study which intention is not to identify the program's flaws, but instead focusses on how it is part of Bush's securitization discourse does not exist yet. Moreover, a study that combines an analysis of both Bush's temporary-worker program and Bush's more general discourse on immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border is rare.

2.4 Conclusion

When comparing the literature on the securitization of immigration with the literature on Bush's immigration discourse and programs, it becomes apparent that few analyses combine securitization theory with a study on Bush's immigration discourse. Moreover, few studies have focused on solely one securitizing actor (such as President Bush) or the securitization of immigration across one particular border (such as the U.S.-Mexico border). Most studies instead focused on a particular sector, such as the political sector or the media. An analysis of the securitization of immigration by President Bush, thereby, fills a gap in the existing literature on both the securitization of immigration and Bush's immigration program as it uses securitization theory and focusses on one individual and one border only. In addition, it fills a gap in the existing literature because it does not seek to judge Bush's immigration policy. Instead, it tries to analyze the securitization narrative of which his immigration policies are part.

3 Theoretical Framework

The theory of securitization arose near the end of the Cold War from the political and academic debate over whether security should remain a rather narrow, militaristic concept, or be broadened to include other (non-military) concerns as well. Traditionally, security had been defined in political and military terms as the protection of the state's sovereignty and fundamental values from international adversaries (Doty, 1998, p.73-74). An issue was generally only considered a security issue if it threatened the integrity of the state and its territorial boundaries (Møller, 2000, p.2). This interpretation, arguably, reached the height of its stature during the Cold War period when as part of the East-West divide a nation's security was increasingly defined in terms of its military and nuclear capacities (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p.3). The endurance of this conception of security was, however, threatened by economic security concerns that arose in response to the U.S.' economic crises in the 1970s and the rise of identity and cultural concerns such as gay rights in the 1990s (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p.3-4; Knudsen, 2001, p.355; Mathews, 1989, p.162). In response to these developments, individuals increasingly called for a widening of the concept of security. Ullman, for instance, argued that

“[d]efining national security merely (or even primarily) in military terms conveys a profoundly false image of reality” and Mathews insisted that “Global developments now suggest the need for ... [a] ... broadening definition of national security to include resource, environmental and demographic issues” (Ullman, 1983, p.129).

Others, such as Walt and Deudney, however, adhered to the militaristic interpretation of security in the post-Cold War world, arguing that a widening of the concept of security would mean that the concept's meaning would become all-encompassing and hence its usefulness for academic and political debate would disappear (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p.2; Smith, 1999, p.78). In the words of Deudney: “if we begin to speak about all the forces and events that threaten life, property and well-being (on a large scale) as threats to our national security, we soon drain the term of any meaning. All large-scale evils will become threats to national security” (Deudney qtd. in Smith, 1999, p.78). Those that are opposed to widening the concept of security have, furthermore, argued that a widening of the concept could actually be counter-effective. Considering the fundamentally political nature of the notion of security, a widening of the concept might lead to state interference in areas where such interference is undesirable. Liberals have, for instance, pressed that too much economic

security might actually damage a nation's economy (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p.4). Nearing the end of the Cold War, a discussion thus prevailed between those that aimed to depart from the rather narrow, militaristic interpretation of security and those that wanted to adhere to this definition.

As part of this debate, Buzan, Waever and de Wilde, affiliates of the Copenhagen School (CS), set out to build a bridge between both sides with the development of "securitization theory". Threats, they argue, can come about in any given area of society (also non-military) and the concept of security could thus not only be defined in military terms. Hence, there is a need to widen the concept of security. The CS, however, recognizes that widening the concept of security threatens the coherence and usefulness of the concept of security. They, however, do not see why adherence to a military interpretation of security is the only or best possible way to deal with this reduction of coherence (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p.4). Instead, they argue for the construction of an interpretation of security that refers to more than just perceptions of threats that refers to something real (Abrahamsen, 2013, p.57). Security is instead considered a speech act that, in order to separate mundane political issues from security issues, needs to fulfill certain criteria. Security issues, they state, "have to be staged as existential threats to a referent object by a securitizing actor who thereby generates endorsement of emergency measures beyond rules that would otherwise bind"(Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p.5). In the next section of this theoretical framework the theory of securitization as outlined by the CS will be further expanded on. In this manner, this study's theoretical basis is created. In addition, while explaining securitization theory it will become clear where this thesis' sub-questions come from.

3.1 Description of Key Ideas and Concepts

This section of the theoretical framework will touch upon the central thoughts of securitization theory: security as a speech act, the criteria for a successful speech act, and facilitating conditions.

3.1.1 Security as a Speech Act

The primary argument of securitization theory is that security is a speech act. This argument will be expanded on in this section.

Security is a speech act means that security is not a sign that refers to something real and existent. Instead, security is something that is formed through discursive politics: "It is by labelling something a security issue that it becomes one" (Doty, 1998, p.73; Taureck, 2006,

p.54). According to securitization theory, security is thus a speech act. Instead of merely describing a certain reality, speech acts also bring about a certain action, “[b]y saying it something is done”, like naming a ship or placing a bet (Balzacq 2011, p.1).

A speech act analysis involves three different analytical units: a referent object, a securitizing actor, and functional actors. A referent object is that particular entity that is facing an existential threat. A securitizing actor is the person or entity that declares that something is a security issue for the referent object. Functional actors, in turn, are those people or entities that influence the securitization process but that are not the referent object or securitizing actor (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p.36). An example of a functional actor would, for instance, be an oil company in the process of securitizing the environment. An oil company is neither necessarily the referent object nor likely to try and securitize environmental issues (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p.36).

A security speech act (with all its three analytical units) is, according to securitization theory, always a political move (Balzacq, 2011, p.17). A security issue is essentially a political concern that is elevated with a speech act from the level of everyday politics to a level that is almost above politics (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p.23-24). This elevation of an issue is called a “securitization move” and happens along a political spectrum (Figure 2) that hold



Figure 2: Securitization Spectrum

three stages: first an issue is non-politicized, meaning that is not at all part of political debate or a concern of the state (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p.23-24). Secondly, an issue is politicized. This means that the issue has become part of public policy making and that specific resources have been assigned to it by state decision. Thirdly, in the final stage, an issue is securitized (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p.24). Theoretically speaking any issue can be anywhere on the spectrum and hence any issue can be securitized. Reality, however, illuminates that the exact place of an issue on the spectrum differs greatly between states as well as across time (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p.24). For example, while women’s voting rights were a political concern (maybe even a security concern) in the Netherlands at the beginning of the twentieth century, in other nations it was not. While issues can be securitized in one country at a certain point in time, they might, at the same time, thus not be a security concern in other nations. It should, furthermore, be noted that issues can travel both ways on the securitization spectrum. At one point in time, an issue might, as a result of an interplay of factors, have been securitized, but that same issue might now have

dissented back to the level of every-day politics (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p.24). Theoretically speaking any issue can thus be securitized but whether an issue is securitized differs across time and space. Similar to the fact that, theoretically speaking, any issue can be securitized, an issue can also, theoretically speaking, be securitized by any type of actor. Thus, while securitization is essentially a political process this does not mean that only politicians engages in it. Organizations, civil movements and other entities which are not directly part of nations political decision making apparatuses are also able to raise issues to the level “securitized”. However, the field is biased. Certain actors are simply more likely to be successful securitizing actors as a result of their background, power and reputation (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p.24).. For example, securitizing moves are, arguably, relatively easily accepted in the United States if they are executed by the president. This president is, depending on the circumstances, for instance, likely to have the necessary political authority as well as the required public support for the securitization of a particular issue. Any issue can thus be securitized by any actor in theory, but in reality a bias can be observed.

3.1.2 Criteria for a securitization move’s success

While any issue can be securitized by any actor, not all securitization moves are successful. A securitization move is only successful if there is: “the intersubjective establishment of an existential threat with a saliency sufficient to have substantial political effect” (Buzan, Waever,

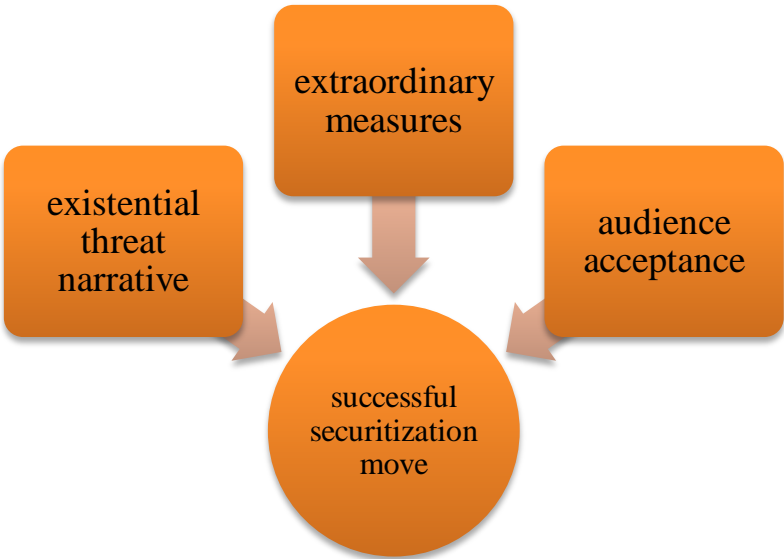


Figure 3: Three criteria for the success of a securitization move

and de Wilde, 1998, p.25). There are thus three criteria for a securitization move’s success. These are: a convincing existential threat narrative, the mobilization of extraordinary measures to counter the existential threat, and the audience’s acceptance of both the existential threat narrative and the mobilization of extraordinary means (Figure 3). All three of these requirements will now be elaborated on.

With shaping an issue as an existential threat, securitization theory refers to the construction of a narrative that outlines that: “if we do not tackle this problem, everything else will be irrelevant (because we will not be here or will not be free to deal with it in our own way)” (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p.24). This rhetorical outline of existential threat, no possible return, and a way out, can be used as a tool to find empirical cases of existential threat construction. Such existential threat constructions will vary greatly, according to securitization theory, from sector to sector. The CS identifies five distinct sectors in society (but does acknowledge that more sectors exist). In the words of securitization theory, sectors constitute “views of the international system through a lens that highlights one particular aspect of the relationship and interaction among all of its constituent units” (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p.27). Each of which holds their own particular narrative and language of security. The five sectors that securitization theory identifies are: the political sector, the economic sector, the military sector and the environmental sector (Ghughunishvili, 2010, p.6). The sectors serve as an analytical framework through which the diversity of securitization moves can be analyzed. In each of these sectors a different type of existential threat will be created on the basis of different referent objects. For instance, in the military sector existential threats will likely be threats to the state’s sovereignty and in the societal sector existential threats will likely be threats to the core values and identity of a nation (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p.33). Existential threat narratives thus differ from sector to sector. This explanation of existential threat narratives leads to the first sub-question of this thesis:

- 4) *Does President Bush use a narrative in which immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border is framed as an existential threat to the United States?*

The second requirement for a securitization move’s success is the mobilization of extraordinary means. Apart from the creation of an existential threat narrative securitization also requires, according to the CS, the deployment, or at least the possible deployment of certain extraordinary measures. Such extraordinary measures are measures that cannot or will not be used for issues that are merely political (Buzan, Waever and de Wilde, 1998, p.24-25). In the eyes of Buzan, Waever and de Wilde (1998), these measures do not necessarily have to be adopted but at least a platform has to be created from which the enactment of such measures is possible (p.25). Often the extraordinary measures that are enacted or for which a platform is formed are outside every day, legitimate, political boundaries (Buzan, Waever and de Wilde, 1998, p.24). This explanation of extraordinary means leads to the second sub-question of this thesis:

5) *Does Bush propose a series of extraordinary means to tackle the existential threats?*

The third and final requirement for a securitization move's success is audience acceptance. When a securitizing actor states that an issue is a security concern that issue does not immediately become a security concern. The securitizing actor's audience might simply disagree with the securitizing actor that a particular issue is a security concern. The process of securitization is thus intersubjective (Salter, 2008, p.323). In different words, it is formed by both the securitizing actor and the audience (Huysmans, 1998, p.493). Buzan, Waever and de Wilde (1998) themselves state that audience acceptance is about the question: "Does a referent object hold legitimacy as something that should survive, which entails that actors can make reference to it, point to something as a threat, and thereby get others to follow or at least tolerate actions not otherwise legitimate?" (p.31). Such audience acceptance is always based on both coercion and consent. Securitization cannot be truly imposed but it can, for instance, be part of the nation's political agenda. In this manner, an individual might not want to accept the securitization move of a particular political actor but feels, to an extent, coerced to accept the move because it is done by the authorities of his or her country (Buzan, Waever and de Wilde, 1998, p.25). This explanation of audience acceptance leads to the third and final sub-question of this thesis:

6) *Is Bush able to generate his audience's approval of his existential threat narrative and the accompanying extraordinary means?*

To conclude this section, the success of a securitization move thus requires three things: an existential threat narrative, the mobilization of extraordinary measures, and the audience's acceptance of both the existential threat narrative and its accompanying extraordinary measures. A securitization move has a higher chance of success if certain facilitating conditions are present. These conditions are addressed in the next section.

3.1.3 Facilitating Conditions

Apart from identifying the three components of a securitization move's success, securitization theory also identifies

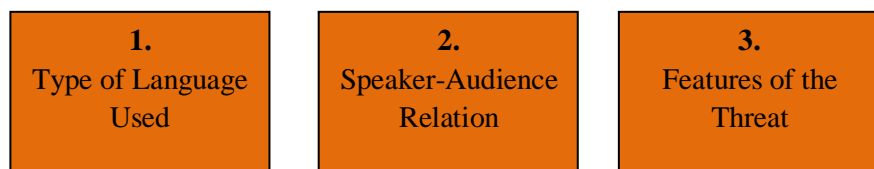


Figure 4: *Facilitating Conditions*

three "facilitating conditions" (Figure 4) (Buzan, Waever and de Wilde, 1998, p.33). These

conditions are factors that either allow an issue to be securitized or prevent this from happening. The three facilitating conditions are:

“(1) the demand internal to the speech-act of following the grammar of security (2) the social conditions regarding the position of authority for the securitizing actor – that is, the relationship between speaker and audience and thereby the likelihood of the audience accepting these claims made in a securitizing attempt and (3) features of the alleged threat that either facilitate or impede securitization” (Buzan, Waever and de Wilde, 1998, p.33).

The first facilitating conditions refers to the idea that a securitizing actor needs to use grammar and vocabulary in his securitizing move that the audience understands. To identify or analyze which type of grammar and vocabulary the CS uses the five sectors. Each of these, by securitization theory, identified sectors has its own so-called dialect and grammar of security. For example, in the environmental sector terms such as “sustainability” and “climate change” are likely to resonate but phrases such as “we ought to use nuclear weapons” will likely not (Buzan, Waever and de Wilde, 1998, p.28). Apart from referring to this need to use a particular style of speaking and grammar that is coined towards the sector of which the audience is part, the first facilitating condition also refers to the need to speak the “security narrative”. The term “security narrative” is here used to refer to the, previously outlined, narrative in which a particular issue is framed as an existential threat, that there is no point of return, and that emergency actions are required to counter the threat (Buzan, Waever and de Wilde, 1998, p.32-33). It is this narrative spoken in the sector-specific grammar of security that, according to securitization theory, will convince a particular audience to accept a securitization move and the corresponding emergency actions (Buzan, Waever and de Wilde, 1998, p.32). The second feature refers to the power-relation between the securitizing actor and the audience. It is argued that if a securitizing actor has substantial power over its audience, that particular audience is more likely to accept the securitization (Buzan, Waever and de Wilde, 1998, p.32). As in the previously described case of the U.S. president and the American people. The third facilitating condition refers to the idea that it is easier to convince a particular audience of a threat narrative if there are features in that narrative that are generally considered to be threatening by the audience. An example of such a facilitating feature is the presence of tanks or nuclear weapons for the military sector and the emission of polluting gases for the environmental sector. When a securitizing actor can point to such features he or she is more likely, according to securitization theory, to conjure a security threat narrative successfully (Buzan, Waever and de Wilde, 1998, p.33).

3.2 Conclusion: securitization theory in short

To conclude, securitization theory grew out of the post-Cold War debate over whether security issues could also be defined in non-military terms. The theory argues that an issue is not inherently a security concern, but that something becomes a security issue through a discursive process. This process takes place on a three point spectrum on which an issue travels from being non-politicized, to politicized, to securitized. In order for a securitization move to be successful it needs to have three components: an existential threat narrative, emergency measures, and audience acceptance. Three conditions are capable of facilitating the success of a securitization move. These are: the grammar and language used, the relation between speaker and audience, and particular (objective) aspects of the threat. In short, securitization, thereby, is: “the intersubjective establishment of an existential threat with a saliency sufficient to have substantial political effects” (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p.25). It is this particular version of securitization theory, the CS’ version, that will be applied to the case-study of Bush’s securitization of immigration in the three case-study chapters. Those three case-study chapters all answer one of the three sub-questions that this theoretical framework has produced:

- 1) *Does President Bush use a narrative in which immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border is framed as an existential threat to the United States?*
- 2) *Does Bush propose a series of extraordinary means to tackle the existential threats?*
- 3) *Is Bush able to generate his audience’s approval of his existential threat narrative and the accompanying extraordinary means?*

Simply put, if the answer to all of these questions is “yes” then Bush successfully securitized immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border. However, before embarking on a quest to answer these three questions the thesis’ research design is outlined.

4 Research Design

The aim of this thesis is to illustrate the extent to which Bush securitized immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border during his presidency. To attain this goal, a particular research design is used. This chapter outlines that design and legitimizes its usage. The first section addresses the research question and operationalizes that question's variables. The second section explains the research method. In that section, case-study and discourse analysis is addressed. The final section explains how the data is collected and analyzed. The overall aim of this chapter is to construct a comprehensive research design with which to answer the research question and attain the study's aim.

4.1 The research question

To shed light on the extent to which Bush securitized the flow of immigrants across the U.S.-Mexico border, this research poses the question:

To what extent did President George W. Bush securitize the issue of immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border during his presidency?

In this particular research question, the dependent variable (that which will be measured) is the securitization of immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border. The most prominent independent variable (a factor that influences the value of the dependent variable) is Bush's (securitization) discourse. The research thus sets out to analyze how the independent variable, Bush's discourse, influenced the securitization of immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border. The rest of this particular section expands on and legitimizes several of the research question's key factors, namely securitization theory, George W. Bush, and the focus on the U.S.-Mexico border.

4.1.1 Securitization Theory

In the research question, the word "securitize" refers to the theory of securitization. That theory forms the basis of this thesis. Securitization theory has already been explained in greater depth in the theoretical framework of this thesis, but, in short, securitization theory argues that security issues are not objective entities. Instead, something is turned into a security concern with the use of speech acts (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998). Speech acts are utterances that bring about a certain action. For example, by saying that something is a security issue, it can become one (Doty 1998, p.73; Taureck, 2006, p.54). In securitization

theory, the emphasis is thus on how language shapes people's security perceptions, not on whether an objective threat exists. This theory has been chosen for that particular emphasis. Immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border is not necessarily an objective security concern. For instance, the large number of people that come to find jobs do not directly threaten the lives of American citizens. However, Americans can start considering immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border as a threat if a particular securitization discourse is used. It is because the theory emphasizes that something becomes a security concern through language that it is used.

4.1.2 George W. Bush

The discourse of one particular president is analyzed, namely George W. Bush's. The focus is on the president because of the president's prominent role in the immigration debate. As leader of the nation he has the power to significantly shape people's perception of a particular issue. The time frame that is used in this thesis is therefore Bush's presidency, which lasted from January 20, 2001 till January 20, 2009 (George W. Bush, 2017). The focus is on Bush's presidency, firstly, because it fills a gap in the existing literature on the securitization of immigration as well as the literature on Bush's immigration policy. Secondly, an analysis of the securitization of immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border during Bush's presidency allows for a more in-depth understanding of the U.S.' contemporary policy on immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border. These two reasons are now expanded upon.

As mentioned in the literature review, securitization of immigration has become a widely-studied topic. However, '*securitization of immigration*' studies generally do not focus on one actor. Instead, authors generally focus on how a certain sector (like the media or the political sector) tried or was able to securitize a particular issue (Messina, 2014; Karyotis and Patrikios, 2010; Buonfirno, 2004; Skleparis, 2016; Lazaridis and Skleparis, 2016; Ceyhan and Tsoukala, 2002; Dover, 2008; Ilgit and Klotz, 2014). This thesis fills that gap in the existing literature by focusing on the influence of a single political actor: George W. Bush. Moreover, this thesis fills a gap in the existing literature *on Bush's immigration policy* by using securitization theory. Studies have been conducted on Bush's immigration policy, outlining, for instance, all the policies he enacted or focusing on his temporary-worker program (Gutiérrez, 2007; Edwards and Herder, 2012; Cronin, 2005; Bosworth, 2005). However, no study has yet combined securitization theory with Bush's immigration discourse. This time frame has thus been chosen because it allows for a study that fills a gap in the existing literature on both the securitization of immigration and Bush's immigration policy.

Another reason why this study focuses on Bush's presidency is that many of Bush's policies still echo in today's control system for immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border. An analysis of Bush's discourse on immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border will therefore deepen one's understanding of today's system. An immigration control policy of Bush that is still visible is, for instance, the construction of large strips of fences on the U.S.-Mexico border as part of the Secure Fence Act of 2006. Currently, approximately 700 miles of fence has been placed on the nearly 2,000 mile border, much of it as part of Bush's Secure Fence Act (Jacobo and Marshall, 2017; 109th Congress, 2006). It is thereby possible to state that, by focusing on Bush's presidency, this study expands people's knowledge of a multitude of ideas and policies (like the fences on the border) that are part of the contemporary immigration control system.

4.1.3 U.S.-Mexico border

This thesis focuses on the U.S.-Mexico border, in contrast to, for instance, the U.S.-Canada border for its societal relevance. This societal relevance consists of two components. Firstly, the issue of immigration in the U.S. is most eminent on the US-Mexico border. Secondly, immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border figures prominently as a security risk in contemporary debates. An increased understanding of Bush's securitization of immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border allows people to better understand how immigration across that border is made in a security concern today. Moreover, it allows people to act if they do not agree with it.

The issue of immigration is most prominent on the U.S.' southern border with Mexico. The U.S.-Mexico border is, for instance, the border that most illegal immigrants in the U.S. come across (United States Border Patrol, 2016b). To illustrate, in the most recent fiscal year (2016), 408,870 people out of 415,816 were apprehended trying to cross the U.S.-Mexico border. However, not only the amount of people that cross the border illegally is substantial, a considerable number of people also immigrate legally. Mexicans are, for instance, by far the largest immigrant group in the nation, roughly thirty percent (Largest U.S. Immigrant Groups over Time, 2015; Mexican-Born Population, 2015). Since immigration, both legal and illegal, is thus most eminent on the U.S.-Mexico border, this border is the focus of this study on the securitization of immigration.

The U.S.-Mexico border will, moreover, be the focus because of its prominence in contemporary debates. In the United States, immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border

formed an integral part of President Trump's recent election campaign (The Next Commander in Chief, 2016). For instance, he stated during his presidential campaign:

“When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best [...] They're sending people that have lots of problems, and they're bringing those problems with us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people. They're sending us not the right people and it's coming from more than Mexican. It's coming from all over South and Latin America” (Donald Trump: Mexico sends drugs, criminals and rapists to US, 2015).

As is evident in this quote, Trump is actively trying to shape people's perception of immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border. Immigrants are depicted as security concerns. Securitization theory offers a framework for understanding how immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border becomes such a security concern. In addition, that theory shows that citizens can both aid and hamper the success of a securitization move, because securitization is an intersubjective process. Put differently, an audience has to agree that a particular issue should be considered a security concern. If an audience does not agree with it, an issue cannot become a security issue according to the CS (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p.25). By using Bush's securitization of immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border as a case-study, this thesis shows people a way of understanding how immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border might become a security concern in the Trump era. In addition, the framework and conclusions of this thesis can, at least to an extent, be used to police the securitization discourse and accompanying actions that contemporary American leaders use and propose. It is because of this societal relevance, as well as the fact that immigration is most prominent across the U.S.-Mexico border, that the U.S.-Mexico border is focused on.

4.2 Operationalization of the research question

The following scheme operationalizes the different concepts that are of value for the research question. The first column indicates the theory that the concepts and definitions correspond with. The second column addresses the concept that is operationalized. The third provides a definition of the concept. Fourth column? The last column provides an overview of the sources to which the analysis is applied.

Operationalization scheme				
Theory	Concepts	Definition	Indicators	Data sources
Securitization theory	Securitization	<i>“the intersubjective establishment of an existential threat with a saliency sufficient to have substantial political effect” (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde 1998, p.25)</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Existential threat - Audience acceptance - Emergency means 	Presidential addresses, speeches and interviews with President George W. Bush
Securitization theory	Existential threat	<i>A narrative that outlines that: “if we do not tackle this problem, everything else will be irrelevant (because we will not be here or will not be free to deal with it in our own way)” (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde 1998, p.25).</i>	<p>Narrative that includes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The existence of a threat - No possible point of return - Outline of actions needed to protect oneself (to an extent) from the threat 	Presidential, addresses, speeches and interviews
Securitization theory	Audience acceptance	<i>When the answer to the question: “Does a referent object hold legitimacy as something that should survive, which entails that actors can make reference to it, point to something as a threat, and thereby get others to follow or at least tolerate actions not</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Referent object holds legitimacy as something that should survive - Actions are enacted or tolerated that 	Presidential addresses, speeches and interviews Government policy documents

		<i>otherwise legitimate?” (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde 1998, p.31) is yes, the audience has accepted the securitization move</i>	would not be so if an issue had not been shaped as an existential threat to a referent object that holds legitimacy as something that should survive.	
Securitization theory	Emergency means	<i>Means that would not be mobilized for ordinary political issues or the establishment of a platform for the mobilization of such means (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p.24-26).</i>	- Measure that is outside the boundaries of ordinary political practices	Presidential addresses, speeches and interviews

4.3 Methodology

To answer the research question and attain the thesis’ aim, a particular methodology is used. This section explains that methodology, touching upon case-study and discourse analysis. In addition, the manner in which data is analyzed and assessed is addressed.

4.3.1 Case-study analysis

A case-study design is used because it fits with this thesis’ aim. In this thesis, the term case-study refers to “an intensive study of a single unit for the purpose of understanding a larger class of (similar) units”. A unit in this definition entails a “spatially bounded phenomenon – e.g. a nation state [...] –observed at a single point in time or over some delimited period of time” (Aachen and Snidal, 1989, p.342). The unit analyzed in this thesis is the securitization of immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border. The “delimited period of time” is Bush’s

presidency (Aachen and Snidal, 1989, p.342). A case-study analysis has as one of its main advantages that it allows for an in-depth analysis of a particular phenomenon (Gerring, 2004, p.341). This advantage fits well with this thesis' aim: to shed light on the extent to which Bush securitized the issue of immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border. By conducting an in-depth case-study analysis of Bush's securitization move, it becomes possible to determine the extent of that move. The main disadvantage of case-study analysis is that the conclusions presented in this paper cannot necessarily be generalized to other cases. Further research will be necessary to make that possible. Suggestions for such future research are presented in the conclusion.

4.3.2 Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis emphasizes that discourse shapes people's understanding of the world. In the words of Potter, it "emphasizes the way versions of the world, of society, events and inner psychological worlds are produced in discourse" (Potter qtd. in Bryman, 2016, p. 532).

Language thereby becomes a means with which 'how we see the world' is shaped, in contrast to language being merely a tool for understanding the world (Bryman, 2016, p.532).

Discourse analysis thereby coincides with the ideas of securitization theory. Securitization theory argues that something becomes a security issue in the minds of people through language (Balzacq, 2011, p.1). One of the main disadvantages of discourse analysis is its focus on language. The influence of contextual factors on language is not a primary concern of discourse analysts (Taylor, 2013, p.77). However, such contextual factors are simply beyond the scope of this research because they do not fit with the CS version of securitization theory (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998). Considering that both securitization theory and discourse analysis thus emphasize that the world is shaped in a way by discourse, discourse analysis is used throughout this thesis. Discourse analysis is done by submitting a particular (set of) "text" to a close reading (Dunn, 2016, p.110). The strategy is to look at how different discursive elements fade away or are repeated in a particular discourse over time (Dunn, 2016, p.105). In this manner, dominant themes, contradictions and the "truths" that the text produces are unraveled (Dunn, 2016, p.110).

4.4 Data analyzation and assessment

Throughout the research, spoken texts of President George W. Bush form the primary source of analysis. With spoken text, this research refers to speeches, radio broadcasts, statements and interviews that were held by President Bush during his presidency. These speeches are

already gathered in a database online called The Presidency Project (Peters and Woolley, 1999-2017). With the use of the search term “immigration,” all speeches pertaining to immigration are drawn out of that database. Following this, terms such as “southern border”, “Mexico,” “Latino,” and “Mexico border” are used to identify those particular parts of the “immigration” material that are relevant for the thesis’ research. Only that section of Bush’s discourse that pertains to immigration coming across the U.S.-Mexico border is saved into a new dataset. That dataset forms the basis of this research

To facilitate a deeper and richer understanding of the subject matter, data triangulation is used. The spoken texts are analyzed in comparison to news articles, governmental documents as well as academic articles on the spoken texts and the theory of securitization. The news articles that are used are predominantly from The Washington Times, ABC News, and The New York Times. The governmental documents are primarily Acts, such as the Secure Fence Act of 2006, as well as particular documents on immigration control operations, such as a fact sheet on the U.S.’ Partnership for Prosperity with Mexico. The newspaper and academic articles offer alternative interpretations of- or substantiate the spoken texts. Policy documents, in turn, help illuminate whether emergency measures were enacted or if a platform for the enactment of such measures was created. Such enactment is necessary for a securitization move’s success. Apart from the fact that triangulation is achieved through the use of different types of sources, the data will also be triangulated because public (spoken texts of the president) and private (newspapers, academia) sources are combined (Bryman, 2016, p.386). In these manners, a richer account of the securitization of immigration will be generated.

It is the above outlined manner of data exploitation, operationalization and research question components that together form the design of this research on the extent to which Bush securitized the issue of immigration coming across the U.S.-Mexico border during his presidency. The analysis in which this design results is presented in the next three chapters.

5 Bush's existential threat narratives

The theoretical framework showed that the success of a securitization act depends on the existence of three aspects: an existential threat narrative, the mobilization of extraordinary means, and audience acceptance. This chapter will address the first of these aspects: the 'existential threat narrative'. In the words of the CS, an existential threat narrative argues: "if we do not tackle this problem, everything else will be irrelevant (because we will not be here or will not be free to deal with it in our own way)" (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p.25). By reflecting on this definition, this chapter aims to answer the thesis' first sub question: *does President Bush use a narrative in which immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border is framed as an existential threat to the United States?*

While answering this question it will be argued that Bush conjures two (rather conflicting) existential threat narratives. One of these narratives portrays immigrants as dangerous 'others' that threaten the security of the U.S.. In the other narrative Bush outlines that immigrants are necessary for the U.S.' economic security as well as the security of the nation's identity. This chapter will substantiate the argument that Bush uses two narratives by addressing each narrative in turn. The first narrative has been named the "dangerous other" narrative. The section on that narrative first covers the 'external threat' that immigrants are said to pose and then the 'internal threat'. The second narrative has been coined the "needed other" narrative. The section on that narrative first outlines how immigrants are necessary for the security of the American economy. Secondly, it addresses how immigrants are necessary for the security of America's identity. Thirdly, the manner in which Bush tries to substantiate his 'needed other' narrative is discussed. The final section of this chapter offers a conclusion of both narratives and a summarized answer to the sub-question of this chapter.

5.1 The "dangerous other" narrative

In his first existential threat narrative Bush depicts immigrants as "dangerous others" (as opposed to "safe Americans"). He depicts them in this manner by outlining how immigrants who cross the U.S.-Mexico border pose both an external and an internal threat. With "external threat" this particular paper refers to the threat posed by immigrants who reach the border with the plan to cross it. The "internal threat" exists out of the millions of immigrants who have crossed the U.S.-Mexico border and are now, already, residing in the U.S. These two

threat dimensions will now be addressed in turn. It should, however, be noted that these dimensions are self-constructed for the sake of analytical clarity and sometimes overlap.

5.1.1 The external threat

In his immigration discourse, Bush makes the argument that immigrants pose an external threat by engaging in a so-called ‘criminalization of the other.’ The ‘criminology of the other’ is a term that was first coined by the sociologist David Garland. With this term, Garland attempts to conceptualize how certain groups and individuals become seen as criminals and undesirables through discourse and/or policies (Garland 1996, p.461). In Bush’s discourse, a ‘criminalization of the other’ can be observed in the type of words he uses when he discusses immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border. He often uses words pertaining to crime and, hence, speaks of immigration in criminal terms. The ‘criminalization of the other’ is, in addition, evident in Bush’s re-articulation of the Border Patrol’s mission statement.

In what seems to be an attempt to frame immigrants as “undesirable” criminals, Bush uses lexicon associated with criminal, dangerous activity while talking about immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border. In this manner, Bush tries to convince people that immigrants are ‘dangerous others’ that have to be kept outside U.S. borders. Words such as “terrorism,” “smuggling,” and “gang violence” are, for instance, used. An example can be found in a speech Bush held in Tucson, Arizona in 2005. There he discusses the Border Patrol’s activities on the U.S.-Mexico border by stating: “Our skilled immigration security officers are (...) going against some of the most dangerous people in our society—smugglers, terrorists, gang members, and human traffickers (Bush, 2005d).” An additional example can be found in his interview with Telemundo (a Hispanic-American television network)(Telemundo, 2017). During that interview he remarked on the issue of immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border that Americans have to be: “wise about stopping things we don’t want to have happen, los coyotes, the terrorists, las drogas” (Bush, 2002c). In this manner, Bush’s ‘criminalization of the other’ consists of a variety of enthymemes. In different words, a connection is made between two premises (immigrants are potential criminals/ terrorists) without explicitly stating this connection. By discussing immigration in terms of- or relation to such words as “terrorists” and “gang members,” Bush, arguably, attempts to generate an image of immigrants as criminals or terrorists, an external threat, instead of, for example, individuals that are fleeing dire circumstances.

Apart from being evident in Bush’s rhetoric, a ‘criminology of the other’ can also be observed in the re-articulation of the Border Patrol’s mission statement in counter-terrorist

terms. Prior to the attacks of 9/11 the primary mission of the Border Patrol was to halt illegal immigration. The Office of Border Patrol confirms this when they write: “Prior to the terrorist attacks of 9/11, the primary focus of the Border Patrol was on illegal aliens, alien smuggling, and narcotics interdiction” (The Office of Border Patrol and The Office of Policy and Planning 2004, p.4). Before the September 11 attacks, Bush himself did not link the Border Patrol’s mission to terrorism either. However, in the wake of 9/11 it became evident that smugglers’ and illegal aliens’ routes into the U.S. could be exploited by terrorists. The relative ease with which the 9/11 attackers had been able to enter the United States and kill hundreds of people made it painfully clear for America and the world that the U.S.’ borders and the flow of people coming across it can be capitalized on by “threatening” individuals or groups (Ben-Veniste et. al , 2004, p.215; Aas, 2007, p.288-289; Bakir 2006, iii). To counter this threat, the mission statement of the Border Patrol was re-articulated into: “The priority mission of CBP is to prevent terrorists and terrorist weapons from entering the United States” (The Office of Border Patrol and The Office of Policy and Planning 2004, p.4). This makes it seem as if there is a real, high chance that there are terrorists among the immigrants crossing the U.S.-Mexico border. The image of immigrants as terrorists is further developed by Bush himself who also starts to refer to the Border Patrol as a kind of counter-terrorist force in his immigration discourse. Bush, for instance, refers to the Border Patrol’s mission in terms of crime and terrorism in 2004 when he remarks on the issue of the U.S.-Mexico border to the Hispanic Chamber of Commerce: “the mission of the Border Patrol ought to be looking for terrorists” (Bush, 2004d). By predominantly referring to the Border Patrol as a terrorist and fighting force rather than a force that set out to catch people who cross the border illegally to find jobs, Bush makes it seem as if immigrants pose a serious external threat to the security of the United States.

To conclude this section on the external threat dimension of immigration, this section has argued that Bush portrays immigrants that plan to cross the U.S.-Mexico border as potentially dangerous criminals and even terrorists. He does this by ‘criminalizing the other’. Put differently, he (in)explicitly frames immigrants as dangerous criminals and terrorists to convince people that immigrants pose an existential threat. Moreover, the mission of the Border Patrol is re-defined in counter-terrorism terms in the wake of 9/11. In this manner as well, immigrants are portrayed as posing an external, existential threat. The next section will address the internal threat that immigrants pose.

5.1.2 The internal threat

Apart from having an external threat dimension, immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border also has an internal dimension. For Bush, immigrants pose an internal threat because they are residing illegally within the U.S., beyond the reach of law. Moreover, they pose a threat because they put strains on the economy and, arguably, American citizens' identity.

In Bush's discourse, immigrants pose a threat to the nation's security because authorities cannot fully control their behavior. Authorities cannot fully control their behavior because they are living illegally, beyond the reach of law, within the United States. As Bush puts it at a Cinco de Mayo celebration: they are living "in the shadows of society" (Bush, 2006e). Bush re-emphasizes this on numerous occasions, such as during his remarks on immigration from Latin America at the National Hispanic prayer breakfast: "the system is broken because we've got (...) too many people (...) living in the shadows of our society, beyond the reach of the law" (Bush, 2006k). Beyond the reach of the law, authorities are neither able to monitor the behavior of immigrants properly nor able to punish their wrongdoings. Immigrants are thereby relatively free to engage in criminal, threatening behavior. By emphasizing that immigrants are potential security risks beyond the grasp of U.S. authorities, immigrants already residing in the U.S. are portrayed as posing an existential threat. This is in contrast to, for instance, portraying them as people in need of assistance. A line is thereby drawn between potentially "dangerous" immigrants who live in the shadows of society and "safe" Americans.

Apart from being identified as a threat because they live beyond the reach of the law, both legal and illegal immigrants already residing in the U.S. are also identified as a security concern because they put strains on the economy and local communities. As Bush remarks in response to the predominantly Hispanic protests against immigration reform in 2006: "Illegal immigration puts pressure on public schools and hospitals; it strains State and local budgets and brings crime to our communities. These are real problems" (Bush, 2006f; Archibold, 2006). Noteworthy is that, when talking about how immigrants put pressure on local communities and the economy, President Bush often pays most attention to how the resources of border states (in contrast to other states) are strained by immigration. On the immigration situation in these border states Bush, for instance, states: "In communities near our border, illegal immigration strains the resources of schools, hospitals, and law enforcement. And it involves smugglers and gangs that bring crime to our neighborhoods" (Bush, DEC 3, 2005). Immigrants are in this manner framed as a threat because they use American resources at the cost of Americans. In addition to being a threat because they use resources that Americans can then no longer use, immigrants who use American resources also, arguably, pose a threat

to the identity of Americans. This can be argued because, in a capitalist society, a person's identity is to a certain extent determined by his or her economic position in that society. A threat narrative that outlines a scenario in which people can be economically deprived by immigrants will, with some people, therefore, ignite the fear that they are losing a piece of their identity (Buonfirno, 2004, p.34). Emphasizing how immigrants put pressure on resources thereby not only generates the fear of losing those resources, but also a fear of losing a piece of one's identity. By emphasizing how immigrants put pressure on resources Bush thus outlines how American citizens' access to resources and identity is threatened by immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border.

To conclude, this section has argued that immigrants who cross the U.S.-Mexico border are framed as posing an internal existential threat. They pose such a threat because they live beyond the control of authorities if they reside illegally in the U.S.. Moreover, they are said to pose a threat because they put pressure on the available resources and thereby possibly undermine people's identity.

Bush thus frames immigrants as being both an internal and an external security concern, they are 'dangerous others'. However, this is only one of Bush's existential threat narratives. The other one will be discussed in the next section.

5.3 The 'needed other' narrative

Bush's existential threat narrative of the 'dangerous other' conflicts with his narrative of the 'needed other.' In that narrative, immigrants who cross the U.S.-Mexico border are framed as vital to the American economy. They are especially framed as vital for the security of American business who cannot find other employees. As part of this immigration as 'needed other' narrative, Bush also sets out to counter the complaint that immigrants are stealing American jobs. All of these aspects will be expanded upon in this section.

5.3.1 Economic necessity

The narrative of need, conveys the message that the American economy is dependent on immigration for its functioning. President Bush, for instance, touches upon the economic value of immigration during a news conference with Mexican President Fox in Texas, when he states: "the people who come to this country make a significant contribution to the American economy" (Bush, 2004e). Similarly, in 2004, he expresses the economic importance of immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border when he states: "I think that's an

important part of keeping the economy growing” (Bush, 2004a). According to Bush’s rhetoric, immigrants thus partly generate (the growth of) America’s economic might. Without these immigrants, the functioning and growing of the American economy would no longer be secured. Apart from highlighting this, Bush also stresses that halting immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border could harm America’s competitive position in the global economy. This is, for example, evident in his calls for immigration policies that would allow a certain level of immigration to continue for the economic benefit of the U.S.. He called for this, for instance, at a Cinco de Mayo celebration in 2007 when he stated on the topic of Mexico-U.S. immigration: “I support comprehensive immigration reform that will (...) keep us competitive in the global economy” (Bush, 2007c). To keep the American economy going and growing as well as to safeguard the U.S.’ competitive position, the nation, thus, according to Bush, needs to welcome at least several immigrations from across the U.S.-Mexico border.

The U.S. especially needs to welcome immigrant workers who are willing to do jobs for which employers cannot find American workers. Put differently, the security of American businesses would be jeopardized if immigration was halted. This is evident in Bush’s discourse. Bush stresses that there are plenty of American businesses that cannot properly run without the help of immigrant because they cannot find anyone else for the job. This is, for instance, evident in his response to a question on the situation of Mexican-American immigrants: “there have been people who were trying to hire people and people willing to work. And it makes sense to me to have a system that matches willing employer with willing employee” (Bush, 2002a). Bush furthermore states in 2006 that Mexican-American immigrants “come to do jobs Americans won’t do” (Bush, 2006b). Immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border is thus considered vital for the workings of a multitude of American businesses. Halting immigration would threaten the work of these businesses. Immigration is thereby framed as both necessary for the economic security of the U.S. as a nation, but also in particular as necessary for the security of a American businesses who cannot find American workers.

In order to strengthen his immigrant as “economic necessity” discourse, Bush attempts to counter any complaints about “immigrants stealing American jobs”. For this purpose he stresses, as also illustrated in the previous paragraph, that immigrants will only do jobs that Americans do not want to do. In addition, he emphasizes that immigrants will still have to go through all standard immigration procedures if they wish to reside permanently within the

U.S.. Put differently, amnesty is not an option. In Bush's words: "I'm against blanket amnesty" (Bush, 2005b) and, more elaborately:

"the reality is if you make 50 cents in the interior of Mexico and \$5 in Texas, you're going to do \$5 if you can make it. And so now is the time for legal— reforming of the immigration system. I don't believe in blanket amnesty. I think it would be mistake" (Bush, 2005a).

Amnesty would imply that illegal immigrants already residing in the U.S. would be allowed to become a citizen of the United States immediately. Instead, President Bush opts for a temporary worker program in which immigrants who come to work would only be allowed to stay in the United States for a limited period of time. Even after they have participated in the temporary-worker program, immigrant would not be given amnesty. They would still have to go through the standard immigration procedures. This is, for instance, evident in Bush's repeated assertion that immigrants that cross the United States' southern border: "need to get in line, like everybody else who is in line legally" (Bush, 2006c). To counter any complaints about immigrants stealing Americans' jobs, Bush thus, on various occasions, states that immigrants will only do jobs that Americans do not want to do and that immigrants, if they wish to stay in the U.S. permanently, have to go through all standard immigration procedures (they will not be given amnesty). By precluding several complaints in this manner, Bush thus tries to strengthen his immigrant as "needed other" narrative. Apart from being an economic necessity. Immigrants are also necessary for the security of America's identity. This will be elaborated upon in the next section.

5.3.2 Cornerstone of American Identity

In his attempt to frame immigrants as people who contribute to- or are needed for the nation's economic security, also highlights how not welcoming immigrants is against American identity. In order to safeguard that identity, immigrants should be welcomed from across the U.S.-Mexico border. Bush, for instance, attempts to convince people that immigration is necessary for the security of the nation's identity by highlighting how immigration is fundamental to America's nature:

"we're a nation of immigrants. They must understand—they must remember that throughout our history, people have come to America because this is a place where they can pursue their dreams no matter who they are or where they're from. Mexican Americans have brought with them a culture based upon faith in God, a deep love for family, and a belief that hard work

leads to a better life. Every immigrant who lives by these values makes the United States a better country, makes our future brighter as one nation under God” (Bush, 2006e).

In this quote, in particular in the phrase “we’re a nation of immigrants”, Bush seems to refer to America’s immigrant history, from the Founding Fathers who were one of the first to leave from Europe to America, to the Irish, Italian and all others who came after in search of a better or different life (Historical Overview of Immigration Policy, n.d.; Founding Fathers, 2017). Bush thus highlights that America was shaped by immigrants. Immigrants form a fundamental part of the U.S. history and identity. Without immigrants the U.S. would not be what it is today. By emphasizing how immigration has played a fundamental role in American history Bush tries to convince Americans that halting immigration completely is against or even a threat to the security of the U.S.’ identity (Bush, 2006d). President Bush seems to try and trigger the same effect by repeatedly bringing up the idea of the ‘melting pot’.⁵ Bush refers to America as a melting pot, for instance, when he states, while referring to immigration across the Arizona-Mexico border:

“we’ve got to honor the great American tradition of the melting pot. Americans are bound together by shared ideals and appreciation of our history, of respect for our flag and ability to speak the English language” (Bush, 2006h).

By calling the melting of immigrants into America society an American “tradition”, Bush, arguably, emphasizes how immigrants, and in this case their assimilation, form a cornerstone of America’s identity. Put differently, by emphasizing how immigration forms a fundamental part of America’s national identity, Bush, highlights that halting the flow of immigrants will endanger the foundation of American identity.

The narrative of immigrants as ‘needed others’ thus has two components. The first component outlines how immigrants are necessary for the nation’s economic security. The second component, tries to show people that immigrants form a cornerstone of American identity. Halting immigration would therefore threaten the security of that identity. In order to substantiate both of the narrative of need’s components, Bush engages in a ‘demystification’ of the ‘immigrant other’. This demystification will be elaborated on in the next section.

5.3.3 Demystification

⁵ Melting pot: “refers to the process by which people of diverse lands, cultures, languages and religions are blended into the host society, mixing with other groups and gradually becoming assimilated into the way of life” (Watts, 2010).

To substantiate or strengthen his narrative of need, Bush engages in a certain “demystification” of the immigrant ‘other’. Demystification, in this context, refers to the discourse that Bush uses to change people’s perception of immigrants from unknown “dangerous others” to “unthreatening and likeminded people.” Put differently, immigrants are no longer something undefined and potentially threatening, but instead they are people that Americans can, at least to an extent, understand, relate to and welcome. The idea of securitization theory that underlines this is that the success of a securitization act depends, for a fraction, on whether the securitizing actor uses language that his/her audience understands and can relate to. By using terms such as “friend” and “partner,” as well as by emphasizing how immigrants also strive for the American dream and adhere to the same family values, Bush attempts to make his audience identify with immigrants and, simultaneously, welcome them. In this manner, Bush sets out to strengthen his assertion that immigrants are an economic necessity. All of this will now be expanded upon.

5.3.3.1 A friend and a partner

One of the primary ways in which Bush attempts to demystify immigrants who cross the U.S.-Mexico border is by emphasizing how America’s southern neighbors are America’s friends. A friend being “a person who you know well and who you like a lot, but who is usually not a member of your family” as well as “someone who is not an enemy and who you can trust” (Friend, n.d.). By emphasizing how the “needed” immigrants are such unthreatening people that America knows and has a strong relation with, Bush tries to generate a more welcoming attitude towards immigrants. This manner of demystifying the immigrant ‘other’ is, for example, evident in Bush’s repeated assertion that Mexicans are ‘friends’: “our friends the Mexicans” (Bush, 2002b). As he states: “I’m going to Mexico. I want to show our friends the Mexicans that we are compassionate about people who live here on a legal basis, that we don’t disrupt the families for people who are here legally” (Bush, 2002b). Moreover, to emphasize that Mexicans are America’s trustworthy friends, Bush continuously refers to Mexico’s leader, President Vicente Fox, as his friend as well. President Bush, for instance, states, when answering a question about immigrant Mexican workers, that he is “preparing for my first state visit with my friend Vicente Fox” (Bush, 2001a) and answering a similar question: that he is “look[ing] forward to talking with my friend [Fox] again” (Bush, 2001b). Overall, President Bush refers to President Fox as his friend a couple dozen times, also after the 9/11 attacks revealed that the U.S.’ porous borders and immigrant routes could be exploited by terrorists. Bush thus repeatedly refers to friends to try and

convince the American public that immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border is not necessarily a security concern. Instead, immigrants could be considered unthreatening ‘friends’.

Apart from referring to the U.S.’ southern neighbor as a “friend” throughout his immigration discourse, President Bush also often uses terms such as ‘partnership’ in his attempt to demystify the ‘needed’ immigrants. The term “partners” connotes the idea that American and Mexican citizens are, in a way, equal and willing to cooperate. For example, Bush refers to Mexico as America’s partner in maintaining security on the U.S.-Mexico border in 2004 when he states:

“Mexico and the United States are more than neighbors. We are partners in building a safer, more democratic, and more prosperous hemisphere. In this age of terror, the security of our borders is more important than ever, and the cooperation between Mexico and American border and law enforcement is stronger than ever” (Bush, 2004e).

Noteworthy is that President Bush emphasizes that the partnership between the U.S. and Mexico, related to the issue of immigration at least, has not been shattered by the terrorist attacks of 9/11, but that it even grew stronger in the attack’s wake. This is more clearly evident when Bush says as part of his immigration policy about border security:

“we recognized that the events of September 11 underscore more than ever the importance of the U.S.-Mexican relationship, as partners and neighbors, in the attainment of those goals and in realizing the vision we have set forth for our countries’ future. Hence, we reviewed what we are doing together to create a “smart border” for the 21st century. We will build a border that protects our societies against those who would do us harm, and that truly serves the human and economic needs of our dynamic relationship. We share a vision of a modern border that speeds the legitimate flow of people and commerce, and filters out all that threatens our safety and prosperity” (Bush, 2002d).

By stating that the U.S. and Mexico are partners and by emphasizing that this partnership is very important in the wake of the 9/11 attacks, Mexicans are not portrayed as something to be feared, but in fact portrayed as trustworthy partners that are needed in the fight against insecurities in this “age of terror” (Bush, 2004e). In this manner, Mexican immigrants are no longer solely seen as a security concern but also as partners in the fight against insecurities.

Noteworthy is that while Bush refers to Mexico, its leader and its inhabitants as ‘friends’ and ‘partners’ on numerous occasions, he seems to refrain from talking extensively

about other Latin American countries as friends in his immigration discourse. This while also a large number of immigrants are from other countries to the south of the U.S. than Mexico. Countries like El Salvador and Guatemala, are, for instance, in the top ten largest U.S. immigrant groups (Largest U.S. Immigrant Groups over Time, 2015).

5.3.3.2 Similar values and ideals

In order to demystify and hence generate a more welcoming attitude towards the ‘needed’ immigrants Bush also emphasizes the values that Americans share with immigrants who cross the U.S.-Mexico border, namely democratic- and family values. In addition, he stresses that immigrants pursue the American Dream just like Americans. These manners will now be expanded upon.

By emphasizing that immigrants come from nations that adhere to similar values as Americans, immigrants become less of a potentially dangerous ‘other’ that have to be kept outside U.S. borders. Instead, they might become people that Americans can relate to and might welcome in their nation. That Bush engages in this manner of demystifying is, for instance, evident in his response to a question on immigration policy and democracy in Latin America: “every country is a democracy except one, Cuba” (Bush, 2005c). It is also evident in a statement he makes during a news conference with Fox: “President Fox has made it very clear that democracy and transparency and rule of law are integral values of Mexico” (Bush, 2004e). By highlighting on a variety of occasions that a lot of immigrants come from nations to the south of the U.S. that are, just like the U.S., democracies, Bush, arguably, wants to demystify the immigrant ‘other’ and convince the American people that immigrants are not security concerns. Immigrants are instead people that come from nations that adhere to values that the U.S. has classified as his own “proper” and “secure” ideas.

The fact that Bush uses this type of discourse during the War on Terror days, arguably, aids his attempt to use democratic values to highlight how immigrants are ‘friends’ and ‘unthreatening’. The War on Terror is

“the term used to describe the military, political, diplomatic, and economic measures employed by the United States and other allied governments against organizations, countries, or individuals that are committing terrorist acts; that might be inclined to engage in terrorism; or that support those who do commit such acts.”(Morgan and Morgan, 2011).

America embarked on this war following the 9/11 attacks. In the wake this event and during the War on Terror, whether a nation is a democracy became a means with which to distinct

friends from foes (Morgan and Morgan, 2011). President Bush on several occasions in his career referred to the War on Terror as a war between democracy and its enemies. Bush, for example, stated that the War on Terror “resembles the great clashes of the last century between those who put their trust in tyrants and those who put their trust in liberty” (Bush Compares Iraq, 2004). In the wake of 9/11, the world was thus very much, in the eyes of President Bush, divided between enemies and democratic friends. He once more expressed this belief in 2001 when he stated “You are either with us, either you love freedom [...], or you are with the enemy” (With Us or Against Us, 2008). Freedom, in this quote, refers to one of the primary ideals of democracies. Bush thus emphasizes that immigrants who come across the U.S.-Mexico border share democratic values with the U.S. in a time when “democratic values” are a means with which to distinguish friend from foe. In this manner, the idea that immigrants are ‘dangerous others’ is refuted. Instead, the immigrants are “with us,” assisting the U.S..

In his attempt to demystify the ‘immigrant other’, apart from emphasizing the values that neighboring countries share with the U.S., Bush also emphasizes that immigrants uphold similar family values. Through an emphasis on the sharing of family values and by emphasizing that immigrants are/were motivated to come to the United States by these family values, Bush attempts to change the image of immigrants from that of possibly dangerous criminals to hardworking family men, people Americans can relate to and who they can trust. That Bush attempts to do this is, for instance, evident, in Bush’s statement:

“Mexican Americans have brought with them a culture based upon faith in God, a deep love for family, and a belief that hard work leads to a better life. Every immigrant who lives by these values makes the United States a better country”(Bush, 2006e).

Immigrants who come to work are thus not security concerns. Instead, they are making the U.S. better (Bush, 2006e). Not only does President Bush emphasize that immigrants, such as those from Mexico, uphold the same family values as the United States, but these family values are also named as the primary motivational factor of immigrants who cross into the U.S. via the U.S.-Mexico border. In June 2006, President Bush, for instance, states that the reason immigrants cross the U.S.-Mexico border was that “People are motivated by a desire, in many cases— in most cases, to support the family” (Bush, 2006i). Moreover, he continuously states that he personally experienced that immigrants come for these reasons when he was governor of Texas. He, for instance, states that he: “used to tell people in Texas, family values do not stop at the Rio Grande” (Bush, 2006i). By emphasizing how immigrants

share and are motivated by family values, Bush demystifies immigrants, make them seem less of a security concern, and attempts to generate a more welcoming attitude towards them.

In addition to emphasizing how immigrants share certain family values with Americans, President Bush also demystifies the ‘immigrant other’ by emphasizes that immigrants who come across the U.S.-Mexico border want, just like American citizens, to attain the American Dream. The American Dream is a popular concept used to denote: “the conviction that in America every individual had the opportunity for self-fulfillment regardless of their birth or position”(Birch and Hooper, 2012). While this core idea of the American Dream has remained the same over time, other aspects of the concept have not. Currently, the attainment of homeownership and economic security are central aspects of the American Dream (Southerton, 2011). That Bush uses the American dream to demystify the ‘immigrant other’ can for instance be observed in Bush’s statement: “People come to this country because they want to realize the great American Dream. They want to be able to say, (...) I want to own my own home” (Bush, 2006g). The idea that immigrants strive for the American Dream just like Americans, is, furthermore, substantiated by several anecdotes of immigrants lives. An example of such an anecdote is the story of Salvador Pina’s life. Pina is crossed the U.S.-Mexico border with little but was able to start his own auto repair business: “Salvador Pina. He's a new American citizen who had a dream; he wanted to own his own business [...]. He's the proud owner of Pina Auto Repair” (Bush, 2006j). Anecdotes like the one of Pina come to serve as an example of all immigrants (Edwards and Herder, 2012, p.47). Through such anecdotes and emphasis on how immigrants want to attain the American Dream, Bush paints a picture of immigrants as hardworking people whose ideas, values and intentions do not pose a threat to the United States.

Such an image of immigrants is further substantiated by the attention President Bush gives to immigrants who are serving in the U.S. army. By paying attention to their service, Bush emphasizes that immigrants can come to share and can even become willing to die for America’s values and ideas. President Bush, for instance, remarks on Mexicans who are fighting for America:

“The patriotism of Mexican Americans reminds us that one of our greatest strengths is the character and diversity of our Nation's immigrants. Immigration has made our land a great melting pot of talent and ideas. It has made America a beacon of hope for people in search of a better life” (Bush, 2007c).

By emphasizing how immigrants have fought to keep America secure, Bush, paints a picture of immigrants not as people that pose a threat to the U.S., but as people who are in fact contributing to the nation's safety.

To conclude this section on demystification, Bush thus tries to convince his audience that immigrants are not unknown and 'dangerous others'. Instead, they are people that are similar to Americans in many ways. They share similar values and strive for the same American Dream. They should therefore, according to Bush's discourse, be considered friends and partners, not security risks.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has addressed the sub-question: *does President Bush use a narrative in which immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border is framed as an existential threat to the United States?* In response to this question, this chapter has argued that Bush uses two existential threat narratives. One of these narratives has been named the 'dangerous other' narrative. The other has been coined the 'needed other' narrative. In the 'dangerous other' narrative, immigrants are said to pose both an external and an internal threat. Immigrants pose an external threat because there could be terrorists or criminals among them. Immigrants pose an internal threat because they are living beyond the grasp of U.S. authorities, illegally in the "shadows" of society. Immigrants, moreover, pose an internal threat because they are straining American resources. By straining these resources, immigrants are also threatening the identity of American citizens. In a capitalist society like the U.S., people's identity is namely for a part constructed by the amount of access they have to resources. To sum up, in the 'dangerous other' narrative, immigrants are depicted as an existential threat to Americans' physical security, their access to resources, and the security of their identity.

This 'dangerous other' narrative strongly conflicts with Bush's other existential threat narrative: the 'needed other' narrative. With that narrative, Bush argues that immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border is necessary for the economic security of the nation as well as the security of that nation's identity. Halting immigration would jeopardize the functioning and growth of the national economy. In addition, it would threaten the continuity of businesses who are dependent on foreign laborers because Americans do not want to do the work. Halting immigration poses a threat to America's national identity because immigration is part of the very foundation of that identity. If immigration is halted, that identity could no longer exist in its current form. In order to substantiate his 'needed other' narrative, Bush

engages in a 'demystification' of the 'criminal other'. By outlining how immigrants are similar to- and friends of Americans Bush attempts to make immigrants less of an unknown, potentially dangerous group of people. In this manner, Bush tries to generate a more welcoming attitude towards immigrants who cross the U.S.-Mexico border. The answer to the sub-question of this chapter is thereby: yes, Bush uses an existential threat narrative. In fact, he uses two rather conflicting existential threat narratives, a dangerous other narrative and a needed other narrative. Bush thereby has fulfilled one of the three requirements for a securitization move's success. The next chapter will address the second requirement: the mobilization of extraordinary means.

6 Proposed extraordinary means

The previous chapter outlined Bush's two existential threat narratives. One of these narratives (the 'dangerous other' narrative) portrays a particular part of the immigrant group as an existential threat to the physical and economic safety of American people as well as to the safety of the American identity. The other narrative (the 'needed other' narrative) frames denying entrance to immigrants as a threat to the economic security of the U.S. as well as the security of America's national identity. Apart from these existential threat narratives, a successful act of securitization, according to the CS, requires the deployment of extraordinary means (or at least the creation of a platform for the enactment of such means) and audience acceptance (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p.24-26). This chapter focusses on extraordinary means. As the theoretical framework outlined, extraordinary means are measures that can only be mobilized in response to an existential threat. They are sometimes outside legal boundaries and generally enacted in an expedited manner. An example of an extraordinary measure is, for instance, the mobilization of an exceptionally high amount of resources in an expedited manner to counter an existential threat (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p.5, 24-25). This chapter discusses whether such extraordinary means have been proposed by President Bush in response to the narratives outlined in the previous chapter. It thereby sets out to answer this thesis' second sub-question: *Does Bush propose a series of extraordinary means to tackle the existential threats outlined in the previous chapter?*

Throughout this chapter, it is argued that Bush's discourse reveals the wish to enact a series of extraordinary measures that would together create a border that filters the "desirable", needed immigrants from the "undesirable" immigrants that form a possible security concern (Figure 5).

President Bush attempts to generate this type of "filtering" border by



Figure 5: Bush's two types of extraordinary measures together form a filtering border

arguing for stricter security and control measures on the actual border as well as throughout the nation. With such measures the 'dangerous others' will be kept out. In order to let the 'needed other' pass through the more secured border, Bush proposes a temporary-worker plan. While touching upon on these different extraordinary measures that Bush proposes, this chapter will illustrate that the distinction between "ordinary" and "extraordinary" measures is

not as clear cut. Measures that are proposed as part of Bush's existential threat narrative are often only extraordinary because they are substantial, not because they are outside the boundaries of every-day politics.

In order to illustrate that and substantiate the argument that Bush proposes a set of extraordinary means in order to generate a kind of "filtering" border, this chapter first addresses the tightening of security measures. It thereby touches upon mobilizing extra Border Patrol forces, deploying the National Guard, and investing in the Mexican interior. The second section addresses the plans that Bush proposes to let the 'needed other' cross the border at a time that border security becomes increasingly more tight. That section primarily revolves around Bush's plans to create a temporary worker program. The third section will address the filtering border.

6.1 Tightening security

As part of Bush's 'dangerous 'other'' narrative, a substantial part of Bush's rhetoric on how to manage immigration is concerned with tightening security. As Bush puts it at the national Hispanic prayer breakfast while he is talking about Hispanic immigration:

"The immigration system isn't working today, and it needs to be fixed. Our borders need to be secure. The American people from all walks of life expect the Government to secure our border, and we will do that" (Bush, 2006k).

The measures that Bush proposes to tighten security can be divided into, first, those measures that are designed to counter the external threat that immigrants pose and, second, those means that aim to control the internal threat dimension of immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border. This distinction between an external and internal threat dimension corresponds with the way in which the 'dangerous other' narrative was analyzed in the previous chapter. The extraordinary means that Bush proposes to counter both dimensions will now be addressed.

6.1.1 Extraordinary measures to counter the external threat

In order to counter the external threat that immigrants pose, Bush argues for an increase of force on the border and for expanding and improving the Border Patrol's infrastructure and technology. Moreover, he proposes to investment in the Mexican interior. While analyzing these security measures, it is argued that Bush's increase in force on the actual border can be considered an extraordinary means but that it is unclear whether investments in the Mexican interior are.

2.1.1.1 Extra forces on the border

In order to tighten security on the actual U.S.-Mexico border, Bush proposes to increase the number of Border Patrol agents. In addition, he proposes to deploy the National Guard and to upgrade the Border Patrol's infrastructure and technology. These will now all be addressed.

To advance the security of the border (or at least in an attempt to conjure an image of a secure border), Bush hired and proposes to hire hundreds of new Border Patrol agents. When comparing the number of agents that Bush hires with the number of agents that other presidents hired it can be argued that Bush's hires are so substantial that they can be considered extraordinary means. The fact that Bush significantly increased and proposes to increase the Border Patrol is, for instance, illuminated by Bush's discourse in 2005. He reports:

“Since 2001, we've hired 1,900 new Border Patrol agents. I just signed a bill last month that will enable us to add another 1,000 Border Patrol agents. When we complete these hires, we will have enlarged the Border Patrol by about 3,000 agents, from 9,500 the year I took office to 12,500 next year. This is an increase of more than 30 percent” (Bush, 2005d)

One year later, he states:

“By the end of 2008, we'll increase the number of Border Patrol officers by an additional 6,000. When these new agents are deployed, we'll have more than doubled the size of the Border Patrol during my Presidency” (Bush, 2006f).

The numbers in these quotes reveal an increase of the Border Patrol with thousands of new recruits. The substantial size of these increases can form a thorough basis for arguing that these increases were extraordinary measures, not ordinary increases. However, how many of these guards are actually deployed, or does Bush plan to deploy, on the U.S.-Mexico border? The argument that Bush's Border Patrol increase is an extraordinary means only upholds if the guards are actually allocated to the U.S.-Mexico border and not another border. While it generally seems like Bush refers to the Border Patrol increases on the U.S.-Mexico border, it is often difficult to determine whether Bush solely talks about increasing the Border Patrol on the U.S.-Mexico border. Take for instance the first quote, which discusses a possible increase of “more than 30 percent” (Bush, 2005d). That quote is part of a speech that discusses immigration across the border Mexico-Arizona border. However, Bush does not explicitly state that all of the new Border Patrol guards that he has hired or is planning to hire are allocated to the U.S.-Mexico border. Instead, it seems more like he is talking about a general,

overall increase of “more than 30 percent.” (Bush, 2005d). From Bush’s discourse alone it is thus not possible to conclude whether the (proposed) Border Patrol increase is an extraordinary measure. For more concrete evidence one needs to depart from pure discourse analysis and analyze the Border Patrol’s statistics. That data shows that Bush was able to increase the Border Patrol’s staff with hundreds more people than his predecessor and significantly more than his successor. For instance, President Clinton increased the amount of Border Patrol officers on the U.S.-Mexico border from 3,444 in the fiscal year of 1993 to 9,147 in the fiscal year of 2001, an increase of 5,703 agents (United States Border Patrol, 2016a). This is over 500 agents less than President Bush. President Obama increased the number of Border Patrol staff on the U.S.-Mexico border from 15,442 in the fiscal year of 2001 to 17,026 in the fiscal year of 2016. This is an increase of 1,584 people, significantly less than President Bush (United States Border Patrol, 2016a). Bush thus increased the number of Border Patrol agents on the U.S.’ southern border with substantially more people than both Clinton and Obama. This can be taken as an indication that the enacted increase in Border Patrol staff by Bush was an extraordinary measure. President Bush’s Border Patrol increase becomes even more of an extraordinary measure when taking into consideration the fact that Bush’s increase took place almost entirely during his second term as president. 5,936 out of the 6,295 Border Patrol guards were hired during Bush’s second presidential term (the fiscal years 2004 to 2008). The fact that he increased the number of Border Patrol officers by such a substantial amount in such a short amount of time reinforces the assertion that the increase of the Border Patrol was an extraordinary measure.

The Border Patrol will not only be expanded, it will also be assisted by the National Guard in its efforts to counter the alleged external threat that ‘dangerous other’ immigrants pose. This measure can be considered an extraordinary measure both because it is unusual to deploy the National Guard for border security reasons and because of the measure’s severity. Bush proposes to deploy the National Guard as an extraordinary measure for at least one year. One year is the time that it will take to train the hundreds of new Border Patrol guards mentioned in the previous paragraph (Bush, 2006h). The following quote illustrates that Bush sets out to deploy the National Guard:

“in coordination with Governors, up to 6,000 Guard members will be deployed to our southern border. The Border Patrol will remain in the lead. The Guard will assist the Border Patrol by operating surveillance systems, analyzing intelligence, installing fences and vehicle barriers, building patrol roads, and providing training” (Bush, 2006f).

Deploying the National Guard for border security purposes is rather exceptional. Normally, the National Guard is deployed in response to severe civil unrest and natural disasters (Gambino, 2014). The National Guard was for instance mobilized when hurricane Katrina hit in 2005 and when Trump was inaugurated (Shane & Shanker, 2005; Cox, 2017). Considering that its deployment is not an every-day political move, it can be considered an extraordinary measure. Mobilizing the National Guard can also be considered an exceptional measure because it is a rather severe security measure. Instead of being guarded by Patrol personnel, the border will be guarded by a military-style unit. After all, the National Guard is the “reserve component of the U.S. military.” Considering this severity as well as the fact that it is exceptional to mobilize the National Guard for border security purposes, mobilizing the National Guard can be considered an extraordinary measure.

Another extraordinary measure that Bush proposes to counter the external threat that immigrants pose is an upgrade in the Border Patrol’s surveillance infrastructure and technology. That Bush proposes this is, for instance, evident in Bush’s remarks on border security and immigration reform in Tuscan:

“The legislation I signed last month includes \$70 million to install and improve protective infrastructure across [the U.S.-Mexico] border. In rural areas, we’re funding the construction of new patrol roads to give our agents better access to the border and new vehicle barriers to keep illegal immigrants from driving across the border. In urban areas, we’re expanding fencing to shut down access to human smuggling corridors” (Bush, 2005d).

In 2005, Bush, furthermore, remarks the allocation of:

“139 million to improve our technology and intelligence capabilities, including portable imaging machines and cameras and sensors and automated targeting systems that focus on high-risk travelers and goods” (Bush, 2005e).⁶

The use of ‘such ‘automated targeting systems’ and the improvements in the Border Patrol’s infrastructure and equipment indicates a clear intensification of security measures on the U.S.-Mexico border. Still, upgrades and infrastructure improvements are not out of the ordinary and hence not necessarily extraordinary measures in the way that the CS defines such measures. However, because all of these improvements were proposed during the very same period in American history the technology- and infrastructure upgrades can be considered

⁶ With ‘automated targeting systems’ Bush refers to: “a decision support tool that compares traveler, cargo, and conveyance information against law enforcement, intelligence, and other enforcement data using risk-based targeting scenarios and assessments” (Privacy Impact Assessment Update, 2014, p.1).

extraordinary measures that aim to counter the existential threat that immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border poses.

To conclude this section on extra forces on the border, Bush sets out to tighten security on the U.S.-Mexico border by increasing the number of Border Patrol guards on that border. This is only an extraordinary measure if one departs from discourse analysis and studies the Border Patrol's statistics. This reveals the limits of discourse analysis. To tighten security, Bush, moreover, sets out to mobilize the National Guard and upgrade the technology and infrastructure that the Border Patrol is using. In addition to increasing security on the actual border, Bush also proposes to generate security by investigating in the Mexican interior. This is addressed in the next section.

2.1.1.2 Investing in the Mexican interior

Apart from intensifying border security, President Bush proposes to invest in Mexico as a way of enhancing security. He argues that the substantial wage difference between the U.S. and the interior of Mexico was one of the primary causes of the influx of immigrants from Mexico. By investing in the interior of Mexico, Bush sets out to create an environment that would make Mexicans want to stay in their own country. As Bush explains it: "if you make 50 cents in the interior of Mexico and \$5 in Texas, you're going to do \$5 if you can make it" (Bush, 2005a). And:

"Here on the border, the wage differential is narrowing— or on the border, wage differential is narrowing, so the migration pressure tends to come from interior of Mexico and the south of Mexico. And one of the things that the [Mexican] President and I have discussed in the past is, how best to develop industry together in the midst of Mexico, in the south of Mexico, so that people are more likely to find work at home" (Bush, 2002e).

However, even though Bush argues for investments in Mexico as part of his existential threat narrative (after all he states that such investments are required to halt immigration), whether U.S. investments in Mexico can be called extraordinary measures is debatable. This is debatable because investments in Mexico as well as extensive trade agreements with Mexico are not uncommon for the United States (Villarreal, 2016, p.1-6). The U.S. is, for instance, Mexico's primary trading partner (Villarreal, 2016). To illustrate the size of the nation's trade relation: in 2016, the U.S. exported 230,959.1 billion dollars' worth of goods to Mexico, and imported 294,151.0 billion dollars' worth of goods (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). In addition, the U.S. is Mexico's biggest source of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) (Villarreal, 2016,

p.5). Moreover, the U.S. and Mexico are connected by substantial trade agreements such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) (Villarreal, 2008, p.ii).⁷ This extensive trade-and investment relation that the U.S. thus has with Mexico, makes it difficult to call Bush's plan to halt immigration by investing in the Mexican interior a "proposed extraordinary measure." It is not a measure that is clearly outside the boundaries of every-day politics.

Bush thus mobilized several extraordinary measures to counter the alleged external threat that immigrants pose. However, whether Bush's plan to invest in the Mexican interior is an extraordinary measure is debatable.

6.1.2 Extraordinary measures to counter the internal threat

Apart from controlling the external threat that he outlines in his 'immigrant as dangerous 'other'' narrative, Bush also proposes plans to tackle the internal dimension of the immigration "threat" (the immigrants already residing in the U.S.). These plans revolve around checking employees (also known as worksite enforcement), combating document fraud and ending the policy of Catch-and-Release. It is argued that while the plans seem to be extraordinary measures, they do not fit neatly within the CS' definition of extraordinary means. This section can therefore also be seen as calling for an expansion of the CS' definition of extraordinary means. Perhaps also more ordinary political measures can turn an issue into a security concern. Bush's different plans to counter the internal threat are now expanded upon.

The idea behind worksite enforcement is that immigrants will no longer come illegally if they cannot get a job. They would be forced to go through the legal channels. As Bush puts it while pertaining to immigration across the Mexico-Arizona border: "Better interior enforcement begins with better worksite enforcement" (Bush, 2005d). One of the primary worksite enforcement plans that Bush proposes is 'Operation Rollback'. This operation was a combination of conducting arrests and fining- and prosecuting companies that hired illegal immigrants. In the words of Bush:

It's the largest worksite enforcement case in American history. This operation resulted in the arrest of hundreds of illegal immigrants, criminal convictions against a dozen employers, and a multimillion dollar payment from one of America's largest corporations" (Bush, 2005d).

⁷ NAFTA is: "An economic pact permitting free trade between the USA, Canada, and Mexico" that took effect in 1994 (The North Atlantic Free Trade Agreement, 2006).

Operation Rollback led to an exceptionally high number of arrests and convictions. As Bush puts it: “Rollback is greater than the combined sum of all administrative [worksite enforcement] fines from the previous eight years” (Bush, 2006l). Worksite enforcement is not something out of the ordinary but the unusually size of Operation Rollback seem to make it an extraordinary measure. However, Operation Rollback was not mobilized in an expedited manner. In addition, it was not outside the boundaries of every-day politics. It merely seems a more extreme version of an otherwise fairly ordinary political measure. Was Operation Rollback then despite being linked to an existential threat narrative not an extraordinary measure? Or does it reveal that the CS’ definition of extraordinary measure is perhaps too stark. Maybe also more ordinary political measures can be part of a successful securitization move. Future research might address this issue.

Apart from checking employers, Bush’s discourse also shows the desire to end ‘Catch-and-Release’ to curtail the internal threat that immigrants are said to pose. The unofficial catch-and-release program allows law enforcement officials to let illegal immigrants who cross the U.S.-Mexico border find their own accommodation in the U.S. until they have their hearing on whether they are allowed to stay or not in the U.S. (American Immigration Lawyers Association, 2016). Bush aims to stop the policy of catch-and-release, because, as he puts it while answering a question about immigration across the Mexico-U.S. Border:

“one of the problems we've faced is that people get stopped, and they get let back out in society and say, "Come on back for your hearing." But guess what? They don't come back for the hearing. That's the catch-and-release. And we're trying to change that” (Bush, 2006a).

By stopping the policy of catch-and-release, Bush thus sets out to prevent illegal immigrants from wandering off into society. In different words, he sets out to curtail the internal threat that ‘dangerous others’ are said to pose. Ending this policy can be considered a substantial reorganization of immigration policies in the U.S. towards the immigrants coming across the U.S.-Mexico border. Hence, it can be considered an extraordinary measure. However, the means that Bush proposes in order to facilitate the ending of Catch-and-Release are not necessarily extraordinary means that aim to counter immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border. This is, for instance, evident in Bush attempt to try and facilitate the end of Catch-and-Release by creating more sleeping places for illegal immigrants in detention facilities. Bush argues in his immigration discourse that Catch-and-Release primarily exists because there are not enough sleeping places for immigrants in holding centers. When a detention center is full, government officials feel forced to resort to the policy of Catch-and-Release. This problem

can be resolved by creating more beds for immigrants. As Bush remarks during a speech on immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border in Arizona:

“To help end catch-and-release, we need to increase the capacity in our detention facilities. Last month at the White House, I signed legislation supported by the members of the Arizona delegation that will increase the number of beds in our detention facilities” (Bush, 2005d).

Bush proposes to increase the number of beds substantially. In 2004, he, for instance, called upon the Department of Homeland Security to increase the amount of beds with 8,000 each fiscal year between 2006 and 2010 as part of the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004 (Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act, 2004, . P. 3734). In addition, while signing the Department of Homeland Security Appropriations Act for 2007, Bush remarked that the act would allow him to increase the number of beds with 6,700. The total number of beds would then become 27,500 (Bush, 2006m). As the increase is substantial it could be considered an extraordinary measure. In comparison, Obama, for instance, initially increased the number of beds as well but only to 34,000. Moreover, in 2016 the number of beds was reduced to 30,000 (Immigration Detention Bed, 2016). However, it should be noted that Bush increased the number of beds through normal, every-day political procedures. Moreover, is not dealt with in a particularly expedited manner. Is increasing the number of beds in detention facilities, just like Operation Rollback, despite being linked to an existential threat narrative and being substantial not an extraordinary measure? Or does it once more illuminate that maybe also relatively ordinary political policies can be part of a successful securitization move.

To conclude, Bush proposes a worksite enforcement plan and sets out to end the policy of Catch-and-Release in order to counter the internal threat that immigrants pose. However, these measures are neither necessarily dealt with in an expedited manner nor are they outside the boundaries of every-day politics. They are merely larger or more substantial versions of ordinary political moves that accompany an existential threat narrative. This makes one wonder whether the CS’ definition of “extraordinary measures” is perhaps too stark. Maybe also more ordinary political measures that go through every-day political channels can be part of a successful securitization move.

Bush thus proposes a series of heightened security measures to counter the threat that the ‘dangerous other’ immigrants are said to pose. As a result, the U.S.-Mexico border will be more tightly secured. However, in order to make sure that the ‘needed others’ can still pass

through, Bush also proposes a temporary-worker program. In this manner he aims to maintain the U.S.' economic security and the security of the nation's identity while the border is increasingly secured. The temporary-worker program is discussed in the next section.

6.2 Filtering workers

While discussing a significant number of policies and measures to tighten border security, President Bush also touches upon measures that would allow hard-working and needed immigrants to cross into the United States. The border would as a result function as a type of filter through which the 'dangerous others' would be separated from the 'needed others' to maintain the U.S.' security without losing out economically. This section expands on these different measures with which Bush attempts to maintain and legalize an influx of workers while increasingly tightening border security.

The primary way in which Bush proposes to generate security by filtering 'desired' from 'undesired' immigrants is through a temporary-worker program. This program would allow workers to stay in the United States for three times two years (Bush, 2007b). During this time, the workers would be allowed to travel back and forth between the U.S. and their country of origin (Bush, 2004b). While the program could technically be used by any worker, it is primarily designed for- and targeting immigrants who cross the U.S.-Mexico border (Fletcher and Fears, 2005; Morgan, 2004). As Morgan (2004) puts it: "While also not expressly directed at any particular group of foreign workers, this plan undoubtedly targets labor from Mexico" (p.125). The idea behind the temporary-worker program is that the pressure on the Border Patrol would decrease as less people would try and cross the border illegally. Another result of the temporary-worker program would be that the legal labor force would increase and the illegal one would decrease in the United States (Bush, 2004c). In the words of Bush:

"This new temporary-worker program will bring more than economic benefits to America. Our homeland will be more secure when we can better account for those who enter our country, instead of the current situation in which millions of people are unknown, unknown to the law. Law enforcement will face fewer problems with undocumented workers and will be better able to focus on the true threats to our Nation from criminals and terrorists. And when temporary workers can travel legally and freely, there will be (...) more effective enforcement against those who pose a true threat to our country" (Bush, 2004c)

The temporary-worker program is thus proposed to enhance security in a variety of ways. First of all, it serves to safeguard the economic security of American citizens as immigrants would come to the U.S. to do, in the words of Bush, “jobs Americans won’t do” (Bush, 2004f). As they would only do those jobs that Americans do not want to do, the immigrants will not hamper the income of American citizens but they will instead aid the nation’s economy and hence the country’s economic security. Secondly, the temporary-worker program would make it possible for the United States to have a more complete overview of who enters the nation. People would have to provide the American government with certain personal information before they would be allowed to receive a temporary-worker visa (Bush, 2007b; Bush, 2006a). With such information readily available for the American government, it would become easier to control potentially dangerous immigrants residing in the U.S.. The temporary-worker program, thereby, reduces the internal threat posed by immigrants. The external threat that immigrants pose would also be better contained as the Border Patrol would have more time to catch terrorists. The proposed temporary-worker program thus serves to enhance the American people’s feeling of security by countering both the internal and external threat that immigrants who cross the U.S.-Mexico border are said to pose.

To strengthen his temporary-worker program discourse, Bush sets out to smother critics that argue that the temporary-worker is a form of amnesty. He does this by stating that the temporary-worker visa is highly conditional. People who are already residing in the U.S. illegally would, for instance, be eligible for a temporary-worker visa but they broke the law by crossing into and residing illegally in the U.S. and would therefore first have to pay a fine. Moreover, Bush emphasizes in order to curtail criticism that the temporary-worker visa would not automatically lead to legal citizenship. People would have to go back to their country of origin if their temporary-worker visa expired. Once back home, they could apply for an official green card for the U.S.. As Bush puts it:

“This legislation will also help resolve the status of illegal immigrants who are already in our country, without amnesty. Those who come out of the shadows will be given probationary status. If they pass a strict background check, pay a fine, hold a job, maintain a clean criminal record, and eventually learn English, they will qualify for and maintain a Z visa. If they want to become citizens, they have to do all these things plus pay an additional fine, go to the back of the line, pass a citizenship test, and return to their country to apply for their green card” (Bush, 2007b).

This type of discourse fits well with the ‘needed ‘other’ narrative that was outlined in the previous chapter. On the one hand, immigrants are needed and they thus receive a temporary-worker visa. However, on the other hand, their access to and inclusion in the American community remains highly conditional. Considering that the temporary-worker program would substantially and rather uniquely alter the U.S.’ immigration policy, the program could be considered an extraordinary measure. The temporary-worker program combined with Bush’s security increases generate a type of filtering border. The ‘needed others’ are allowed to pass, but the ‘dangerous others’ are halted. This type of filtering border is also called a “smart” or “virtual” border. It is further elaborated on in the next section.

6.3 ‘Smart’ border

The allocation of new advanced technologies, the infrastructure improvements, the increase of Border Patrol officers on the U.S.-Mexico border, as well as the temporary-worker program are all part of Bush’s larger plan to halt the ‘dangerous others’ on the U.S.-Mexico border but to let the ‘needed others’ through. In order to achieve this, Bush aims to create a “smart” or “virtual” border (Bush, 2002d). Such a border is “a state-of-the-art electronic border” that halts dangerous individuals and cargo but that lets tourists and business through (Andreas, 2003, p.96). As Bush puts it: “We’re going to create a virtual fence that employs motion detectors and infrared cameras and unmanned aerial vehicles to detect and prevent illegal crossings (...) we’re going to have a border that is smart and secure” (Bush, 2006i). A “smart” border which is patrolled by such advanced technologies would halt illegal immigrants, criminals and terrorists, but allow the increasing flow of commercial vehicles to pass through. As Bush describes it while referring to immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border, America should:

“create a "smart border" for the 21st century. We will build a border that protects our societies against those who would do us harm, and that truly serves the human and economic needs of our dynamic relationship. We share a vision of a modern border that speeds the legitimate flow of people and commerce, and filters out all that threatens our safety and prosperity” (Bush, 2002d).

The terms ‘smart’ or ‘virtual’ border thereby refer to a border that divides the flow of incoming people into ‘desirables’ and ‘undesirables,’ by utilizing modern technologies and techniques. President Bush proposes such a ‘smart’ border to generate feelings of security while at the same time allowing cross-border trade to continue. A ‘smart’ border can be

considered a set of extraordinary measures because it involves a rather substantial re-organization of the border security system. More clearly, it can be considered an extraordinary measure because of one of the arguments that Bush puts forward for the creation of a 'smart' border. Bush argues that a 'smart' border is necessary because the current border security system is no longer able to guarantee Americans' safety. This is in accordance with the CS' interpretation of the mobilization of an extraordinary measure to counter an existential threat. The desire to modernize the U.S.-Mexico border is, for instance, illuminated by what Bush asserts during an interview with Hispanic journalists: "The system is antiquated; it is outdated. It needs to be modernized"(Bush, 2002b). It needs to be modernized for security reasons. As Bush argues, border security and modernization are almost synonymous: "we have been aggressive at border security, which is making sure we modernize our border (...) between Arizona and Mexico" (Bush, 2007a). This reason for modernization as well as words such as 'outdated' and 'need to modernize', arguably, aim to convince the American public that the current border security system is no longer capable of adequately protecting American citizens. It, thereby, fits into an existential threat narrative and a securitization move. It fits because a scenario is described in which there is no possible way to return to a state of security without enacting novel extraordinary measures (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p.25). Such novel extraordinary measures are in this case, for instance, 'smart' border technologies for the Border Patrol and a temporary-worker program.

6.4 Conclusion

To conclude this chapter, to accompany his two existential threat narratives Bush proposes two types of extraordinary measures. The answer to the second sub-question is thereby "yes." These two types together form a "filtering" or "smart" border. One of the types aims to counter both the internal and external threat that 'dangerous other' immigrants are said to pose. To counter the external threat, Bush, for instance, sets out to increase the number of Border Patrol officers, upgrade their infrastructure, and mobilize the National Guard. To counter the internal threat, Bush sets out to end the policy of Catch-and-Release. The second type aims to let the 'needed others' cross the (increasingly secured) border with a temporary-worker program. By increasing security on the border but also letting 'needed others' through, Bush creates a type of "smart border." Apart from illuminating which extraordinary measures Bush proposes, this chapter has also revealed that the gap between what constitutes an "ordinary" and "extraordinary" measure is perhaps to stark in the CS' version of securitization theory. Often the means that are mobilized to accompany Bush's existential threat narrative

are more extreme versions of ordinary political measures. They are also just part of every-day political decision making. This makes one wonder why more ordinary political measures cannot be part of a securitization move.

7 Audience acceptance

Only one more requirement for a successful securitization act remains to be analyzed: audience acceptance. As discussed in the theoretical framework, according to Buzan, Waever and de Wilde, securitization is an intersubjective process (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p.25). This means that a securitization actor's existential threat narrative and the accompanying emergency measures need to be accepted by an audience before the securitization act can be considered a success (Salter, 2008, p.323). As Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde (1998) explain audience acceptance, it is about: "Does a referent object hold legitimacy as something that should survive, which entails that actors can make reference to it, point to something as a threat, and thereby get others to follow or at least tolerate actions not otherwise legitimate?" (p.31). The need for audience acceptance can be translated into the sub-question: *is Bush able to generate his audience's approval of his existential threat narrative and the accompanying emergency means?* This would mean that the audience would accept that immigrants pose an external and internal threat but that, at the same time, immigrants are also needed for the security of the nation's economy and identity. In addition, it would mean that the audience agrees to a tightening of security measures both on the border and in the American interior as well as to a temporary-worker program. However, it should be remembered that with audience acceptance, the CS does not necessarily mean that the proposed measures and their accompanying existential threat narrative need to be truly enacted. If the existential threat narrative has created a platform from which the emergency means could potentially be enacted, the securitization move is, according to the CS, also successful (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1999, p.24). However, it should be noted that in the CS' work, the term audience acceptance remains ambiguous. Which audience has to accept what part of Bush's securitization move remains unclear.

When taking all of this into consideration, in this thesis, a successful case of audience acceptance would imply that the emergency measures outlined in the previous Chapter would have been ratified during Bush's presidency or would have had a high chance of passing Congress afterwards. It is this audience acceptance that this final chapter tries to shed light on. It aims to do this by indicating which emergency measures were passed by President Bush's government or were in the process of getting passed as well as by indicating some prominent measures that were not passed. It should, however, be noted that the (un)enacted measures that are mentioned in this chapter are not *all* of the measures that President Bush enacted or proposed in relation to the issue of immigration coming across the U.S.-Mexico border.

Considering the scope of this thesis, this chapter focusses solely on some of the most prominent and/or illustrative measures that were enacted or were not enacted as a result of Bush's attempt to securitize immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border.

In the process of audience acceptance the relation between speaker and audience might have played a facilitating role. The extent to which the audience accepted the emergency means proposed by President Bush will be determined by first discussing the extent to which the heightened security measures were adopted and the facilitating features that played a role in that process. Subsequently, the audience's refusal to accept the temporary worker program will be touched upon. Throughout the chapter, it is argued that most of the heightened security measures gained support from the audience, but that the temporary-worker program was not accepted by the audience.

7.1 Audience's acceptance of heightened security measures

The narrative of the 'dangerous other' is used to generate a platform for heightened security measures. As outlined in Chapter 2, these proposed heightened security measures revolved around countering the external threat that immigrants pose by increasing the amount of Border Patrol officers and upgrading their technological capacities. In addition, to tackle the internal dimension of the immigrant threat, security measures such as checking employers are also proposed. When analyzing the measures Bush that passed during his presidency, it becomes evident that the audience generally accepts Bush's heightened security measures and the narrative of the 'dangerous 'other'' that accompanies these measures. This acceptance is addressed in this chapter by first analyzing the audience's acceptance of security measures to counter external threat that immigrants allegedly pose. Following this, the audience's acceptance of an increase in security measures to counter the internal threat that immigrants are arguably posing is discussed.

7.1.1 Accepting heightened security measures to counter the external threat

During his presidency, Bush was able to significantly heighten security on the U.S.-Mexico border. His proposal to increase the number of Border Patrol officers on the U.S.' southern border was accepted. In 2005, Bush, for example, stated: "Since 2001, we've hired 1,900 new Border Patrol agents. I just signed a bill (...) to add another 1,000" (Bush, 2005d). As noted in the previous chapter, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether Bush solely talks about the number of Border Patrol guards on the U.S.-Mexico border or whether he is talking about Border Patrol guards in general. However, when comparing the data that Bush mentions in his

discourse with the official Border Patrol's statistics, it becomes clear that the audience accepts Bush's desire to significantly increase the Border Patrol on the U.S.-Mexico border. Between the fiscal years of 2001 and 2008, Bush was able to increase the Border Patrol's staff on the U.S.' southern border from 9,147 to 15,442 agents. This is an increase of 6,295 officers (United States Border Patrol, 2016a). It should, however, be noted that a fiscal year runs from the 1st of October until the 30th of September and is denoted by the year in which it ends. This stands in contrast to the presidential calendar in which a year runs from January 20 to January 20. Despite this fact, the data provides a rather accurate impression of Bush's increase in Border Patrol officers. When taking this data into consideration, it can be concluded that Bush's audience accepts that facet of his securitization move that revolves around generating security through an increase in the number of Border Patrol officers on the U.S.' southern border.

Apart from this increase in patrol officers, plans to secure the U.S.-Mexico border are also accepted as part of the larger Secure Border Initiative (SBI) (Nevins and Dunn, 2008, p.22). This initiative took off in November 2005 and was, as the Department of Homeland Security puts it, "a comprehensive multi-year plan to secure America's borders and reduce illegal migration" (Department of Homeland Security qtd. in Nevins and Dunn, 2008, p.22). The initiative includes the promise to increase the number of walls and other barriers on the border, the so-called "physical layers of security" (Nevins and Dunn, 2008, p.22). This initiative aims to secure borders in general, but as a part of it, Bush enacts the Secure Fence Act of 2006, which aims to intensify security on the U.S.-Mexico border in particular (109th Congress, 2006, p.1409-1410). During the enactment of the Act, Bush stresses that the Act is important for keeping the American people safe:

"I'm pleased that you all are here to witness the signature of the Secure Fence Act of 2006. This bill will help protect the American people. This bill will make our borders more secure. It is an important step toward immigration reform" (Bush, 2006n).

The signing of the Secure Fence Act of 2006 illustrates that Bush's audience accepts his plans to increase security on the border by upgrading the Border Patrol's infrastructure. To accomplish this security increase, the Act, for instance, calls for 850 miles of border fence with "at least 2 layers of reinforced fencing" (109th Congress, 2006, p.1409; Huffman, 2006-2007, p. 154). The construction of these border fences would be accompanied by the development of a network of patrolling roads (Nevins and Dunn, 2008, p.22). The passing of the Secure Fence Act in 2006 indicates that Bush's audience accepts yet another part of his

existential threat narrative as well as the accompanying emergency measures that he proposes. Immigrants are, at least by the decisive part of his audience, accepted as a threat. Moreover, Bush was able to convince his audience that this threat was to be countered by an increased set of security measures on the U.S.-Mexico border. In accordance with securitization theory, the signing of the Act is here taken as an indication that the audience accepts the securitization move.

The securing of the U.S.-Mexico border turns into a type of militarization of that border when the audience accepts that National Guard troops should be deployed. Border militarization' means that the patrolling of the border is increasingly defined in military terms and conducted with a military-style set of equipment and strategies (Nagengast, 1998, p.37). Bush has his call for 6,000 troops answered in 2006 when Operation Jump Start commenced (Operation Jump Start, 2015). President Bush explains this operation rather comprehensibly when he stated:

“We've worked with our Nation's Governors to deploy 6,000 National Guard members to provide the Border Patrol with immediate reinforcements. In other words, it takes time to train the Border Patrol, and until they're fully trained, we've asked the Guard to come down. It's called Operation Jump Start”(Bush, 2007c).

As part of this Operation (as mentioned in the previous chapter), 6,000 National Guards started to play a supporting role along the U.S.' southern border (Henry, 2006). Their primary tasks are to help the Border Patrol with maintenance and administrative activities. Moreover, they help improve the Border Patrol's surveillance capabilities as well as construct fences (Doubler, 2008, p.20). The enactment of Operation Jump Start in 2006, arguably, indicates that the audience accepts, at least a temporary, militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border for security reasons.

Apart from indicating that the audience accepts Bush's call for “physical” barriers, both Operation Jump Start and the Secure Fence Act also illustrate the acceptance of Bush's call for a “virtual” fence as they allow for significant improvements in the Border Patrol's technical capacities. This is, for instance, evident in the technological assistance that the National Guard provides as well as the Secure Fence Act's demand for:

“systematic surveillance (...) through more effective use of (...) technology, such as unmanned aerial vehicles, ground-based sensors, satellites, radar coverage, and cameras” (109th Congress, 2006, p.1409; Doubler, 2008, p.20).

President Bush's calls for a "virtual" or "smart" border are, furthermore, translated into the Secure Border Initiative Network program, the so-called *SBI*net program of 2006, that is, similar to the Secure Fence Act, part of the larger Secure Border Initiative (Aradas, 2012). This *SBI*net program leads to the use of innovative, high-tech equipment on the U.S.'s southwest border. As an outline of the program states, "*SBI*net surveillance sensor technology being procured includes mobile and fixed towers, cameras, radars and unattended ground sensors." (*SBI*net Program, 2009, p.2). During President Bush's presidency, the *SBI*net program, however, continues to experience technical programs (Aradas, 2012). Whether a success or not, the audience appears to accept Bush's argument that, to counter the threat immigrants posed, a type of "virtual" or "smart" fence was required, as *SBI*net, the Secure Fence Act, and Operation Jump Start show.

Apart from accepting an intensification and "smartification" of the U.S.-Mexico border's security, Bush's audience also agrees to invest in Mexico's interior to counter the immigrant threat. This is, for instance, evident in the creation of the Partnership for Prosperity with the Mexican President Fox. The Partnership of Prosperity aims to stimulate the growth of the private sector in Mexico (Fact Sheet: Partnership for Prosperity, 2001). By stimulating this sector, Bush argues, it would be easier for people to find jobs at home and, hence, they would no longer have to come to the U.S. to find employment (Bush, 2002e). Bush describes the Partnership for Prosperity when he states:

"To help address some of the root causes of migration, they agreed to form a public private alliance to spur private sector growth throughout Mexico. This "Partnership for Prosperity" initiative will harness the power of free markets to boost the social and economic well-being of citizens particularly in regions where economic growth has lagged and fueled migration" (Bush, 2001c).

What is striking is that, as this quote indicates, discussions on the Partnership for Prosperity already started before the events of 9/11 and, hence, before Bush's narrative of immigrants as dangerous 'others' fully took off. As the "existential threat narrative" chapter indicates, Bush only starts referring to immigrants as potential terrorists- and re-articulating the Border Patrol's mission in counter-terrorism terms in the wake of 9/11. On the one hand, the start of the Partnership for Prosperity between the end of 2001 and the beginning of 2002 can, therefore, be taken as an indication that Bush's audience accepts Bush's existential threat narrative and proposed emergency means. They agree that, to counter the immigrant threat, investments have to be made in the Mexican interior (Fact Sheet: Partnership for Prosperity,

2001). However, since Bush has not truly formulated his existential threat narrative yet at the start of the Partnership of Prosperity, the Partnership is more likely to be categorized as one of Bush's more "ordinary" political measures.

President Bush's narrative in which the 'immigrant 'other'' poses an external threat to the security of the U.S. and its citizens as well as the accompanying increase in security measures are thus largely accepted. The Border Patrol is significantly increased and the U.S.-Mexico border itself is more fenced and made into a "virtual" border. However, as the previous Chapter already thought, Bush's plans to invest in Mexico are not necessarily part of his securitization move as the Partnership for Prosperity case reveals.

7.1.2 Accepting heightened security measures to counter the internal threat

In addition to largely accepting the external dimension of the immigrants as a 'dangerous 'other'' narrative and its accompanying measures, Bush's audience also accepts Bush's calls to handle the internal dimension of the "immigrant threat." Bush, for instance, allegedly ends the policy of Catch-and-Release (Chertoff hails end of let-go policy, 2006). Catch-and-Release, as outlined in the previous Chapter, was the unofficial name for the government's policy of letting people who were apprehended at the U.S.-Mexico border go while they awaited their trial in the immigration court (American Immigration Lawyers Association, 2016). Instead of coming back for their trial, the immigrants would stay in the U.S.. To counter the illegal residing of potentially dangerous individuals in the U.S. as a result of the Catch-and-Release policy, the Department of Homeland Security officially end this policy in 2006 (American Immigration Lawyers Association, 2016). The fact that Bush increases the number of detention beds helps end the policy of Catch-and-Release (Chertoff hails end of let-go policy, 2006). While signing the Department of Homeland Security Appropriations Act in 2006, Bush, for instance, remarks: "As a result of the bill I'm about to sign, we're going to add nearly 2,000 new beds to our detention facilities. That will bring the number of beds up to nearly 20,000" (Bush, 2005e). Both the increase in the number of detention beds as well as the ending of Catch-and-Release can be taken as an indication that Bush's audience accepts his argument that immigrants pose an internal threat and that that threat should be tackled.

Another measure that the audience accepts (in which the internal "threat" dimension of immigration is tackled) is an amendment of Executive order 12989. This amendment forces government contractors to verify that their workers are eligible to work in the U.S. (Bush orders contractors to check workers' legal status, 2008). As President Bush himself puts it, he finds that:

“adherence to the general policy of contracting only with providers that do not knowingly employ unauthorized alien workers and that have agreed to utilize an electronic employment verification system designated by the Secretary of Homeland Security to confirm the employment eligibility of their workforce will promote economy and efficiency in Federal procurement” (Bush, 2008).

President Bush thus orders businesses who work with or wish to work with the federal government to use the Department of Homeland Security’s E-Verify system to check whether their employees could legally work in the States (Bush orders contractors to check workers’ legal status, 2008). As the order states:

"It is the policy of the executive branch to enforce fully the immigration laws of the United States, including the detection and removal of illegal aliens and the imposition of legal sanctions against employers that hire illegal aliens" (Executive Order 13465, 2008).

A worker verification bill that obliges all employers, no matter if they did business with the national government or not, to check their workers’ eligibility was halted in Congress (Bush orders contractors to check workers’ legal status, 2008). Bush’s audience thus accepts, to an extent at least, Bush’s desire to tackle the internal “threat” of immigration by accepting the ending of, for instance, Catch-and-Release and by partially accepting that employers should be forced to check whether workers were eligible to work in the States prior to hiring them.

7.1.3 Facilitating condition

A condition that could have facilitated the audience’s acceptance of an increase in security measures is the power relation between speaker and audience. The President of the United States has significant power, at least theoretically, over the American public and even the American government. The President is, for instance, able to appoint all heads of cabinet, nominates members of the Supreme Court and is the commander in chief. That last duty means that the President is able to direct the power of all of the U.S.’ military forces. The U.S. president, moreover, has the ability to veto any bill passed by Congress. Congress can, however, with a two-thirds majority nullify that veto (Levy and McDonald, 2012). The U.S. president thus has substantial power over the American people. These people are therefore, at least to an extent, forced to accept certain decisions of the president. Even if they do not agree, citizens lack the power to significantly change or halt every decision of the U.S. president that they disagree with. The relatively unequal power-relation between president

and public is likely to have facilitated Bush's attempt to securitize immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border through an increase in security measures.

7.2 Audience's refusal of a temporary worker program

In contrast to largely accepting Bush's narrative of the 'dangerous 'other'' and the corresponding heightened security measures, Bush's audience refuses to accept Bush's narrative of need and its corresponding temporary-worker program.

Prior to the 9/11 attacks, Bush repeatedly calls for immigration reform in the form of a temporary-worker program. However, the events of September 11 temporarily halt Bush's attempts to push this temporary-worker program through Congress. Instead, Bush focuses on tightening

security on the U.S.-Mexico border (Bush revives bid to legalize illegal aliens, 2004). In the beginning of 2004, Bush, however, re-introduces his plan to grant a fixed amount of temporary work visas to people who want to cross the U.S.-Mexico border to work in the United States or to people who have already crossed the border and are now residing and working illegally in the U.S. (Cronin, 2005, p.184; Goldfarb, 2005, p.179). An initial attempt in 2004 to push Bush's temporary-worker program through Congress by Senators Hagel and Daschle, however, fails. Some argue that this is because it was too much of a controversial topic to tackle in an election year (Weiner, 2003). In 2007, Bush tries to push his temporary-worker program through again as part of the larger Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2007. However, after a vote by the U.S. Senate, the Act is refused together with its temporary-worker program (Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2007, 2007; Pear and Hulse, 2007) (see also Figure 1). When considering these facts, it could be argued that Bush fails to successfully securitize the "needed others."

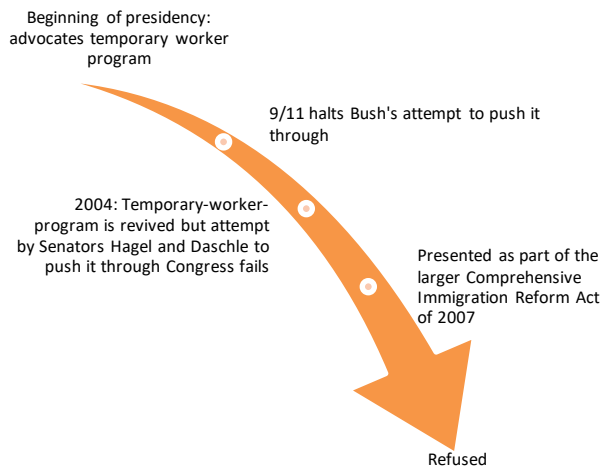


Figure 6: chronology of events the temporary-worker program case

A facilitating condition that, rather surprisingly, did not considerably aid the temporary-worker program's case was Bush's power as president. Bush often addresses the American people in his speeches and reports. He, for instance, held multiple radio addresses as well as provided several statements at, for instance, universities (Bush, 2007b). Considering the fact that, as previously outlined, Bush has significant power over the people of the United States, it would not have been unreasonable for the American people to accept his discourse (Levy and McDonald, 2012). However, as this chapter reveals, the American people and its politicians refrain from accepting Bush's temporary-worker program. The primary reason why the temporary-worker program did not pass was that Congress did not accept it. This illustrates that the power relation between speaker and audience does not necessarily have to be a facilitating condition. Moreover, it illustrates that it is not always the entire audience of a securitizing actor that matters. The CS does, however, not address this issue. This chapter thereby calls for a more thorough definition- and explanation of audience acceptance that includes the importance of particular power relations within a securitizing actor's audience.

7.3 Conclusion

To conclude, the audience accepts most of Bush's narrative of immigrants as 'dangerous others' and the accompanying heightened security measures. The actual U.S.-Mexico border's security is upgraded and checks on employers in the U.S. are enforced. In addition, Bush agrees on a Partnership for Prosperity with President Fox of Mexico. However, considering the fact that this Partnership is not fully part of Bush's existential threat narrative and considering that investments in Mexico are not a very unique measure (as outlined in the previous Chapter), whether the Partnership of Prosperity is part of Bush's securitization move remains debatable. The Partnership of Prosperity, thereby, indicates that sometimes it is not clear which measures are emergency measures and, hence, part of an existential threat narrative and a securitization move. The unequal power-relation between Bush and his audience might have facilitated the audience's acceptance of Bush's securitization of immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border. In contrast, that power-relation did not facilitate the acceptance of Bush's 'narrative of need.' The temporary-worker program that forms the foundation of that narrative is not passed by Congress. This indicates that Bush might have successfully securitized the flow of 'dangerous other' immigrants across the U.S.' southern border, but not the 'needed other' immigrant. This is also the answer to the third sub-question: *is Bush able to generate his audience's approval of his existential threat narrative and the*

accompanying emergency means? The next section of this thesis offers a general conclusion of the thesis. In addition, it will touch upon several limitations of securitization theory and offer points for future research.

8 Conclusion

This thesis aimed to shed light on the extent to which Bush securitized immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border during his presidency by posing the question:

To what extent did President George W. Bush securitize the issue of immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border during his presidency?

To attain the study's aim and answer this question, the Copenhagen School version of securitization theory and discourse analysis were used. That theory and method were developed into three analytical chapters. Each of these chapters addressed one of the three criteria for a securitization move's success in response to a sub-question. The sub-questions were:

- *Does President Bush use a narrative in which immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border is framed as an existential threat to the United States?*
- *Does Bush propose a series of extraordinary means to tackle the existential threats?*
- *Is Bush able to generate his audience's approval of his existential threat narrative and the accompanying extraordinary means?*

This conclusion first provides a short summary of the most important findings and conclusions of each chapter. Secondly, the limitations of the thesis are addressed. Thirdly, suggestions for further research are made. Overall, this final chapter of the thesis will conclude that *Bush was able to securitize immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border at least to a certain extent but that the limitations of securitization theory make it difficult to determine the exact extent.*

8.1 Summary of Key Findings and Conclusions

In response to the different sub-questions, this thesis concludes that Bush uses two existential threat narratives and proposes extraordinary means to tackle both of them. However, this thesis also concludes that his audience accepts only one of the existential threat narratives and its accompanying extraordinary means. These conclusions are clarified and expanded upon in this section.

The chapter on "existential threat narratives" concludes that Bush uses two rather conflicting existential threat narratives: a 'dangerous other' and a 'needed other' narrative. In the 'dangerous other' narrative, immigrants are described as both an external and an internal

security risk. Immigrants are an external security risk because there can be dangerous criminals and terrorists among them. Immigrants especially became framed as an external threat in the wake of 9/11. In the wake of that disaster it, namely, became clear that terrorists could exploit the “insecure” borders of- and immigrant routes into the U.S. as part of their plan to stage an attack. Immigrants are also depicted as posing an internal threat. They pose an internal threat because they are living beyond the reach of law and are straining American resources. In addition, Americans might feel their identity is threatened by immigrants using “their” resources. They might feel this way because in a capitalist society like the U.S. people’s identity is for a part shaped by their access to resources. If immigrants use these resources, part of their identity might be undermined. In sum, in the ‘dangerous other’ narrative immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border is depicted as a threat to America’s physical and economic security as well as the security of people’s identity. A line is thereby drawn between “secure Americans” and “dangerous others.” Contradictory, the second narrative (the ‘needed other’ narrative) outlines how immigrants are actually necessary for the security of the nation’s economy and identity. Immigrants are necessary to keep the economy going as well as American businesses which cannot function without an immigrant labor force. Moreover, immigrants are necessary to secure the identity of the United States because immigration is a cornerstone of that identity. If immigration is halted it would no longer be possible for the U.S. identity to exist in its current form. In sum, the ‘needed other’ narrative outlines how immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border is necessary for the security of the U.S.’ economy and identity. In order to substantiate this narrative, Bush engages in a ‘demystification’ of the ‘immigrant other.’ Put differently, he emphasizes the similarities between Americans and immigrants in order to show Americans that immigrants are not a threat, but in fact likeminded “secure” people. Bush, for instance, emphasizes that immigrants share family values and the desire to attain the American Dream. In this manner, Bush tries to generate a picture of immigrants as “safe” instead of ‘dangerous others.’ Bush thus uses two rather conflicting existential threat narratives. In one narrative immigrants are posited as threats, in the other they are necessary to maintain security. By developing these two narratives, Bush fulfills the first requirement for a securitization move’s success: the development of an existential threat narrative.

The chapter on “extraordinary means” addresses the second requirement for a securitization move’s success: mobilizing extraordinary means. Bush proposes a series of security increases to counter the external and internal threat that immigrants are said to pose. To counter the external threat, Bush, for instance, increases the amount of Border Patrol on

the border and mobilizes the National Guard to assist the Border Patrol. To counter the internal threat, Bush tries to end the policy of Catch-and-Release. In this manner, Bush tries to control the ‘dangerous others’. However, Bush also tries to let the ‘needed other’ cross the (now increasingly secured) border. He tries to do this with a temporary-worker program. That program would grant ‘needed’ workers a temporary-worker visa with which they could work in the U.S. for a fixed period of time. Bush thus mobilizes extraordinary means to accompany both of his existential threat narratives. Together these extraordinary measures illuminate Bush’s desire to create a type of “smart” or “filtering” border. Such a border uses modern technologies and advanced forces to keep the ‘dangerous other’ immigrants out while letting the ‘needed other’ immigrants through. Apart from illustrating which extraordinary measures Bush mobilizes, this chapter also showed that the CS’ distinction between extra-ordinary measures and ordinary measures is perhaps too stark. This limitation of securitization theory will be further explained in the “limitations” section of this conclusion.

The chapter on “audience acceptance” sheds light on which existential threat narratives and accompanying proposed extraordinary means are actually accepted by Bush’s audience. In that chapter it became clear that the audience accepts many of Bush’s security increases on the actual border as well as in the nation’s interior, but that the audience refrains from approving his temporary-worker program. The audience thus largely accepts Bush’s ‘dangerous other’ narrative but refrains from approving his ‘needed other’ narrative. Security increases are accepted to counter both the external and internal threat that immigrants are said to pose. In order to counter the external threat the presence of the Border Patrol on the U.S.-Mexico border is, for instance, expanded and the Border Patrol’s infrastructure and technology is upgraded. In addition, the National Guard is deployed for a delimited period of time. In order to counter the internal threat, whether employers hire illegal immigrants is checked and the policy of catch-and-release is ended. A condition that might have facilitated the audience’s acceptance of security increases is the relation between the speaker and the audience. Bush has substantial power over the American population. As a result, the population is unable to halt all of Bush’s actions that they do not agree with. However, noteworthy is that this facilitating condition does not uphold for the temporary-worker program case. This program is repeatedly refused by Congress. Neither Bush’s power over Congress nor over the population was able to pass the program. The third chapter thus concludes that the audience accepts Bush’s ‘dangerous other’ narrative and its accompanying extraordinary means, but disapproves of Bush’s ‘needed other’ narrative and that narrative’s accompanying extraordinary means. Apart from illustrating Bush’s audience’s acceptance,

this chapter also revealed that the CS' definition of "audience acceptance" is a little too ambiguous. This will be further explained in the "limitations" section of this thesis.

From these three analytical chapters it can be concluded that Bush to an extent successfully securitized immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border. He was able to generate two existential threat narratives and two sets of extraordinary means. However, only the 'dangerous other' narrative and the extraordinary means that it mobilizes are accepted. Bush fails to successfully securitize the 'needed others.' In order to fully grasp this conclusion, it is important to understand the limitations of this research. These limitations are expanded on in the next section.

8.2 Limitations

Just like any research, this thesis has its limitations. Most of these limitations arise from the way in which the Copenhagen School has constructed and framed its securitization theory. However, the method on which this research is based also has its flaws. These two sets of limitations are explained in this section. When aware of these limitations, the conclusions of this thesis can be better understood and suggestions for further research can be made.

8.2.1 Limitations of Securitization Theory

This thesis has encountered several limitations of securitization theory (as defined by the CS). It, for instance, illuminates that it is also possible for issues to become security concern without ever reaching the full "securitization" end of the spectrum. The CS' definitions of "extraordinary means" was, for instance, generally too stark. In addition, this thesis illustrates that the CS' definition of "audience acceptance" is too ambiguous for a thorough analysis of Bush's securitization move. Another limitation of securitization theory that this thesis encountered is that the effect of 9/11 on the securitization process could not be adequately grasped. This influence could not be adequately grasped because the CS neglects the influence of the context on securitization moves. All these limitations will now be expanded upon. Following this, a moral note of critique on securitization theory is made.

This thesis has revealed that the CS' definition of "securitized" is not always adequately applicable to real-life securitization moves. This made it difficult to grasp the full extent of Bush's securitization move. That the CS' definition does not always offer an adequate framework of analysis was most evident in the chapters on "extraordinary means" and "audience acceptance." In the chapter on "extraordinary means" it became clear that the distinction between *ordinary* means and *extraordinary* means is not as clear cut as the CS

makes it seem. According to Buzan, Waever and de Wilde, extraordinary measures are measures that are not used for every-day political issues (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p.21). They can only be mobilized to counter an existential threat. Moreover, extraordinary means sometimes cross legal boundaries and are generally mobilized in an expedited manner (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p.5). An example of an extraordinary measure, according to Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, is, for instance, the mobilization of an unusually high number of resources to counter a particular existential threat. At first sight this definition and explanation of extraordinary means seems clear cut. However, while analyzing Bush's securitization move it became clear that the distinction between "ordinary" and "extraordinary" was not as clear as initially thought. That was, for instance, evident in Bush's initiation of a worksite enforcement plan. As Bush's discourse reveals, this plan was the largest worksite operation in American history. Considering its magnitude the plan can be considered an extraordinary measure. However, the worksite enforcement plan was neither dealt with in a particularly notable "expedited manner" nor outside the boundaries of every-day politics. Instead, the measure was discussed as part of every-day politics, did not cross any legal boundaries, and was more of an extreme version of an otherwise rather ordinary political move. Was this measure then despite being linked to an existential threat narrative not an official extraordinary measure? This thesis thereby reveals a rather troublesome distinction between "ordinary" and "extraordinary" measures that does not always adequately translate into real-life situations. This troublesome distinction makes it difficult to grasp the full extent of Bush's securitization move. While certain measures are clearly a response to Bush's existential threat narrative, according to the CS they might not be part of the securitization process because they do not fit adequately with their definition of "extraordinary measures." One can therefore wonder whether measures truly need to be mobilized in an extraordinary manner for issues to become security concerns.

Another definition that this thesis found troublesome is the one of "audience acceptance." In Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde's literature, audience acceptance remains rather ambiguous. As the scholar Cavelty puts it: "it remains largely unclear which audience has to accept what argument, to what degree, and for how long" (Cavelty qtd. in Léonard & Kaunert, 2011, p.60). As a result it is challenging to provide a full picture of both the audience and the audience's acceptance of Bush's securitization move. This thesis reveals that it is not necessarily the audience that Bush directly addresses that needs to accept his securitization move. Often Bush addresses a particular room full of, for instance, locals or businessmen (Bush, 2006i). However, it aren't necessarily these people that directly determine the success

of his securitization move. In the case of, for instance, the Secure Fence Act or the increase of Border Patrol personnel, it was in the end Congress that determined whether Bush's securitization move was accepted or not. In the audience itself there thus seem to be more powerful and less powerful players. However, this is something that the CS does not adequately define or account for in its work. This is unfortunate because there is, arguably, an increasingly pressing need to have such a distinction between the section of the audience that matters for the success of a securitization move and the section of the audience that does not. While Bush might have been directly addressing a room full of, for instance, locals or businessmen, his words are likely to have been broadcasted all over the world on, for instance, Television, social media or YouTube. Including every person that heard Bush speak in a securitization analysis is impossible and even unnecessary. As this thesis revealed, there is a particular section of the audience whose support is crucial to a securitization move's success. This thesis therefore presses for a clearer interpretation of audience acceptance. A clearer interpretation that answers which section of the audience needs to accept the securitization move and to what degree. The manner in which it is defined now by the CS does neither allow one to fully grasp the exact shape of the audience nor the degree of support that is crucial for Bush's securitization move's success.

Even though Bush is thus able to convince his audience that immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border should be considered a security issue, the CS' definition of "extraordinary measure" and "audience acceptance" are unable to fully grasp the extent of Bush's securitization move. As this thesis revealed, issues can become security issues gradually, through every-day politics, without ever fully matching the CS' definition of "extraordinary means". Perhaps measures do not need to be mobilized in an extraordinary manner for issues to become security concerns. Moreover, this thesis revealed that the CS' does not adequately outline which audience needs to accept a securitization move.

Apart from encountering the limits of the CS' definition of "extraordinary measure" and "audience acceptance," this thesis also encountered the limits of securitization theory's emphasis on language instead of context. The full extent of Bush's securitization move cannot be adequately grasped because the CS does not leave space to incorporate the influence of 9/11 on Bush's securitization move. 9/11 Appears to have had an impact on Bush's securitization process. In the wake of the terrorist attacks, Bush, for instance, increasingly defined immigrants as 'dangerous others' and re-articulated the Border Patrol's mission in counterterrorism terms. However, the CS does not fully incorporate the role of contextual factors in a securitization move in its theory. Instead, securitization theory emphasizes that

language brings about security perceptions, not contextual factors. While this thesis thus revealed that 9/11 plays a potential role in Bush's securitization process, securitization theory leaves no room to incorporate the essence and extent of this influence.

Apart from having thus having several limitations, securitization theory is also subject to a moral critique. The critique revolves around the idea that it is impossible for an academic to analyze a particular securitization act without influencing other people's perception of what constitutes a security issue. Put differently, by stating that something is a security issue, a researcher might actually create- or exacerbate the negative consequences of- a security concern. Researching securitization moves thereby becomes a kind of speech act in itself. This thesis has sought to prevent this from happening by continuously addressing the limits of securitization theory that it encountered. In this manner it did not fabricate any findings or securitization move but instead outlined Bush's securitization efforts. As for exacerbating the negative consequences, one should wonder whether a master thesis has the power to significantly exacerbate the negative consequences of a securitization move (such as a heightened fear of immigrants).

To conclude this section on the limitations of securitization theory, for this thesis the distinction between "ordinary" and "extraordinary" means sometimes seemed too stark. In addition, "audience acceptance" remains ambiguous. The influence of 9/11 on Bush's securitization process could also not be adequately accounted for. Lastly, the moral critique of securitization theory should be acknowledge when one wishes to fully grasp the extent to which Bush securitized immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border. Apart from these theoretical limitations, the thesis also encountered a limitation of discourse analysis. This will be addressed in the next section.

8.2.2 Limitation of Discourse Analysis

In addition to encountering several limitations of securitization theory, this thesis also encountered a limitation of discourse analysis. While analyzing Bush's discourse it became clear that Bush sometimes refrains from clearly defining whether he is talking about the U.S.-Mexico border and immigration across that border or immigration in general. For example, Bush repeatedly says that he will increase the number of Border Patrol guards with several thousand people. While he often includes this increase in his speeches on immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border, it could not be concluded from his discourse if all new guards would be deployed on the U.S.-Mexico border. Data from the Border Patrol Office was needed to

reduce this gap in the discourse analysis. With solely discourse analysis it was thus on certain occasions difficult to fully grasp Bush's securitization move.

8.3 Suggestions for Further Research

The limitations of this research have revealed several valuable opportunities for future research. Future research can be conducted on extraordinary means, audience acceptance, and Bush's securitization of immigration across other borders. This will now be expanded upon.

Future research could test in other case-studies whether more ordinary policies can also be mobilized for a security concern there. Perhaps measures do not need to be mobilized in an extraordinary way for issues to turn into security concerns. Moreover, future research could try and define the "audience" more clearly. This thesis revealed that it is often unclear who the audience is and which section of the audience matters. Future research could lead to a clearer and more workable definition of "audience" and "audience acceptance."

Apart from developing and testing the theory of securitization future research can also be conducted on the securitization of immigration on other U.S. borders. The fact that Bush's securitization of immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border process sometimes intertwines with Bush's general immigration narrative can be taken as an indication that Bush might have securitized immigration across the Canadian border or perhaps immigration in general as well. Further research would have to prove this.

9 Bibliography

- 109th Congress. (2006, October 26). United States Secure Fence Act of 2006. *International Legal Materials* 45, 1409-1410. Retrieved from HeinOnline.
- Aachen, C. H., Snidal, D. (1989). Rational Deterrence Theory and Comparative Case Studies. *World Politics* 41 (2), 143-169. Retrieved from <http://www.rochester.edu/college/psc/clarke/214/AchenSnidal.pdf>.
- Aas, K. F. (2009). Analysing a World in Motion: Global Flows Meet 'criminology of the Other'. *Theoretical Criminology* 6(3): 143–58. Retrieved from http://tcr.sagepub.com/cgi/doi/10.1177/1362480607075852%5Cnhttp://tcr.sagepub.com/cgi/doi/10.1177/1362480610396643%5Cnhttp://www.surveillance-and-society.org/ojs/index.php/journal/article/viewFile/lords3_aas/lords3_aas%5Cnhttp://cmc.sagepub.com/cgi/doi/10.
- Abrahamsen, R. (2005). Blair's Africa: The Politics of Securitization and Fear. *Alternatives* 30 (1), 55-80. Retrieved from <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/030437540503000103?ssource=mfc&rss=1>.
- American Immigration Lawyers Association (2016, September 8). Immigration Policy Update - "Catch and Release". Retrieved from <https://www.google.nl/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=2&ved=0ahUKEwjElbONnqbRAhUJvRoKHXgnAC4QFgkMAE&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.aila.org%2FFile%2FDownloadEmbeddedFile%2F69108&usg=AFQjCNHYS2gE7cA1q4pngJD2-NZurnB1wA&sig2=deSpejAJwiX-KYQenk06RQ&cad=rja>.
- Andreas, P. (2003). Redrawing the Line: Borders and Security in the Twenty-First Century. *International Security* 28 (2), 78-111. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4137469>.
- Aradas, A. (2012, August 29). US-Mexico border: Efforts to build a virtual wall. *BBC Mundo*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/technology-19409682>.
- Archibold, R.C. (2006, May 2). Immigrants Take to U.S. Streets in Show of Strength. The New York Times. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/05/02/us/02immig.html>.
- Bakir, N. O. (2006) Vulnerabilities along US Borders : A Brief Analysis Risks Posed by Terrorist , Illegal Weapons , and Explosives Traffic through US Borders , and

Countermeasures for Risk Mitigation (non-published research report). Retrieved from *CREATE Research Archive* http://research.create.usc.edu/nonpublished_reports
Recommended.

Balzacq, T. (2011). A theory of securitization: Origins, core assumptions, and variants. In *Securitization Theory: how security problems emerge and dissolve*, 1-30. New York: Routledge.

Ben-Veniste, R., Fielding, F.F., Gorelick, J.S., Gorton, S., Hamilton, L.H., Kean, T.H., ... & Thompson, J.R. (2004). 9/11 Commission Report. 1-585. Retrieved from <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/sept11/911Report.pdf>.

Birch, D. & Hooper, K. (2012). American Dream. In *The Concise Oxford Companion to English Literature online*. Retrieved from <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199608218.001.0001/acref-9780199608218-e-8335.%0AFormat%0A>.

Bosworth, Camille J. (2005). Guest Worker Policy: A Critical Analysis of President Bush's Proposed Reform. *Hasting Law Journal*, 56, 1095-1119. Retrieved from HeinOnline.

Bryman, A. (2016). *Social Research Methods*. (5th edition). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Buonfino, A. (2004). Between unity and plurality: the politicization and securitization of the discourse of immigration in Europe. *New Political Science*, 26, 23-49. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0739314042000185111>

Bush Compares Iraq, Terror Wars to World War II. (2004). *CNN*. Retrieved from <http://edition.cnn.com/2004/ALLPOLITICS/06/02/bush.speech/>.

Bush orders contractors to check workers' legal status. (2008). USA Today online. Retrieved from http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/washington/2008-06-09-bush-immigration_N.htm.

Bush revives bid to legalize illegal aliens. (2004, November 10). *The Washington Times* online. Retrieved from <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2004/nov/10/20041110-123424-5467r/>.

Bush, G. W. (2001a, July 26). Remarks Prior to a Meeting With Virginia Gubernatorial Candidate Mark Earley and an Exchange With Reporters. Retrieved from The American

Presidency Project

<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=73609&st=migration&st1>.

Bush, G. W. (2001b, September 4). Remarks Prior to a Meeting With Senate Minority Leader Trent Lott and an Exchange With Reporters . Retrieved from The American Presidency Project <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=63375&st=migration&st1>.

Bush, G. W. (2001c, September 6). Joint Statement Between the United States of America and the United Mexican States. Retrieved from The American Presidency Project <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=73410&st=migration&st1>.

Bush, G.W. (2002a, January 5). Remarks at a Townhall Meeting in Ontario, California. Retrieved from The American Presidency Project <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=62589&st=migration&st1>.

Bush, G. W. (2002b, March 19). Interview With Latin American and American Spanish Language Journalists. Retrieved from The American Presidency Project <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=62632&st=migration&st1>.

Bush, G. W. (2002c, March 20). Interview With Telemundo. Retrieved from The American Presidency Project <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=62895&st=migration&st1>.

Bush, G. W. (2002d, March 22). "The Monterrey Commitments": Joint Statement by the Presidents of the United States and Mexico. Retrieved from The American Presidency Project <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=64019&st=migration&st1>.

Bush, G. W. (2002e, October 26). Remarks Following Discussions With President Vicente Fox of Mexico and an Exchange With Reporters in Los Cabos, Mexico. Retrieved from The American Presidency Project <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=62734&st=migration&st1>.

Bush, G. W. (2004a, August 6). Remarks to the UNITY: Journalists of Color Convention and a Question-and-Answer Session. Retrieved from The American Presidency Project <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=63453&st=migration&st1>.

Bush, G. W. (2004b, January 12). The President's News Conference With President Vicente Fox of Mexico in Monterrey, Mexico. Retrieved from The American Presidency Project <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=63792&st=migration&st1>.

Bush, G. W. (2004c, January 7). Remarks on Immigration Reform. Retrieved from The American Presidency Project <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=72526&st=migration&st1>.

Bush, G. W. (2004d, March 24). Remarks to the United States Hispanic Chamber of Commerce. Retrieved from The American Presidency Project <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=64356&st=migration&st1>.

Bush, G. W. (2004e, March 6). The President's News Conference With President Vicente Fox of Mexico in Crawford, Texas. Retrieved from The American Presidency Project <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=72568&st=migration&st1>.

Bush, G.W. (2004f, December 20). The Presidents News Conference. Retrieved from the American Presidency Project <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=62982&st=migration&st1>.

Bush, G. W. (2005a, April 14). Remarks at the American Society of Newspaper Editors Convention and a Question-and-Answer Session. Retrieved from The American Presidency Project <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=73669&st=migration&st1>,

Bush, G. W. (2005b, February 8). Remarks to the Detroit Economic Club in Detroit, Michigan. Retrieved from The American Presidency Project <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=63984&st=migration&st1>.

Bush, G. W. (2005c, March 23). The President's News Conference With President Vicente Fox of Mexico and Prime Minister Paul Martin of Canada in Waco, Texas. Retrieved from The American Presidency Project <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=63028&st=migration&st1>.

Bush, G. W. (2005d, November 28). Remarks on Border Security and Immigration Reform in Tucson, Arizona. Retrieved from The American Presidency Project <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=65244&st=migration&st1>.

Bush, G. W. (2005e, October 18). Statement on Signing the Department of Homeland Security Appropriations Act, 2006. Retrieved from The American Presidency Project <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=63739&st=migration&st1>.

Bush, G. W. (2006a, January 11). Remarks on the War on Terror and a Question-and-Answer Session in Louisville, Kentucky. Retrieved from The American Presidency Project <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=65164&st=migration&st1>.

Bush, G. W. (2006b, February 1). Remarks in Nashville, Tennessee. Retrieved from The American Presidency Project <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=65131&st=migration&st1>.

Bush, G. W. (2006c, March 21). The President's News Conference. Retrieved from The American Presidency Project <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=65409&st=migration&st1>.

Bush, G. W. (2006d, March 25). The President's Radio Address. Retrieved from The American Presidency Project <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=67067&st=migration&st1>.

Bush, G. W. (2006e, May 4). Remarks at a Cinco de Mayo Celebration. Retrieved from The American Presidency Project <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=72872&st=migration&st1>.

Bush, G. W. (2006f, May 15). Address to the Nation on Immigration Reform. Retrieved from The American Presidency Project <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=72891&st=migration&st1>.

Bush, G. W. (2006g, May 17). Remarks at a Republican National Committee Gala. Retrieved from The American Presidency Project <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=72946&st=migration&st1>.

Bush, G. W. (2006h, May 18). Remarks Following a Tour of the Border in Yuma, Arizona. Retrieved from The American Presidency Project <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=72940&st=migration&st1>.

Bush, G. W. (2006i, June 1). Remarks to the United States Chamber of Commerce. Retrieved from The American Presidency Project

<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=85&st=migration&st1>.

Bush, G. W. (2006j, June 7). Remarks on Immigration Reform in Omaha, Nebraska.

Retrieved from The American Presidency Project

<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=116&st=migration&st1>.

Bush, G. W. (2006k, June 8). Remarks at the National Hispanic Prayer Breakfast. Retrieved from The American Presidency Project

<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=113&st=migration&st1>.

Bush, G.W. (2006l, June 19). Just the Facts: The Bush Administration's Strong Worksite Enforcement Efforts. The American Presidency Project. Retrieved from

<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=82523>.

Bush, G.W. (2006m, October 4). President Bush Signs Department of Homeland Security Appropriations Act. The White House. Retrieved from [https://georgewbush-](https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2006/10/20061004-2.html)

[whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2006/10/20061004-2.html](https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2006/10/20061004-2.html).

Bush, G.W. (2006n, October 26). Remarks on Signing the Secure Fence Act of 2006. The American Presidency Project. Retrieved from

<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=24231&st=migration&st1>

Bush, G. W. (2007a, July 10). Remarks to the Greater Cleveland Partnership and a Question-and-Answer Session in Cleveland, Ohio. Retrieved from The American Presidency Project

<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=75563&st=migration&st1>.

Bush, G. W. (2007b, May 19). The President's Radio Address . Retrieved from The American Presidency Project

<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=75131&st=migration&st1>.

Bush, G. W. (2007c, May 4). Remarks at a Cinco de Mayo Celebration. Retrieved from The American Presidency Project

<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=73987&st=migration&st1>.

Bush, G. W. (2008, June 6). Executive Order 13465—Amending Executive Order 12989, as Amended. Retrieved from The American Presidency Project

<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=77501&st=migration&st1>.

Buzan, B., Waever, O. & de Wilde, Jaap. (1998). *Security A New Framework of Analysis*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Ceyhan, A. & Tsoukala, A. (2002). The Securitization of Migration in Western Societies: Ambivalent Discourses and Policies. *Alternatives* 27, 21-39. Retrieved from <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/03043754020270S103>.

Chertoff hails end of let-go policy. (2006, July 28). *The Washington Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2006/jul/28/20060728-123022-6096r/>.

Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2007, S. 1348 (proposed). (9 May 2007). Council on Foreign Relations. Retrieved from. <http://www.cfr.org/immigration/comprehensive-immigration-reform-act-2007-s-1348-proposed/p13571>.

Cronin, T. A. (2005). The Wrong Solution: An Examination Of President Bush's Proposed Temporary Worker Program. *The Scholar*, 7, 183-201. Retrieved from HeinOnline.

Donald Trump: Mexico sends drugs, criminals and rapists to US. (2015). Video file. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C6QEgoYgQxw>.

Doty, R. L. (1998). Immigration and the Politics of Security. *Security Studies* 8 (2-3), 71-93. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09636419808429375>.

Doubler, M.D. (2008, October 24). Operation Jump Start: The National Guard on the Southwest Broder, 2006-2008. *National Guard Bureau Office of Public Affairs Historical Services Division*. Retrieved from <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/005968696>.

Dover, R. (2008). Towards a Common EU Immigration Policy: a Securitization Too Far. *Journal of European Integration* 30 (1), 113-130. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07036330801959523>.

Dunn, K.C. (2016). *Undertaking Discourse Analysis for Social Research*. Ann Arbor, MU: University of Michigan Press.

- Edwards, J. A. & Herder, R. (2012). Melding a New Immigration Narrative? President George W. Bush and the Immigration Debate. *Howard Journal of Communications*, 23 (1), 40-65. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10646175.2012.641878>.
- Fact Sheet: Partnership for Prosperity. (2001). *The White House*. Retrieved from <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010906-7.html>.
- Fletcher, M.A. & Fears, D. (2005, November 29). Bush Pushes Guest-Worker Program. *Washington Post*. Retrieved from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/11/28/AR2005112800067.html>.
- Founding Fathers. (2017). In *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Retrieved from <http://academic.eb.com/levels/collegiate/article/438357>
- Friend. (n.d.). In Cambridge Dictionary Online. Retrieved from <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/friend>.
- Garland, David. (1996). The Limits of the Sovereign State: Strategies of Crime Control in Contemporary Society. *The British Journal of Criminology* 36 (4), 445-471. Retrieved from HeinOnline.
- Gerring, J. (2004). What Is a Case Study and What Is It Good for? *American Political Science Review* 98 (2), 341-354. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4145316>.
- Ghughunishvili, I. (2010). *Securitization of Migration in the United States after 9/11: Constructing Muslims and Arabs as Enemies*. (Dissertation). Central European University, Budapest, Hungary. Retrieved from CEY eTD Collection.
- Goldfarb, H. (2005). The Undocumented Worker: Fuller, Holmes, and the Bush Proposal Within Immigration and Labor Law Jurisprudence. *University of Florida Journal of Law & Public Policy*, 16, 179-202. Retrieved from HeinOnline.
- Gutiérrez, Ramón. (2007). George W. Bush and Mexican Immigration Policy. *Revue française d'études américaines* , 113, 70-76. DOI 10.3917/rfea.113.0070
- Henry, E., Malveaux, S., McIntyre, J. & Starr, B. (2006, May 16). Bush calls for 6,000 troops along border. *CNN*. Retrieved from <http://edition.cnn.com/2006/POLITICS/05/15/immigration/>.

Historical Overview of Immigration Policy. (n.d.). On website *Center for Immigration Studies*. Retrieved from <http://cis.org/ImmigrationHistoryOverview>.

Huffman, J. (2006-2007). Developments in the Legislative Branch: Secure Fence Act of 2006. *Georgetown Immigration Law Journal* 21 (153), 153-154. Retrieved from HeinOnline.

Huysmans, J. (1998). Revisiting Copenhagen: Or, On the Creative Development of a Security Studies Agenda in Europe. *European Journal of International Relations* 4 (4), 479-505. Retrieved from:
http://www.academia.edu/18912085/Revisiting_Copenhagen_Or_On_the_Creative_Development_of_a_Security_Studies_Agenda_in_Europe.

Ilgit, A. & Klotz, A. (2014). How far does 'societal security' travel? Securitization in South African immigration policies. *Security Dialogue* 45 (2), 137-155. Retrieved from DOI: 10.1177/0967010613519161.

Immigration Detention Bed Quota Timeline. (2016, March). *National Immigrant Justice Center: A Heartland Alliance Program*. Retrieved from http://www.immigrantjustice.org/sites/default/files/Immigration%2520Detention%2520Bed%2520Quota%2520Timeline%25202016_03_16.pdf.

Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004. (2004). Pub. L. 108-458, 118 Stat. 3638-3872. Retrieved from https://www.nctc.gov/docs/pl108_458.pdf.

Jacobo, J. & Marshall, S. (2017, January 26). Nearly 700 Miles of Fencing at the US-Mexico Border Already Exist. *ABC News*. Retrieved from <http://abcnews.go.com/US/700-miles-fencing-us-mexico-border-exist/story?id=45045054>.

Karyotis, G. & Patrikios, S. (2010). Religion, securitization and anti-immigration attitudes: The case of Greece. *Journal of Peace Research* 47 (1), 43-57. Retrieved from DOI: 10.1177/0022343309350021.

Kim, S. & Carvalho, J.P., Davis, Andrew G., Mullins, Amanda M. (2011). The View of the Border: News Framing of the Definition, Causes, and Solutions to Illegal Immigration. *Mass Communication and Society* 14, 292-413. Retrieved from DOI: 10.1080/15205431003743679.

Knudsen, O. F. (2001). Post-Copenhagen Security Studies: Desecuritizing Securitization. *Security Dialogue* 32 (3), 355-368. Retrieved from SAGE Publications online.

Largest U.S. Immigrant Groups over Time, 1960-Present: Top Ten Largest U.S. Immigrants groups, 2015. (2015). *Migration Policy Institute*. Retrieved from

<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub/us-immigration-trends#source>.

Lazardis, G. & Skleparis, D. (2016). Securitization of migration and the far right: the case of Greek security professionals. *International Migration* 54 (2), 176-192. Retrieved from DOI: 10.1111/imig.12219.

Levy, M. & McDonald, F.. (2012). Presidency of the United States of America. In *Encyclopædia Britannica* online. Retrieved from

<https://www.britannica.com/topic/presidency-of-the-United-States-of-America>.

Mathews, J. T. (1989). Redefining Security. *Foreign Affairs* 68 (2). Retrieved from

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/1989-03-01/redefining-security>.

Messina, A.M. (2014). Securitizing Immigration in the Age of Terror. *World Politics* 66 (3), 530-559. Retrieved from doi:10.1017/S0043887114000148.

Mexican-Born Population Over Time, 1850-Present. (2015). *Migration Policy Institute*.

Retrieved from <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub/charts/mexican-born-population-over-time?width=1000&height=850&iframe=true>.

Migrant crisis: Migration to Europe explained in seven charts. (2016, March 4). *BBC News Online*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34131911>.

Møller, B. (2000). The Concept of Security: The Pros and Cons of Expansion and Contraction. *Paper for Joint Sessions of the Peace Theories Commission and the Security and Disarmament Commission*. Tampere, Finland. Retrieved from

<https://www.peacepalacelibrary.nl/ebooks/files/370659244.pdf>.

Morgan, G. W., & Morgan. (2011). Global war on terror. In S. E. Atkins (Ed.), *The 9/11 encyclopedia*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO. Retrieved from

http://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/abcne/global_war_on_terror/0.

Morgan, K.L. (2004). Evaluating Guest Worker Programs in the U.S.: A Comparison of the Bracero Program and President Bush's Proposed Immigration Reform Plan. *Berkeley La Raza Law Journal* 15 (2), 125-144. Retrieved from EBSCOhost.

Nagengast, C. (1998). Militarizing the Border Patrol. *NACLA Report on the Americas* 32 (3), 37-43. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10714839.1998.11725652>.

Nevins, J. & Dunn, T. (2008). Barricading the Border. *NACLA Report on the Americas*. Retrieved from https://nacla.org/sites/default/files/A04106023_1.pdf.

Nowak, M. & Branford, B. (2017, February 10). France elections: What makes Marine Le Pen far right? *BBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-38321401>.

Operation Jump Start - CBP Border Patrol and the National Guard. (2015, November 13). On *U.S. Customs and Border Protection* website. Retrieved from https://help.cbp.gov/app/answers/detail/a_id/1021/~/-/operation-jump-start---cbp-border-patrol-and-the-national-guard.

Osama bin Laden. (2014). *World Encyclopedia*. Retrieved from <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199546091.001.0001/acref-9780199546091-e-8537>.

Pear, R. & Hulse, C. (2007, June 28). Immigration Bill Fails to Survive Senate Vote. *The New York Times* online. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/06/28/washington/28cnd-immig.html>.

Permanent Resident Alien. (2016). In *Homeland Security Definition of Terms*. Retrieved from https://www.dhs.gov/immigration-statistics/data-standards-and-definitions/definition-terms#permanent_resident_alien.

Peters, G. & Woolley, J. T. (1999-2017). The American Presidency Project. Online database retrieved from <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/>.

Privacy Impact Assessment Update for the Automated Targeting System –TSA/CBP Common Operating Picture Phase II. (2014, September 16). *Department of Homeland Security*. Retrieved from https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/privacy_pia_cbp_tsacop_09162014.pdf.

Saddam Hussein. (2017). In *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Retrieved from <http://academic.eb.com/levels/collegiate/article/Saddam-Hussein/41630>

- Salter, M. B. (2008). Securitization and desecuritization: a dramaturgical analysis of the Canadian Air Transport Security Authority. *Journal of International Relations and Development* 11 (4), 321-349. Retrieved from www.palgrave-journals.com/jird/.
- SBI^{net} Program: Program-Specific Recovery Act Plan (2009, May 15). Homeland Security: U.S. Customs and Border Protection. Retrieved from [https://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/recovery/CBP_SBI^{net} Program_Final_2009-05-15.pdf](https://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/recovery/CBP_SBI%20net_Program_Final_2009-05-15.pdf).
- September 11 attacks. (2017). In *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Retrieved from <http://academic.eb.com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2048/levels/collegiate/article/394915>.
- Skleparis, D. (2015) (In)securitization and illiberal practices on the fringe of the EU. *European Security* 25 (1), 92-111. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2015.1080160>
- Smith, S. (1999). The increasing insecurity of security studies: Conceptualizing security in the last twenty years, *Contemporary Security Policy*, 20 (3), 72-101. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13523269908404231>.
- Southerton, D. (2011). American Dream. In *Encyclopedia of Consumer Culture online*. Retrieved from <http://web.b.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2048/ehost/detail/detail/bmxlYmFfXzQ3NDI2Ni9fQU41?sid=9732a786-5b36-4139-8751-f32c73f55135@sessionmgr2&vid=0#AN=474266&db=nlebk>.
- Taureck, R. (2006). Securitization theory and securitization studies. *Journal of International Relations and Development* (9), 53-61. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.jird.1800072>.
- Taylor, S. (2013). *What is Discourse Analysis?* London/ New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Telemundo. (2017). *NBC Universal*. Retrieved from <http://www.nbcuniversal.com/business/telemundo>.
- The Next Commander in Chief: Immigration (2016). On website *Council of Foreign Relations*. Retrieved from <http://www.cfr.org/campaign2016/>.
- The North American Free Trade Agreement. (2006). In E. Wright (Ed.), *A Dictionary of World History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Retrieved from

<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780192807007.001.0001/acref-9780192807007-e-2643>.

The Office of Border Patrol and The Office of Policy and Planning. (2004, September). National Border Patrol Strategy. *U.S. Customs and Border Protection*. Retrieved from <https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=457100>.

U.S. Census Bureau. (2016). Trade in Goods with Mexico. Retrieved from <https://www.census.gov/foreign-trade/balance/c2010.html>.

Ullman, R. H. (1983). Redefining Security. *International Security* 8 (1), 129-153. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2538489>

UN Refugee Chief: Worrying ‘climate of xenophobia’ in Europe. (2016, June 20). *EURACTIV*. Retrieved from <http://www.euractiv.com/section/global-europe/news/un-refugee-chief-worrying-climate-of-xenophobia-in-europe/>.

United States Border Patrol (2016a). Border Patrol Agent Staffing By Fiscal Year. Retrieved from <https://www.cbp.gov/sites/default/files/assets/documents/2016-Oct/BP%20Staffing%20FY1992-FY2016.pdf>.

United States Border Patrol. (2016b). Total Illegal Alien Apprehensions By Fiscal Year. Retrieved from <https://www.cbp.gov/sites/default/files/assets/documents/2016-Oct/BP%20Total%20Apps%2C%20Mexico%2C%20OTM%20FY2000-FY2016.pdf>.

van Steenberg, E. (2017, February 7). Het gaat toch altijd over Geert Wilders. *NRC*. Retrieved from <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2017/02/07/het-gaat-toch-altijd-over-geert-wilders-6577361-a1544903>.

Villarreal, M. A. (2016). U.S.-Mexico Economic Relations: Trends, Issues, and Implications. *Congressional Research Service Report 7-5700*, 1-36. Retrieved from <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL32934.pdf>.

Villarreal, M.A. (2008). U.S.-Mexico Economic Relations: Trends, Issues, and Implications. Retrieved from HeinOnline.

Watts, D. (2010). *Dictionary of American Government and Politics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Weiner, R. (2013, January 30). How immigration reform failed, over and over. *The Washington Post* online. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2013/01/30/how-immigration-reform-failed-over-and-over/?utm_term=.3589bb4887fa.

With Us or Against Us. (2008, March 7). (Video File). Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-23kmhc3P8U>.

Appendix I: Dataset

Date	Titel & URL
12/02/01	Exchange With Reporters Aboard Air Force One http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=45860&st=migration&st1
15/02/01	Remarks to State Department Employees http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=45865&st=migration&st1
16/02/01	The President's News Conference With President Vicente Fox of Mexico in San Cristobal, Mexico http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=45868
16/02/01	Joint Statement by President George Bush and President Vicente Fox Towards a Partnership for Prosperity: the Guanajuato Proposal http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=45870&st=migration&st1
21/04/01	Remarks Prior to Discussions With President Vicente Fox of Mexico and an Exchange With Reporters in Quebec City http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=45636&st=migration&st1
01/05/01	Letter to Congressional Leaders on Proposed Legislation To Extend the Filing Deadline for Undocumented Immigrants http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=45571&st=migration&st1
26/06/01	Remarks Prior to a Meeting With Virginia Gubernatorial Candidate Mark Earley and an Exchange With Reporters http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=73609&st=migration&st1
07/08/01	Exchange With Reporters in Waco, Texas http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=64616&st=migration&st1
24/08/01	The President's News Conference in Crawford http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=64316&st=migration&st1
25/08/01	Exchange With Reporters During a Tour of the Bush Ranch in Crawford http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=73415&st=migration&st1
31/08/01	Remarks on Launching the New White House Web Site and an Exchange With Reporters http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=64918&st=migration&st1
04/09/01	Remarks Prior to a Meeting With Senate Minority Leader Trent Lott and an Exchange With Reporters http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=63375&st=migration&st1

05/09/01	Remarks at a Welcoming Ceremony for President Vicente Fox of Mexico http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=62932&st=migration&st1
05/09/01	Remarks Following a Joint Cabinet Meeting With President Vicente Fox of Mexico http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=73405&st=migration&st1
06/09/01	Remarks at the University of Toledo in Toledo http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=64618&st=migration&st1
06/09/01	Remarks on Departure for Toledo, Ohio, With President Vicente Fox of Mexico and an Exchange With Reporters http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=73406&st=migration&st1
06/09/01	Joint Statement Between the United States of America and the United Mexican States http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=73410&st=migration&st1
04/10/01	Remarks Following Discussions With President Vicente Fox of Mexico http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=73418&st=migration&st1
29/10/01	Homeland Security Presidential Directive-2—Combating Terrorism Through Immigration Policies http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=73446&st=migration&st1
05/01/02	Remarks at a Townhall Meeting in Ontario, California http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=62589&st=migration&st1
06/03/02	Remarks to the United States Hispanic Chamber of Commerce http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=72953&st=migration&st1
13/03/02	The President's News Conference http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=65091&st=migration&st1
19/03/02	Interview With Latin American and American Spanish Language Journalists http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=62632&st=migration&st1
19/03/02	Remarks Following a Cabinet Meeting http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=63389&st=migration&st1
20/03/02	Interview With Telemundo http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=62895&st=migration&st1
20/03/02	Interview With Television Azteca http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=72964&st=migration&st1
20/03/02	Interview With Lourdes Meluza of Univision http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=72965&st=migration&st1
22/03/02	"The Monterrey Commitments": Joint Statement by the Presidents of the United States and

	Mexico http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=64019&st=migration&st1
22/03/02	Remarks at a Dinner Hosted by President Vicente Fox of Mexico in Monterrey http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=64176&st=migration&st1
22/03/02	The President's News Conference With President Vicente Fox of Mexico in Monterrey http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=73271&st=migration&st1
24/03/02	The President's News Conference With President Francisco Flores Perez of El Salvador in San Salvador, El Salvador http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=73272&st=migration&st1
04/05/02	The President's Radio Address http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=25069&st=migration&st1
26/10/02	Remarks Following Discussions With President Vicente Fox of Mexico and an Exchange With Reporters in Los Cabos, Mexico http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=62734&st=migration&st1
07/01/04	Remarks on Immigration Reform http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=72526&st=migration&st1
12/01/04	The President's News Conference With President Vicente Fox of Mexico in Monterrey, Mexico http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=63792&st=migration&st1
20/01/04	Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=29646&st=migration&st1
21/01/04	Remarks in a Discussion at Mesa Community College in Phoenix, Arizona http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=63337&st=migration&st1
22/01/04	Remarks in Roswell, New Mexico http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=63162&st=migration&st1
06/03/04	The President's News Conference With President Vicente Fox of Mexico in Crawford, Texas http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=72568&st=migration&st1
24/03/04	Remarks to the United States Hispanic Chamber of Commerce http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=64356&st=migration&st1
26/03/04	Remarks in Albuquerque, New Mexico http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=62583&st=migration&st1
06/08/04	Remarks to the UNITY: Journalists of Color Convention and a Question-and-Answer

	<p>Session</p> <p>http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=63453&st=migration&st1</p>
18/08/04	<p>Remarks in a Discussion in Hudson, Wisconsin</p> <p>http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=64878&st=immigration&st1</p>
15/09/04	<p>Remarks at the Hispanic Heritage Month Reception</p> <p>http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=72747&st=migration&st1</p>
17/09/04	<p>Proclamation 7816—National Hispanic Heritage Month, 2004</p> <p>http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=62101&st=migration&st1</p>
13/10/04	<p>Presidential Debate in Tempe, Arizona</p> <p>http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=63163&st=migration&st1</p>
21/11/04	<p>Remarks Following Discussions With President Vicente Fox of Mexico in Santiago</p> <p>http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=64220&st=migration&st1</p>
21/11/04	<p>The President's News Conference With President Ricardo Lagos of Chile in Santiago</p> <p>http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=72837&st=migration&st1</p>
20/12/04	<p>The President's News Conference</p> <p>http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=62982&st=migration&st1</p>
26/01/05	<p>The President's News Conference</p> <p>http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=64292&st=migration&st1</p>
08/02/05	<p>Remarks to the Detroit Economic Club in Detroit, Michigan</p> <p>http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=63984&st=migration&st1</p>
23/03/05	<p>The President's News Conference With President Vicente Fox of Mexico and Prime Minister Paul Martin of Canada in Waco, Texas</p> <p>http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=63028&st=migration&st1</p>
14/04/05	<p>Remarks at the American Society of Newspaper Editors Convention and a Question-and-Answer Session</p> <p>www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=73669&st=migration&st1</p>
20/04/05	<p>Remarks to the United States Hispanic Chamber of Commerce Legislative Conference</p> <p>http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=64582&st=migration&st1</p>
04/05/05	<p>Remarks at a Cinco de Mayo Celebration</p> <p>http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=64941&st=migration&st1</p>
29/08/05	<p>Remarks in a Discussion on Medicare in El Mirage, Arizona</p> <p>http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=73777&st=migration&st1</p>
18/10/05	<p>Remarks on Signing the Department of Homeland Security Appropriations Act, 2006</p>

	http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=64421&st=migration&st1
22/10/05	The President's Radio Address http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=62280&st=migration&st1
28/11/05	Remarks on Border Security and Immigration Reform in Tucson, Arizona http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=65244&st=migration&st1
28/11/05	Remarks at a Dinner for Senator Jon Kyl in Phoenix, Arizona http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=65245&st=migration&st1
23/12/05	The President's Radio Address http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=62543&st=migration&st1
11/01/06	Remarks on the War on Terror and a Question-and-Answer Session in Louisville, Kentucky http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=65164&st=migration&st1
23/01/06	Remarks on the War on Terror and a Question-and-Answer Session in Manhattan, Kansas http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=65144&st=migration&st1
01/02/06	Remarks in Nashville, Tennessee http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=65131&st=migration&st1
17/02/06	Remarks on the War on Terror and a Question-and-Answer Session in Tampa, Florida http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=65268&st=migration&st1
21/03/06	The President's News Conference http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=65409&st=migration&st1
27/03/06	Interview With Foreign Print Journalists http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=67049&st=migration&st1
28/03/06	Interview With CNN Espanol http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=67048&st=migration&st1
29/03/06	Remarks to Freedom House and a Question-and-Answer Session http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=67066&st=migration&st1
30/03/06	Remarks Following Discussions With President Vicente Fox Quesada of Mexico in Cancun http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=67055&st=migration&st1
31/03/06	The President's News Conference With President Vicente Fox Quesada of Mexico and Prime Minister Stephen Harper of Canada in Cancun http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=67051&st=migration&st1
24/04/06	Remarks on Immigration Reform and a Question-and-Answer Session in Irvine, California http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=72517&st=migration&st1
04/05/06	Remarks at a Cinco de Mayo Celebration

	http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=72872&st=migration&st1
15/05/06	Address to the Nation on Immigration Reform http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=72891&st=migration&st1
18/05/06	Remarks Following a Tour of the Border in Yuma, Arizona http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=72940&st=migration&st1
01/06/06	Remarks to the United States Chamber of Commerce http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=85&st=migration&st1
06/06/06	Remarks on Immigration Reform and a Swearing-In Ceremony for W. Ralph Basham as Commissioner of Customs and Border Protection in Artesia, New Mexico http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=114&st=migration&st1
06/06/06	Remarks at the Laredo Border Patrol Sector Headquarters and an Exchange With Reporters in Laredo, Texas http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=117&st=migration&st1
08/06/06	Remarks at the National Hispanic Prayer Breakfast http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=113&st=migration&st1
19/06/16	Remarks at the President's Dinner http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=199&st=migration&st1
31/07/06	Remarks at the Port of Miami in Miami http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=527&st=migration&st1
03/08/06	Remarks on Immigration Reform in McAllen, Texas http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=520&st=migration&st1
05/08/06	The President's Radio Address http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=558&st=migration&st1
15/09/06	The President's News Conference http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=861&st=migration&st1
04/10/06	Remarks on Signing the Department of Homeland Security Appropriations Act, 2007, in Scottsdale http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=23959&st=migration&st1
06/10/06	Remarks at a Reception Celebrating Hispanic Heritage Month http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=23987&st=migration&st1
11/10/06	The President's News Conference http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=24077&st=migration&st1
26/10/06	Remarks on Signing the Secure Fence Act of 2006

	http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=24231&st=migration&st1
30/10/06	Remarks at a Texas Victory 2006 Rally in Sugar Land, Texas http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=24237&st=migration&st1
09/11/06	Remarks Following Discussions With President-Elect Felipe de Jesus Calderon Hinojosa of Mexico http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=24266&st=migration&st1
14/02/07	The President's News Conference http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=24507&st=migration&st1
05/03/07	Remarks to the United States Hispanic Chamber of Commerce Legislative Conference http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=24575&st=migration&st1
06/03/07	Interview With Foreign Print Journalists http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=24563&st=migration&st1
07/03/07	Interview With Enrique Gratas of Univision http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=24565&st=migration&st1
07/03/07	Interview With Juan Carlos Lopez of CNN En Espanol http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=24566&st=migration&st1
13/03/07	Remarks at a Welcoming Ceremony in Temozon Sur, Mexico http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=24583&st=migration&st1
13/03/07	Remarks at a Luncheon Hosted by President Felipe de Jesus Calderon Hinojosa of Mexico in Merida, Mexico http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=24584&st=migration&st1
13/03/07	Remarks at a Dinner Hosted by President Felipe de Jesus Calderon Hinojosa of Mexico in Merida http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=24585&st=migration&st1
14/03/07	The President's News Conference With President Felipe de Jesus Calderon Hinojosa in Merida http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=24587&st=migration&st1
14/03/07	Joint Statement by the United States of America and Mexico http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=24588&st=migration&st1
09/04/07	Remarks During a Tour of the Border and an Exchange With Reporters in Yuma, Arizona http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=25562&st=migration&st1
09/04/07	Remarks in Yuma http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=25563&st=migration&st1

19/04/07	Remarks at Tippecanoe High School and a Question-and-Answer Session in Tipp City, Ohio http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=25175&st=migration&st1
04/05/07	Remarks at a Cinco de Mayo Celebration http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=73987&st=migration&st1
15/06/07	Remarks at the National Hispanic Prayer Breakfast http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=75335&st=migration&st1
19/07/07	Remarks on the Federal Budget and a Question-and-Answer Session in Nashville, Tennessee http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=75582&st=migration&st1
21/08/07	The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Stephen Harper of Canada and President Felipe de Jesus Calderon Hinojosa of Mexico in Montebello, Canada http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=75725&st=migration&st1
03/10/07	Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session in West Hempfield Township, Pennsylvania http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=75865&st=migration&st1
12/03/08	Remarks to the United States Hispanic Chamber of Commerce http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=76827&st=migration&st1
12/04/08	Remarks Following a Discussion With President Felipe de Jesus Calderon Hinojosa of Mexico in New Orleans http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=77188&st=migration&st1
06/06/08	Executive Order 13465—Amending Executive Order 12989, as Amended http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=77501&st=migration&st1