

Working  
Paper

# Societal Fabric and Securitization of Immigration

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## THE GLOBAL POLICY HORIZONS LAB

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When examining the social fabric of the United States and Canada, it becomes clear that there are notable differences in the basic tenets of being an American or a Canadian. It is intriguing to witness the divergent methods employed in states that provide citizenship via birth, ancestry, and the process of becoming a citizen when it comes to incorporating immigrant communities. This study investigates the intricate relationship between the societal structures of destination nations and efforts to engage immigrant populations. This essay examines the abstract representation of a destination state as a melting pot and mosaic society and how it affects the relationships and affiliations of diaspora citizens. This research examines the impact of diversity and assimilation models on how the diaspora perceives opportunities and their ability to take action in the country they have migrated to. The objective of this study is to ascertain if a melting pot setting fosters assimilation and diminishes affiliations with the home state, or if a mosaic society may foster the preservation of cultural identity and deeper links to the diaspora's homeland. Furthermore, the paper explores the potential securitization of diaspora groups as a result of their alignment with the objectives of the host nations. This article will specifically examine immigration post-9/11. We will analyze the process of incorporating the immigrant communities into the social and economic fabric of both the United States and Canada. We shall analyze if there is a rise in the securitization of this diaspora. The objective of my thesis is to examine how the structure and organization of society influence the degree to which immigration is treated as a matter of national security. Will the absence of adequate assimilation in a multicultural society result in heightened marginalization among immigrant communities? When examining mosaic societies, will it become apparent that the preservation of cultural identity and encouragement of variety might provide obstacles to attaining full integration while also addressing security concerns?

## **Melting Pot Society**

Similar to the United Kingdom and France, the United States has implemented a sort of societal integration called the assimilation method, which may be described as a melting pot. According to the European Center for Populism Studies, the idea of a melting pot refers to a theory of assimilation that postulates that various immigrant groups would gradually merge, renouncing their own traditions and ultimately integrating fully into the dominant society. In a varied society, the concept of a melting pot is sometimes seen as a means of achieving homogeneity. It may be described as the process of integrating immigrants into the United States. an enduring and frequently used idea that has been in existence and widely employed since 1908. In the United States, the concept of the melting pot involves incorporating elements from other individual cultures into the dominant culture. However, it also requires individuals to relinquish some features of their own culture to assimilate into the dominant culture. Essentially, this may also be seen as absorption. Robert Parks, a sociologist from the "Chicago School," provided a definition of assimilation in the context of race relations. He described it as a process of interpreting and merging where individuals and groups adopt the memories, emotions, and attitudes of other individuals or groups (Hirschman, 1983). By sharing their experiences and



histories, they become part of a shared cultural life. Currently, the term "melting pot" is seen negatively since it diminishes the richness and variety of many cultures (ECPS, n.d.). The process of fully integrating into communities can span around three to four generations, contingent upon the rate at which the migrant group acquires proficiency in the local language of their host country as well as their educational achievement, which can be linked to their professional success.

## **Mosaic Society**

"Mosaic Society" is a term used to describe countries like Canada and Australia. The case I will present will examine Canada, a country that has officially embraced the ideology of multiculturalism. Jeffery Scott Mio defines a mosaic society as a diverse blend of several cultures coexisting in close proximity, which enhances the overall richness of the community (ECPS, n.d.). One may observe the manifestations of this social structure through the provision of financial support to institutions and organizations dedicated to the preservation of cultural heritage. This is closely aligned with Canada's immigration policy, which strongly promotes immigration. In his analysis of the societal structure of the Mosaic and Melting Pot, George M. Fredrickson highlights that Canada's acknowledgement of several races promotes cultural variety, leading to more immigration. This does not provide conclusive evidence that the prevalence of racial and ethnic biases, as well as xenophobia, is lower in a multicultural society compared to a society that promotes cultural assimilation. However, it does indicate that Canadian integration policy actively promotes multiculturalism and cultural diversity (Fredrickson, 1999).

## **Integration Policies: Socio-Economic Assistance Aiding Language, Education, Health Care, and Social Benefits: United States and Canadian Context**

Exploring the means of assessing whether the United States or Canada have a more favorable environment for facilitating immigrant integration into their respective societies. I would like to examine the integration practices of each state as well as the socioeconomic assistance they offer to immigrants. To understand the concept of integration policy, it refers to the policy outcome that results from the integration capabilities and aspirations of immigrants (Lutz, 2017). Lutz argues that neither multiculturalism nor an assimilation strategy has any impact on the efficacy of integrating immigrants into a state. According to Lutz (2017), increasing governmental incentives for immigrants to integrate is expected to enhance their likelihood of assimilating into the market, welfare, and culture of the state. Regarding the case study of Canada, the mosaic society implements integration programs that involve assisting immigrants in settling through language and workforce training, as well as providing other services. These programs also encourage immigrants to become citizens and support their active involvement in society through multiculturalism and associated policies (Griffith, 2017). In the context of the



United States, Irene Bloemraad and Els de Graauw highlight that the country does not have an officially established national integration policy. However, there are initiatives in place at the local and state levels that can assist immigrant populations. It is important to note that these programs are not specifically targeted at immigrants (Bloemraad, De Graauw, 2011). I mention this to emphasize that the absence of integration policy measures increases the likelihood of the social and economic exclusion of expatriate communities.

In the case of the United States, assistance programs it's stated that there are very limited programs that specify that they are for people who immigrate to the United States. Bloemraad and De Graawu, highlight that most programs that aid immigrants tend to be under amendments rooted in the 1964 Civil Rights act. The authors of this article express that lower-level governments have jurisdiction to make social and education programs, but this doesn't provide a uniform system throughout the United States for immigrants. Bloemraad and De Graawu map out programs such as language assistance, education, health care and public benefits that are inconsistent for immigrants. An example of lack of social economic assistance in the states can be highlighted in the public benefit sphere, PRWORA(Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act), a law from 1996, made immigrants arriving after its enactment ineligible for TANF (Temporary Assistance for Needy Families) and Medicaid for their first five years in the U.S. The law shifted social policy responsibility from the federal government to state and local levels, causing uneven policies across states. This has placed the burden of support on immigrants' families and friends, impacting their well-being and challenging social inclusion (Bloemraad and De Graawu, 2011).

In Canada, immigration integration is a three sets of policies that promote integration of immigrants into Canada's multicultural society which are "helping immigrants settle through language and workforce training and other services, encouraging them to become citizens, and supporting their full participation in society through multiculturalism and related policies" (Griffith, 2017). As a multiculturalist society Canada actively and effectively provides socio-economic assistance programs on a federal level. Council on Foreign Relation Amelia Cheatham and Diana Roy, express that Canada invests significantly in aiding immigrants in their assimilation, offering orientation programs, skills training, social services, and pathways to citizenship. Approximately three-quarters of the federal immigration agency's budget has been allocated to settlement programs in recent years. This robust support has contributed to Canada being highly sought after by immigrants, leading to high levels of immigrant satisfaction and naturalization (Cheatham, Roy, 2023). Either melting pot or mosaic culture, integration programs to aid in transition into the destination state determine if immigrants have a successful integration into their new home. In relation to social inclusion through social and economic means, this is important because if a diaspora group has difficulty depending whichever area of integrating then the immigrant group can be susceptible to socio-economic exclusion.



## Socio Economic Exclusion of Immigrants

Social exclusion as an ambiguous concept Aadne Aasland and Tone Flotten describe encapsulates of what can lead to the challenging aspects of being an ethnic minority with a disadvantage in socio-economic aspects of living in a society that doesn't support these groups. Aasland and Tone express that in social, political, economic capital this leaves minority groups vulnerable to social exclusion. They name three areas of living conditions that are results of social exclusion, "(1) exclusion from formal citizenship rights; (2) exclusion from participation in civil society; (3) exclusion from social arenas" (Aasland, Flotten, 2023). Lending this to the model of lack or abundance of socio-economic assistance in either a melting pot or mosaic society. For example, in the civil society context, as an immigrant in melting pot of the United States, having an advanced level of English can lend immigrants with more job opportunities "from the 2000 Decennial Census and the 2007-2009 ACS to estimate the impact of English-language skills on relative wages of immigrants when new immigrants enter the labor market. Immigrants with advanced English-language skills suffered less negative wage impact than did immigrants with poor English-language skills" (National Press, 2015). Without any consistent federal programs to make English learn for adults learning it as a second language, this makes it extremely difficult to integrate into this society which can lead to societal exclusion in civil society. The National Academies Press expressed that "19.9 percent of immigrants and 32.1 percent of children of immigrants 17 (under 18) lived in poverty, compared to 13.5 percent of native-born persons and 19.2 percent of children of native-born" (National Press, 2015). This form of exclusion from the labor market can discourage immigrant workers and this can lead further into social isolation, due to depending on friends and family for goods and services (Aasland, Flotten, 2023). In mosaic societies, they lend to less social exclusion when compared to the push for socio-economic assistant programs. The multicultural programs were introduced in 1982, there was a notable shift towards fostering diversity and ensuring fairness for everyone by addressing systemic issues. The government introduced policies to embrace diversity and combat discrimination at its roots. For instance, the Employment Equity Act was implemented to boost the involvement of women, indigenous communities, individuals with disabilities, and ethnic minorities in the workforce. Moving into the 1990s, the focus expanded to encompass civic engagement, societal development, and a shared sense of citizenship. Policymakers aimed to increase participation across all facets of society to diminish actual or potential exclusion. The earlier emphasis on eliminating economic barriers evolved into a broader commitment to inclusivity, with the metaphor shifting to one of fostering a sense of belonging (Griffith, 2017).

## Post 9/11 Securitization of Diaspora and How it Fits into Securitization Process

This leads me to the topic of if social and economic exclusion of immigrants reflect the societal fabric, Melting Pot and Mosaic societies and does this factor lend these minority groups to be



securitized. Securitization theory outlines a series of steps in framing an issue as a security concern. The process begins with an external shock to the external environment that can be an unexpected significant event like a terrorist attack, natural disaster and or war. Key political actors play a crucial role in securitization through speech acts, such as formal declarations, to present the issue as an urgent security threat requiring immediate attention. Success depends on convincing a specific audience, whether the public, policymakers, or international actors, of the issue's significance and garnering support for exceptional measures. Once securitized, calls for extraordinary actions follow, often involving policy changes beyond normal democratic processes. In the context of the external shock does this affect the immigration diaspora? And does this depend on the type of societal integration methods are at play.

I'll be using case studies from post 9/11 because they have a significance on securitization and immigration. Authors Desirée Colomé-Menéndez, Joachim A. Koopsband Daan Weggemans describe 9/11 as "9/11 has become a (nearly)sine qua non reference point for analyzing the immigration-security nexus in the U.S. Therefore, 9/11 also marks an important point of influence...". In the US context, it's explained that after that external shock it did have an effect on the national security strategies and as well as immigration policies. In Bloemraad and De Graauw, Exclusive policies often emerge in response to concerns about undocumented immigration. The 2001 terrorist attacks led to laws restricting the legal rights of non-citizens, such as the USA Patriot Act, which made deportation easier and limited civil liberties (Bloemraad, De Graauw 2011). In 2002, undocumented workers lost certain labor law protections. At the state level, there is a growing trend of exclusionary laws, including those declaring English as the official language and making it illegal for employers to hire undocumented workers (Bloemraad, De Graauw 2011).

In the case of Mosaic Societies, Canada had been reshaping its national security measures post 9/11. Unlike the United States Canada stance on immigration hadn't changed, Stewart Bell in *The Spillover Effect: Canadian Diaspora and Terrorism* expressed that Canada admits half of all refugee claimants (Bell, 2009). Though security policy was at the forefront of Canada's outlook on integration, inclusive citizenship became a method to curb extremism. Policy pushed for more dialogue about clash of culture and faith and to foster more mutual understanding (Griffith, 2017). This doesn't fully encapsulate how racial and ethnic discrimination that to place societally in both in the U.S and Canada. This does highlight the policy perspective after the securitization of immigration.

In Canada, immigration integration refers to a trio of policies aimed at facilitating the assimilation of immigrants into the country's multicultural society. These policies encompass assisting immigrants in their settlement process through language and workforce training, providing support for their acquisition of citizenship, and promoting their active involvement in society through multiculturalism and related measures (Griffith, 2017). Canada, being a multicultural nation, actively and efficiently offers government socio-economic aid programs. According to Amelia Cheatham and Diana Roy from the Council on Foreign Relations, Canada



makes substantial investments in supporting immigrants with their integration by providing orientation programs, skills training, social assistance, and paths to citizenship. Recently, almost 75% of the federal immigration agency's budget has been assigned to settlement programs. The substantial assistance has resulted in Canada being in high demand among immigrants, resulting in elevated levels of immigrant contentment and citizenship (Cheatham, Roy, 2023). Whether it is a melting pot or a mosaic culture, the success of immigrants in integrating into their new home is determined by integration programs that assist them in transitioning into the destination state. Socio-economic exclusion can occur when a diaspora group faces challenges in integrating into a particular location, which can in turn affect social inclusion through social and economic methods for the immigrant group.

## **Immigrants' Socioeconomic Exclusion**

Social exclusion is a notion that lacks clarity and can be interpreted in several ways. Aadne Aasland and Tone Flotten discuss the factors that contribute to the difficulties faced by ethnic minorities that are socio-economically disadvantaged in a society that lacks support for these groups. Aasland and Tone argue that the lack of social, political, and economic capital makes minority groups more susceptible to social exclusion. The authors Aasland and Flotten (2023) identify three specific aspects of living situations that are consequences of social exclusion: (1) deprivation of formal citizenship rights; (2) exclusion from engagement in civil society; and (3) marginalization from social spheres. Considering the model of scarcity or excess of socio-economic support in either a homogeneous or diverse society, for instance, within the context of civil society, being an immigrant in a diverse country like the United States and having a high level of proficiency in English can provide immigrants with increased employment prospects. This is supported by data from the 2000 Decennial Census and the 2007–2009 ACS, which were used to analyze the influence of English-language skills on the wages of immigrants upon entering the labor market. Immigrants who possessed proficient English-language abilities experienced a lesser degree of adverse income consequences compared to immigrants with limited English-language proficiency" (National Press, 2015). The absence of cohesive government initiatives to facilitate the acquisition of English as a second language for adult learners poses significant challenges to their integration into society, perhaps leading to their exclusion from civil society. According to the National Academies Press, 19.9 percent of immigrants and 32.1 percent of children of immigrants under the age of 18 lived in poverty, compared to 13.5 percent of people born in the country and 19.2 percent of children of people born in the country (National Press, 2015). The labor market's practice of excluding immigrants can have a demoralizing effect on immigrant workers, thereby exacerbating their social isolation as they rely on friends and family for products and services (Aasland, Flotten, 2023). Mosaic communities tend to exhibit lower levels of social exclusion in comparison to the emphasis on socio-economic assistance programs. The introduction of multicultural programs occurred. In 1982, there was a significant transition towards promoting inclusivity and equity by tackling structural problems. The government implemented measures to actively embrace





diversity and effectively address prejudice at its core. The Employment Equity Act was enacted to enhance the participation of women, indigenous groups, those with disabilities, and ethnic minorities in the labor force. In the 1990s, the scope of attention broadened to include civic participation, societal progress, and a collective understanding of citizenship. The objective of policymakers was to enhance inclusivity by promoting involvement in all aspects of society, thereby reducing instances of real or prospective exclusion. The initial focus on eradicating economic obstacles transformed into a more comprehensive dedication to inclusiveness, with the metaphor changing to that of nurturing a feeling of belonging (Griffith, 2017).

## **The Securitization of the Diaspora After the 9/11 Attacks and its Integration into the Securitization Process**

This brings me to the question of whether the social and economic isolation of immigrants is a reflection of the societal structure in melting pot and Mosaic societies and if this element contributes to the securitization of these minority groups. Securitization theory delineates a sequence of stages involved in conceptualizing an issue as a matter of security. The process starts with an external perturbation of the surrounding milieu, which may manifest as an unforeseen and significant event such as a terrorist attack, a natural disaster, or an armed conflict. Key political actors have a significant impact on the process of securitization by using speech actions, such as official announcements, to portray a particular topic as a pressing security concern that demands immediate response. Achieving success relies on persuading a particular target audience, be it the general public, legislators, or international entities, about the importance of the issue and obtaining backing for extraordinary actions. After becoming securitized, there is often a demand for extreme measures, which frequently entail policy modifications that go outside the usual democratic procedures. Does this external shock have an impact on the immigrant diaspora? Does this vary based on the specific societal integration mechanisms in place?

I will utilize case studies from the post-9/11 era due to their relevance in the context of securitization and immigration. According to Desirée Colomé-Menéndez and Joachim A. Koopsband, Daan Weggemans characterizes 9/11 as an essential reference point for studying the relationship between immigration and security in the United States. Hence, 9/11 also signifies a significant point of influence. In the case of the United States, it is elucidated that the aforementioned external shock had an impact on both national security tactics and immigration policy. Bloemraad and De Graauw argue that exclusive policies frequently arise as a result of apprehensions around unauthorized immigration. The 2001 terrorist attacks resulted in the implementation of legislation that imposed limitations on the legal entitlements of individuals who are not citizens, such as the USA Patriot Act. This act facilitated the process of deportation and imposed restrictions on civil freedoms (Bloemraad, De Graauw, 2011). Undocumented workers had certain labor law rights revoked in 2002. There is an increasing prevalence of exclusionary regulations at the state level, such as laws that designate English as the official

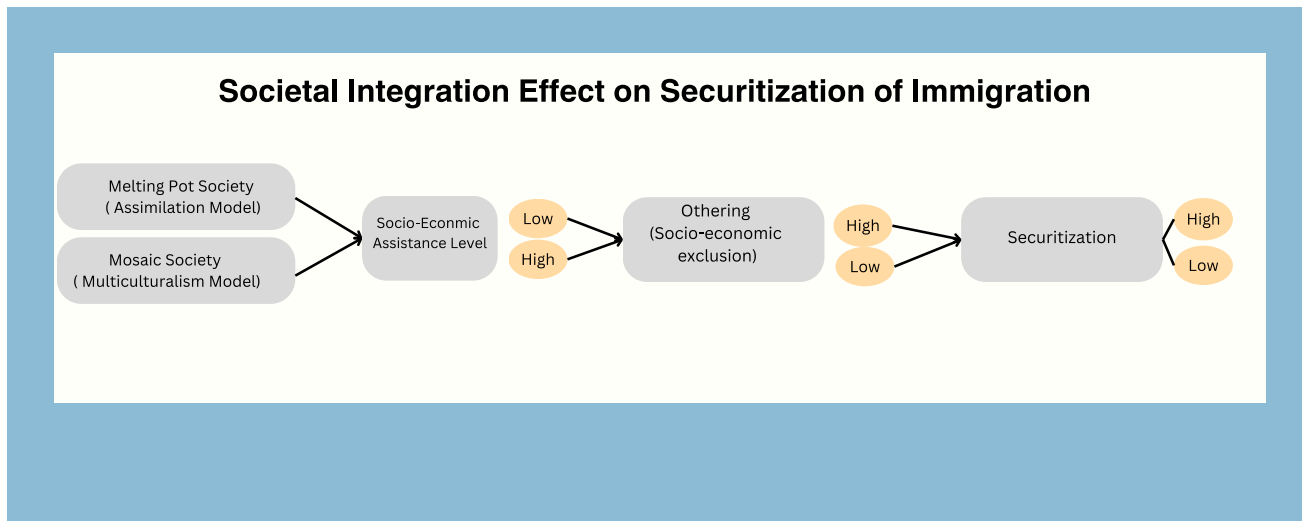




language and prohibit firms from hiring undocumented workers (Bloemraad, De Graauw, 2011). Canada has been reconfiguring its national security procedures following the events of 9/11, particularly in the context of mosaic societies. In contrast to the United States, Canada's position on immigration has remained unchanged. According to Stewart Bell in his book "The Spillover Effect: Canadian Diaspora and Terrorism," Canada accepts half of all refugee applicants (Bell, 2009). While Canada prioritized security policy, inclusive citizenship emerged as a strategy to mitigate radicalism. The policy aimed to promote increased discourse on the conflict between different cultures and religions, with the goal of fostering greater mutual comprehension (Griffith, 2017). This statement fails to adequately capture the extent of racial and ethnic prejudice that occurs throughout society, both in the United States and Canada. In my opinion, Mosaic cultures are less likely to undergo the process of securitizing immigration and diaspora as compared to melting pot society. This is seen in the integration strategies and the subsequent prioritization of either social exclusion after 9/11 or inclusion.

In conclusion, this essay explores the intricate nature of societal frameworks in the United States and Canada, comparing the concepts of the melting pot and mosaic society in terms of immigrant assimilation. The analysis of integration strategies, socio-economic support, and the exclusion of immigrants based on their socio-economic status reveals significant disparities between the two countries. Canada, as a culture characterized by its mosaic nature, actively advocates for multiculturalism through extensive integration initiatives, which aim to cultivate a sense of belonging and reduce instances of social isolation. In contrast, the United States, functioning as a cultural combination, lacks a unified national integration policy, resulting in unequal assistance for immigrant populations and a heightened susceptibility to social and economic marginalization. The aftermath of the 9/11 attacks highlights contrasting strategies, as the United States implements restrictive legislation and increased security measures, while Canada maintains an accommodating position regarding immigration. In the end, the structure of society, whether it promotes assimilation or diversity, has a substantial impact on how immigrants integrate and how susceptible they are to being seen as a security threat. This highlights the need for careful policy considerations that promote inclusion and security in the changing global environment.

## Model 1



Model 1 is a flow chart spanning 4 sections. On the left side is Melting Pot Society and Mosaic Society which together form a Socio-Economic Assistance Level at low or high levels. This creates the concept of othering, also known as socio-economic exclusion, which is shown at the center. The concept of othering then leads to securitization which is shown on the right.



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## **ABOUT THE GLOBAL POLICY HORIZONS RESEARCH LAB**

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The current Director of the Lab is Professor Dani Belo, PhD.

