

INTRODUCTION

Some U.S. citizens have always displayed xenophobic, nativist, and anti-immigrant sentiments and attitudes. In recent years, however, they have perceived the upsurge in the diversity of ethnic groups in the United States as a threat, which has given rise to extremely aggressive movements opposing the entry of migrants and rejecting their presence for different reasons. Xenophobes have demonstrated anti-immigrant sentiments with racist tinges through rhetoric and actions that have become more severe as diversity has grown. Foreign and domestic terrorism as well as frequent attacks by extremist groups in the last twenty years have worsened this situation.

The September 11, 2001 attacks on New York's World Trade Center and the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia, perpetrated by the Muslim terrorist group al-Qaeda, altered the perceptions and heightened the ethnic bias of many U.S. citizens. Islamophobia, the prejudice against those who identify themselves as Muslims, has been spreading virulently and become increasingly linked to violent, destructive attitudes. Among these is racial profiling, an expression of racism—and, of course, xenophobia—which can be defined as singling out certain individuals based on their ethnic origin as a means to determine the probability of their having committed a crime, a practice that has expanded considerably in the U.S. Extreme vigilance at the borders, but also in the interior, implemented since the 2001 terrorist attacks, came hand in hand with the rise of a white nationalist movement.

The profound financial and economic crisis at the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century greatly influenced the upturn of severe anti-immigrant sentiments. This created new and vehement perceptions in an aging society that, despite being aware that they require—and in fact hire— young, cheap foreign labor, both legal and unauthorized, since local workers

are not willing to take low-paying unskilled jobs, contradictorily responds with anti-immigrant actions and policies to reinforce borders in order to apprehend many more undocumented migrants and deport those in the interior. Simultaneously, the growing presence of foreigners at a time of economic crisis, particularly in certain states, cities, and/or counties, has caused xenophobic movements to grow stronger than before. The financial crisis pushed aside a promised immigration reform, since Congress and the executive had severe economic problems to deal with. This situation led me to edit a book titled *Anti-Immigrant, Sentiments, Actions and Policies. The North American Region and the European Union* (2012), which analyzed how and why many growing xenophobic movements in North America and the European Union came into being, generating an extremely aggressive and intolerant environment toward non-authorized migrants and leading to the imposition of highly restrictive migratory policies. Nationalism escalated significantly partly because these countries' identities are constantly shifting due to immigration, and, thus, citizens feel threatened by the arrival of different cultures. At that time, many ultraconservative political groups in the U.S. promoted nationalist, xenophobic postures on their parties' agendas, like the ultra-conservative Tea Party movement, and other anti-immigrant groups that regard unauthorized migrants —especially Mexicans— as undesirable and potentially criminal (Verea, 2012).

President Obama, who came to be known as the “Deporter-in-Chief,” implemented very strict immigration policies during his eight-year presidency, attaining the highest number of deportations —focusing on criminals— of any president. He took an extremely tough approach to immigration enforcement in order to bring Republicans to the bargaining table for an immigration reform, where he did not succeed. While he was strict about border control and the deportation of unauthorized migrants, he also proposed and implemented the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program in 2012, offering temporary relief from deportation for undocumented migrants who came to the U.S. as children, which benefited around 800 000 migrants, the majority Mexican. Obama also welcomed asylum seekers and maintained a high cap on refugee admissions, except for Iraqi citizens.

Since his presidential campaign, Donald J. Trump has promised to significantly reduce unauthorized migration, using violent rhetoric and hate speech and making incendiary statements against immigrants, mainly the undocumented.

Trump has characterized Mexican migrants as criminals, drug smugglers, and rapists, portraying them all as enemies and potential terrorists. Influenced by former Attorney General Jeff Sessions and Senior Policy Adviser Stephen Miller, known for their ultra conservative views on immigration, Trump's actions seem to advance the notion that non-white foreigners coming into his country should not be welcomed. This has encouraged an anti-immigrant fervor that was once restricted to more radical sectors, but has now become mainstreamed. While its roots predate the Trump administration by many years, white nationalism has attained a new mainstream legitimacy during Trump's first years in power (*New York Times*, 2019).

Most white supremacists, who advocate maintaining a white majority in the United States, have racist, xenophobic, and anti-immigrant perceptions and attitudes and deploy hateful rhetoric against "non-whites," demonizing those who look different from themselves. They have instigated suspicion or prejudice as well as stereotyping of non-white foreigners, on occasion regarding them as enemies, thus reinforcing the intolerance of "otherness." The white supremacist movement is a violent, interconnected, transnational ideology. Its adherents gather in anonymous online forums to spread their ideas, plot attacks, and cheer on acts of terrorism. This movement, supported by high-level authorities, has become a source of domestic terrorism, promoting anxiety and hatred in the face of the blackening or browning of society. While non-Hispanic whites remain the majority of the U.S. population, some projections estimate that by 2045, this may no longer be the case.¹

The destructive rhetoric in Trump's speeches and tweets has been supported by his base, composed in large part of angry, dissatisfied citizens who believe that the presence of undocumented migrants has been harmful to their culture and economy. From this viewpoint, migrants represent a public burden, taking jobs away from U.S. citizens and lacking financial resources, among many other disqualifications, causing a negative environment mainly for undocumented migrants, but also for non-white legal residents. This political environment has created fertile ground for racists and xenophobes, giving them an opportunity to come out of the woodwork and adopt discriminatory attitudes against immigrants, who have been negatively impacted and irre-

¹ Whites will comprise 49.7 percent of the population; Hispanics, 24.6 percent; blacks, 13.1 percent; Asians, 7.9 percent; and multiracial individuals, 3.8 percent (Frey, 2018).

versibly damaged by Trump's hate speech and anti-immigrant actions and policies (Verea, 2018). Trump has resorted to constant and unprecedented tweeting of racist claims such as migrants coming from "shithole" countries, all Haitians having AIDS, claiming Nigerians should "go back to their huts," referring to migrants as animals, and calling for more arrivals from "countries like Norway" (Dawsey, 2018; Hirshfield, 2018; Kirby, 2018). Also, he has condemned African-American Democrats in Congress, taunting them and telling them to "go back" to their countries (Rogers and Fandos, 2019), and warned that his country is under attack from immigrants from the southern border, calling their movement "an invasion." Following the recent El Paso shooting, it came to light that the perpetrator, Patrick Crusius, had stated in a manifesto that the attack was aimed at the "Hispanic invasion," using phrases such as "send them back" and testifying that he wanted to kill as many Mexicans as he could, all of which echoes Trump's messages (Baker and Shear, 2019). When public figures in influential positions promote hatred, they legitimize socially unacceptable conduct, encouraging others to replicate this violent behavior (Malik, 2016), which is precisely what has been happening. Moreover, statements by some Republicans suggest that there is freedom to make racist and xenophobic claims in the political atmosphere created by Trumpism—the philosophy, policies, and political ideas created by President Trump.

This book is divided into three main sections. The first consists of a contextualizing essay providing a broad vision of the actions and policies that Trump has established during the first thirty months of his presidency. The second part, which contains the majority of the essays, brings us closer to an understanding of specific issues emphasized by Trump's administration, namely, *a*) the establishment of new migration policies or the modification of existing ones, such as sanctuary policies; *b*) understanding DACA; *c*) detention centers functioning as private prisons; *d*) the difficulties encountered by highly skilled Indian and Mexican temporary workers; and, *e*) the consequences of unaccompanied migrant children crossing the U.S.-Mexico border during recent years. All of these contributions describe some of the actions that Trump has taken to toughen migratory policies and immigration control. The final section, devoted to short- and long-term implications, includes four essays discussing *a*) the consequences of the presence of deportees along the U.S.-Mexico border; *b*) a study of the Central American caravan

crossing through Mexican territory and its consequences for both Mexico and the U.S.; *c*) an overall evaluation of the main shifts in Trump's migration policy; and, finally, *d*) a brief overview of the past, present, and future of the U.S. immigration system.

This book is the product of a seminar where we discussed our contributions and were able to enrich them through our colleagues' observations and critiques. It has limitations in the sense that it does not incorporate a thorough analysis of every action or policy proposed by Trump's administration. Nevertheless, we intend to provide a general perspective on the anti-immigrant rhetoric, actions, and policies adopted by President Trump during his first two and a half years in office.

The first essay presents a general review of the anti-immigrant policies and "Mexican-phobic" rhetoric that has characterized the first thirty months of Trump's presidency. In it, I discuss the way Trump has changed the landscape for immigrants, establishing new policies and toughening existing ones to deter people from migrating to the U.S. I emphasize how immigration has been the main focus of Trump's domestic agenda and how he has used his great executive power to establish multiple regulations for federal agencies without Congressional approval, which has resulted in toughening the practices applied to limit the entry of migrants. The essay describes Trump's actions as part of his hardline immigration policy, such as paying excessive attention to the pool of "deportable" migrants, facing them with separation from their families and the fear of returning to a country practically unknown to them; significantly increasing detentions of non-criminal undocumented migrants; reinforcing the U.S.-Mexico border by deploying thousands of troops there; implementing a "zero-tolerance" policy that has caused the cruel separation of families and is a clear violation of their elemental human rights; prosecuting asylum seekers and forcing them to apply only at ports of entry; coercing Mexico to formally accept the "remain in Mexico" policy; aggressively responding to sanctuary policies; establishing a "travel ban" targeting Muslims; ending DACA and TPS for more than one million migrants with the knowledge that 80 percent were Mexican; decreasing refugee admissions through screening; curbing and slowing the admission of legal immigrants, especially highly skilled workers, and making life hard for many immigrants already in the U.S., among many others. Additionally, I stress how the multiple objections from U.S. courts have been crucial in stopping Trump's harsh, anti-immigrant actions.

In his essay “Reactions to Refuge: Presidential Responses to Sanctuary Policies under the Reagan, Bush, and Trump Administrations,” Benjamin Gonzalez O’Brien states that even though Trump made undocumented immigration a central focus from the very beginning of his presidential campaign, it was the accidental shooting in 2015 of Kathryn Steinle by José Inés García Zárate, an undocumented immigrant, that drew Trump’s attention to sanctuary cities for the first time. As a candidate, Trump often characterized undocumented immigrants as criminals and sanctuary cities as breeding grounds for crime. As president, he has sought to strip federal funding from sanctuary jurisdictions, directed Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) to crack down on undocumented immigrants in these cities, and encouraged states to pass anti-sanctuary legislation. Gonzalez O’Brien maintains that, while Trump has taken a tough line on sanctuary cities, research to date has not attempted to compare him to past Republican presidents regarding his response to sanctuary policies. Thus, the author seeks to fill this void in the literature by examining the Trump administration’s actions and rhetoric toward sanctuary cities, comparing them to those of former Presidents Ronald Reagan and George W. Bush. He compares the three administrations across three different dimensions: their policy responses to sanctuary legislation; their framing of the policies themselves; and their framing of the intended targets of these policies. To do this, the author draws on media coverage of sanctuary cities and presidential responses to sanctuary legislation. He finds that the Trump administration is uniquely focused on sanctuary policies and has taken more executive actions to try to coerce cooperation with federal authorities. In addition, the Trump administration is alone in its heavy reliance on narratives of criminality and threats to frame sanctuary policies.

In this book’s third contribution, titled “The Politics of DACA and Trump: Social Construction and Rhetoric,” Lisa Magaña addresses social construction theory, which explains how groups of individuals are characterized and perceived by society or the community at large. She explains how social constructions may be negative or positive and change with the cultural spirit or climate of the times. If groups have little political power and are negatively socially constructed—and especially if they are unable to vote—they are more likely to be blamed or scapegoated. This theory has been used to explain why some groups receive resources and positive attention from the government

while others are associated with social problems. Using social construction theory, this article examines the negative and positive social constructions of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) recipients by Donald Trump from 2015 to 2018. She concludes that because DACA recipients have a high approval rating but have no political voting power, Donald Trump has both positively and negatively socially constructed the group.

The fourth essay, “Contractor Politics: How Political Events Influence Private Prison Company Stock Shares in the Pre- and Post-Trump Era,” written by Loren Collingwood and Jason L. Morin, describes Core Civic and Geo Group as part of a private prison industry, which has become extremely lucrative, having generated more than US\$3 billion in revenue in 2016. These companies increasingly rely on the growing number of detained immigrants to fill “bed space” in privately owned or managed detention facilities. The authors highlight two events that illustrate how economically vulnerable prison companies are to the political process: *a*) the announcement of plans to phase out the use of private prisons by the Obama administration in August 2016, and, *b*) the fact that Donald Trump campaigned and won on an unambiguously anti-immigrant and anti-Mexican platform, cuing investors. Both events dramatically affected prison company stock prices and trading volume. Collingwood and Morin advance a theory of “contractor politics,” which describes private government contractors whose business model is largely dependent on winning government contracts and thus will see greater stock fluctuation around key political events compared to other types of contractors. Furthermore, stock fluctuation varies as a function of ideological alignment between company and election winner. A time-series analysis supports the essay’s theoretical framework. To further test their generalizable theory, the authors present similar results for Lockheed Martin (ideologically aligned; similar business model), but not for ExxonMobil (ideologically aligned; different business model).

In their essay “Brain Rejection under the Trump Presidency: Evidence from Indian and Mexican Professionals in the U.S.,” Amba Pande and Camelia Tigau draw from the premise that, for a long time, the literature on skilled migration largely revolved around its disadvantages for the countries of origin (the “brain drain” view). In the past few decades, the narrative has shifted to how both the receiving and sending countries benefit from skilled migration. Nevertheless, the authors warn, we are now faced with a different

issue altogether as the main destination countries for skilled migration, such as the U.S. and the UK, appear to be rejecting the idea of brain and skill acquisition from the developing world. This is happening despite the fact that studies consistently show how skilled migrants boost innovation and productivity outcomes in developed countries and very rarely adversely affect wages and employment prospects for the local population. This essay analyzes the possible change of paradigm in the theoretical and practical discourse of skilled migration, as caused by President Trump's policies restricting STEM workers. Pande and Tigau discuss the populist politics around skilled migration and its consequences for talent attraction policies that could lead to a distortion in the global market of competencies.

The sixth essay, titled "Trump's Siege on Unaccompanied Immigrant Children and the Path Forward to Meaningful Protection," by Lisa Frydman, notes that more than 250 000 unaccompanied children from Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala arrived in the United States between 2014 and April 2019, the majority fleeing unprecedented levels of violence and extreme poverty in their home countries. For years, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has emphasized that children, "because of their age, social status, and physical and mental development are often more vulnerable than adults in situations of forced displacement" and has called on states to strengthen their protection to respond to children's particular needs. Frydman points out that, although the U.S. has made important strides to develop and bolster protections for children arriving on their own and seeking safety, certain glaring gaps remain. The Trump administration's efforts to roll back advancements made on behalf of children expose the weaknesses of existing provisions designed to protect them and bring into sharp focus the need to revise and strengthen laws and policies to ensure genuine protection. Frydman's essay analyzes the U.S.'s treatment of unaccompanied immigrant children over the past twenty years. First, it focuses on the period prior to the enactment of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 and addresses this law's provisions that improved conditions for unaccompanied children; it then analyzes the Trafficking Victim Protection Reauthorization Act's provisions for unaccompanied children. Finally, the author focuses on threats to protections created under Obama and follows with Trump's efforts to strip children of protections. Looking ahead, the essay ends with proposals to bolster protections.

In the seventh essay, the first of the book's third section, titled "'Me deportaron': Challenges to Integration/Reintegration in Mexico's Northern Border," Irasema Coronado presents the impact of the deportation process on individuals and families. The initial shock of deportation, coupled with the alienation that deportees feel because they have not lived in their country of origin for many years, presents challenges that are difficult to overcome. Finding housing and employment, dealing with a new way of life, and integrating into Mexican society are obstacles they face. Through interactions and informal interviews with deportees of various ages, family backgrounds, and labor histories, including the plight of deported veterans, they depict their struggles to integrate into Mexican society. Coronado concludes with public policy recommendations for both the United States and Mexico to humanize this process.

The eighth essay, "The Central American Caravan, Lessons Learned," by Gustavo Mohar, discusses the phenomenon of migrant caravans coming from Central America. Mohar describes how 5000 migrants from Honduras who formed the first caravan in October 2018 altered the traditional form of irregular border crossings. Thousands of families hoped to cross the Mexican border, travel through the country, and reach the northern border to request asylum in the U.S. New contingents followed the first caravan, so that, by May 2019, the number of migrants had increased to an unprecedented minimum estimate of 500 000. President Trump, who has made immigration a central topic for his government, paved the way for strong reactions against the arrival of important migrant flows. He claimed the U.S. was facing a "national security" crisis and mobilized the National Guard as well as military troops and threatened to impose import tariffs on Mexico if it did not show a real commitment to stopping the migrants' arrival. Mohar's article describes how the government of Mexican President Andrés Manuel López Obrador (AMLO) tried to break with the past, announcing that migrants would be welcomed, would be offered jobs in Mexico, and would not be deported. Trump declared that part of the agreement with Mexico would involve negotiations for the latter to become a "safe third country." Fearing this, AMLO agreed to deploy 6 000 troops from the newly created National Guard. What is at stake calls for careful follow-up and a comprehensive evaluation of all the possible scenarios. For this purpose, Mohar poses several questions that must be answered in the near future.

In his essay “Migration Issues under the Trump Administration: Exploring Their Long-term Implications,” Francisco Alba describes the various Trump administration initiatives and actions since its inception—around a dozen—and examines their results, considering they have encountered a series of constraints to their implementation by the courts, the legislature, and many non-state actors. An initial appraisal could point out that the results have been relatively scanty. This appraisal, however, could essentially refer to short-term results. Alba’s essay argues that Trump’s positions have very serious potential long-term implications. Migratory issues have been redefined on the U.S. national political agenda; a qualitative leap has been made toward restrictionism; and movement has been made toward criminalizing and excluding migrants. The Trump administration positions could be heralding a new era for migration. The trends described are having—and will certainly have in the future—multiple implications for Mexico-U.S. relations, for the way trade and migration interactions are approached, and for the patterns migration could develop within the North American region—including Central American flows. Current and future migration developments in the region pose many questions for Mexico’s government and society on how to best handle them. Thus, Alba concludes by exploring what some of the main opportunities, challenges, and dilemmas faced by the new Mexican government might be.

In this book’s final essay, “The Ghosts of American Immigration—Past, Present, and Future,” Charles Munnell discusses how, even though meaningful reform of the U.S. immigration system is long overdue, politicians have allowed the chaos in the “broken system” to fester rather than deal with a divisive issue. Before attempting to create a third system, Munnell argues, we should first understand key elements of the two previous immigration systems in U.S. history, how they addressed the needs of their respective eras, how global forces created and destroyed both systems, and how domestic factors hastened the second system’s demise. Munnell’s essay seeks to place the evolution of the U.S. immigration system in its historical context.

I am convinced that this book will offer readers the main guidelines and orientations they need to understand the multiple actions and policies Trump has established during the first two years of his presidency. The analysis of different issues by different authors with unique perceptions and academic backgrounds gives us an idea of the importance and transcendence of Trump’s

proposals, which have been applied as executive actions, encountering obstacles in federal and state courts, or have even been frozen in Congress. Although the analysis is not exhaustive, it does provide a broad overview of the issues at hand and invites us to expand through interdisciplinary work the examination of this crucial period for U.S. migration politics, when millions of migrants from different regions of the world have been negatively impacted.

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