Trump's Securitization of US against Aliens and Immigrants Case Study: Latin Migrants

Eiga Sitompul

Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta
eigasitompul@hotmail.com

Bambang Cipto

Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta
bambangcipto@umy.ac.id

Abstract

This paper examines Trump's securitization of Latin migrants and aliens in the United States (US) through law enforcement and legal political practice. Public citizens have divided opinion regarding immigrants, especially aliens, as they are undocumented and are deemed to destabilize internal public safety. Politicians in the US have also conduct political competitions in politicizing migrants through multitudes of official matters, and passing policies. One prominent example in politicizing migrant is Donald J. Trump, a popular unorthodox president of the US that views immigrants with hostility and skepticism. Trump antagonized the Latin migrants through the dangers they posed in the past combined with crime occurrences in his term, and justify protectionist policies by reducing border crosses through Mexico-US border and cutting down the number of Latin aliens and immigration in the country. Trump, through his famous Zero-tolerance policy, promoted attitudes that often encourage public citizens and law enforcers to view potential threats of immigrants, especially aliens. Trump's campaign about Latin migrants changed the image of Latin migrants among Trump supporters as well as local law enforcers in viewing Latin migrants as a source of threat. This research finds that: Trump's securitization of US against Latino migrants was lawfully and effectively projected through empowerment of federal level immigration and law enforcement agencies down to field officers.

Keywords: *Trump, Immigration, Latin, Securitization, Law enforcement.*

INTRODUCTION

Undocumented immigration to the United States (US) is a highly politicized issue. Social issues surrounding undocumented migrants can be traced by dating back to the late 19th century post US-Mexico war, and the first and second world war. The US labour program in wartime, namely "Bracero" program, was a vital parameter of undocumented immigration. Due to shortage of labour workers during war time, undocumented Mexican nationals were given chance to work in labour sector of war supplies. However, after the wartime had ended the Mexican nationals lost their role while still being illegal. While some Bracero workers legally entered the US, the undocumented persons who lost their job and returned back to Mexico tried to enter US undocumented again because they were already accustomed to work in the US. These people are considered the predecessors of nowadays Latin American aliens (Espenshade, 1995).

Nearly every country politicized the issue of migrant, especially US. Without a doubt, The United States falls into a category in which if not unfriendly, a hostile country towards migrants in terms of politics. The previous statement can be justified with the elected US president in 2016, namely Donald J. Trump, who is regarded as a pro-conservative person. His four years of reign as a president sparked ideological awareness among citizens in most deeply red state (States led and controlled by Republican party) about the dangers of Latino migrants. In his early election rally in Arizona in 2016, Trump mentioned a prior meeting with Mexico's president and addressed illegal immigration. Trump started with the issue of illegal immigration and publicly mentioned in his rally that both Trump and Mexico's president "Agree on the importance of ending the illegal flow of drugs, cash, guns, and people across our border, and to put the cartels out of business" (The New York Times, 2016).

Trump was a vocal and blatant person in conducting political campaigns regarding immigration. The main focus of his illegal immigration campaign pointed out the threats illegal immigrants can pose when entering the US. The offensiveness of Trump's view on migrants can be directly seen through his campaign in Arizona in 2016 when he said "Then there is the issue of security. Countless innocent American lives have been

stolen because our politicians have failed in their duty to secure our borders and enforce our laws like they have to be enforced…." (The New York Times, 2016). About less than a week after he entered white house, new Executive orders namely Border Security and Immigration Enforcement Improvements were signed. These orders addressed the construction of southern border walls, strengthening Custom Border Patrol (CBP) and U.S Immigration and Customs Enforcements (ICE) authorization, and immigration measures that will affect migration requirements in US-Mexico border (Amnesty International, 2017).

The security issue which Trump addressed had a direct impact on his supporters, especially regarding general conservative views on persons with alien status. Furthermore, this psychological structure, without a doubt, set an attention to immigration in southern borders. With Central American countries became the heart of attention, residents of Latino descent in the US became the main focus of Trump's administration's attention of policy enforcement, as well as his supporters. The anti-immigrant agenda was loudly voiced in almost every red state, as well as immigration enforcers.

Misinterpreted information about Latino migrants was often used by pro-Republican party media to create a narrative which painted an image of Latino immigrants as brutal and dangerous (Center for American Progress, 2019). Trump also issued the infamous 287(g) program, which authorized ICE agents to apply a certain power to cooperate with local law enforcement agencies to extend its function without congress approval (Randy Capps, 2011).

Trump's administration substantially gives more authorization to law enforcement agencies than any of previous US presidents, that they are able to apprehend convicted aliens and migrants without prior exculpatory evidences, and to criminalize illegal entriesand therefore subjected to this program (National Immigration Law Center, 2017). This political maneuver of Trump was projected through multiple layers started from US lawdown to field enforcements. This paper aims to examine how Trump's securitization of Latin migrants and aliens worked through US government bodies. This paper finds out that Trump's administration successfully securitized the federal immigration

bodies, while produced mixed results in domestic operations.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The US had long history of modern migration control surrounding Latin migrants over almost half a century after the end of Bracero program. The Latin migrants had often become the subject of research for human and/or migrant rights. Political discussions about Latin migrants often subject the United States and Mexico. Clustered in multitudes of academic topics, Latin migration issues regarding the US, Mexico, human rights and security, transnational crime, politics are naturally connected. There is, however, lack of studies regarding securitization process through law enforcers.

Surrounding Latin migration, articles and researches are mostly focused on human rights violations. A study by Katharine and Samantha in July of 2017 discusses about dynamics of Mexico-US of children migrants regarding causes of migration, health and survival, violence and transnational crime. This article provides a clear vision on children migration data to the US by or not by following the decision of their parents. Mexico is not a safe country to stay, due to violence and homicide by local criminals and cartels that still spark even after the rate of violence dropped. With or without documents, children from Mexico tends to seek a way out by crossing the US (Katharine M. Donato, 2017). The article, however, does not address the political dynamics surrounding child migrants in the US as it is not meant to.

Another article regarding Mexico-US immigration was published in 1997 by Douglas and Kristin regarding reasons why Mexican migrated to the US by collecting empirical data from 25 Mexican communities. The data collected contains details regarding multitudes of economic and security reasons, based on theories, with result that indicates the connections of several economic and political theories that fuel the Mexican community to migrate to the US (Douglas S. Massey, 1997). This article provides a quite numerous data, followed with explanations regarding migration through up-to-date primary sources for 1997's status quo of Mexico-Immigration in the US. Another related source is the research by Sarah about Trump's era immigration policy in a more general term, covering the impacts on US immigration in a

holistic measurement (Sarah Pierce, 2018). In terms of security related discussion, a study in 2013 by Aaron Chafin discusses a specific issue of Mexican migration contribution to crime rates in the US. By lining up the number of Mexican migrations and their motivation to migrate to the US, the research then lines the mentioned data with the increase of both high and low crime rates occurrence as well as the perpetrator identity in city scale. The findings suggest Mexican immigration did not contribute to increase of either higher or lower crime rates in the US. (Chalfin, 2013). Alper and Buket attempted to find a correlation between immigration and unemployment rate with linear and non-linear casualty test in the case of the US. The research found that increase of immigration did not cause increase of unemployment rate in the short run, however caused one in a long run (Alper Aslan, 2020). In terms of effects to Mexican migrants, a very comprehensive article written by David and colleagues covers a very detailed explanations about Trump's immigration policy effects to mainly Mexican migrants, which was destructive and had caused a lot of human rights issues (David Scott FitzGerald, 2019). This article did not specifically address the

securitization process of Trump's presidency, as it is mainly about the effects to the Mexican migrants.

To add more notes about political campaign, it is important to note that Trump's anti-immigrant campaign was also through digital diplomacy tactics as well. An article by Jess Gosling highlights the significance of media in terms of nation-branding, which is more substantial than that of hard diplomacy under the 4th Industrialization era. Such diplomacy exists with weakness parts such as anonymity, leakage, and the spread of hoax and black propaganda (Gosling, 2021). Speaking about securitization, Zoya and Joanna wrote an article regarding specifically family unity in the US. Besides covering the statistics, it also showed the detrimental effect to the separated families including the effect to mental health (Zoya Gubernskaya, 2017). This article covers only the family separation and unity without addressing the securitization conduct of the policy makers. The article, however, covers a substantial information regarding immigration in the US.

When one talks about a grand political decision-making process in the US, a nationwide policy, it is important to look up to an old mother book of policy making

process in the US, written by Graham T. Allison: The Essence of Decision. He highlights, in a lot of part of this book, about decision-making system of the US at that era, that took a long way and uncreative process and results, as it happened to be tempered by several main aspects: foreign actors, bureaucratic system, policy analysis capacity, normative considerations, and predictions and warning signs (Allison, 1971). Albeit being an old book, state-centric, Trump's capacity in implementing his securitization agenda against migrants resembles a lot of values from this book.

Among the studies mentioned, there are lacks of studies in terms of the mechanism of securitization process of Trump. Albeit numerous information regarding the US immigration policy under Trump, there are certainly more studies that view immigration policy through the migrant's perspective, than the US government's, in other words, the policy makers perspective. It is very important to analyze the government actors in this case, as they hold the major framework of immigration dynamics in the US, especially under Trump's presidential term. Securitization issue is a vital part of the immigration policy, because it

is where the policy produces severe impact to Latin migrants in the US.

Conceptual Framework

This research uses the Concept of Securitization. Securitization, according to Ole Wæver, is a political process which conceptualizes a political issue as a security matter that is not limited to the involvement of military affairs while still provide a criterion for differ security from other subjects of politics (Ulrik Pram Gad, 2011). Securitization process generally frames a particular issue, in a way that the issue is seen beyond a normal political subject and has urgency (Ulrik Pram Gad, 2011). Another source from Copenhagen school defined Securitization as an extreme version of politization, dragging the issue out of the domain of politics, as what had had been a previously any non-security issues got forged or escalated into one (Baysal, 2020). Through the communication process, a political actor would create an image of a threat out of a political subject to then refer to some other political object in which is threatened by the securitized subject. Through sparking awareness among people, the political actor will then justify the act to terminate what is called as the threat (Baysal, 2020).

Ole Wæver coined the concept of securitization along with a model in which the securitization gets formulated within a state. He develops his argument based on Barry Buzan's argument about centralization of securitization to mainly national/state level (securitization happens at the national level regardless the political field), Wæver formulates a framework of securitization process under a specific two-dimensional shape he defines as "Hourglass Security Model". In this model, formulation or decision to securitize an issue is at the national/state level, regardless the scope and scale of the threat. A clearer image of his security model is as the picture below:
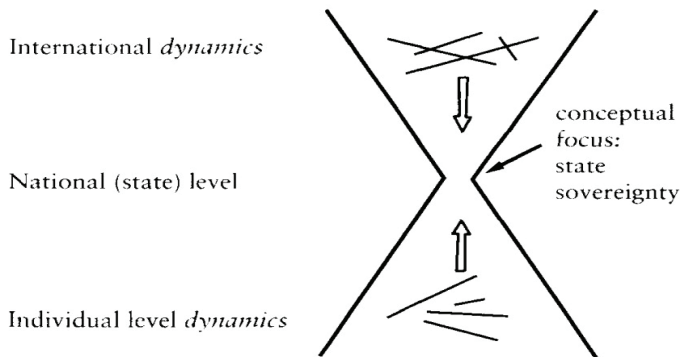

Figure 1. Ole Wæver Hourglass Security Model
(https://cluelesspoliticalscientist.wordpress.com/2020/08/05/securitization-desecuritization-ole-waever-a-summary/)

The "hourglass" shape shown in the picture explains that the focus of political formulation of security issues are circulated into the pit of national/state level, where the state actor makes a decision based from the sources of the issue, whether it is situated among individuals in a state, or happens in international arena. Wæver's model implies that the scope and scale of the threat does not change the hourglass system, as it is the only actor with such power to regulate a decision-making process, a policy maker that regulates the "security" issue. The international and individual dynamics are the factors influencing the politicization process of a state to whether "securitize" or "de-securitize" a particular issue (Waever, 1995).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This paper uses a qualitative approach in its content analysis which adopts a Cross-case analysis technique. This content analysis technique works by looking for emerging patterns across several observations that would generally illustrate different cases under a particular study. As proposed by A. Michael Huberman and Matthew Miles, cross-case analysis can be dismantled into particularly two approaches/strategies: Variable-oriented analysis and Case-oriented analysis. **Variable-oriented analysis** emphasizes on assembling multiple variables to then conduct an analysis based on partial or overall explanation of the key variables assembled for this approach. This approach is effective to collect multiple sources detailing news, reports, literatures, and other generally academic sources. **Case-oriented analysis**, contrasted to Variable-oriented analysis, conduct a full-scale surgery on a particular variable for a maximum gain of understanding every aspect the variable contains. This approach is effective in dismantling a major or the most vital variable of the assembled variables, however, is not accurate enough without support explanations from related variables.

With that in mind, Cross-case analysis was instead proposed by the mentioned scholars to cover both techniques (Babbie, 2011).

The **case-oriented analysis** for Trump's securitization process is an analysis of his executive order and his grand Zero Tolerance policy. Through Trump's grand immigration agenda, the Ole Wæver's hourglass model is projected to mainly two: internally discusses about internal law enforcement system and the field dynamics of law enforcers, and externally discusses on border security and US-Mexico cooperation. To add the **variable-oriented analysis**, the paper inputs field information and official documents regarding the Zero-tolerance policy by Trump and any related cases that contribute to the work of securitizing Latin migrants.

In proceeding with this technique, the author limits the research scope into several aspects. This research focuses strictly on Trump's presidential term. The securitization process covers the media coverage, information regarding Trumps policies applied through inter-governmental bodies and field law enforcers. This paper will check data through literature studies, news coverage, reports from related sources (Non-governmental

civil rights organizations reports, presidential documents, etc.), governmental websites (Trump's official website, ICE website, etc.). The paper also inputs US-Mexico cooperation process in reducing migration flow in Mexico-US and Northern Triangle-Mexico through journals and official government websites.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The analysis checks the works of the institution with the constitutional base that fuels the securitization in the beginning of findings. To explain the Securitization this paper divides its findings and arguments under two sub-chapters consist of, *Internal Enforcement* and *External Enforcement*. Internal Enforcement covers the topic surrounding internal immigration agency inside US. The internal enforcement explains the cohesiveness between local Police Department (local PD) and ICE, also discusses the political process of Trump's immigration agenda. The external enforcement focuses on border security and cooperation with Mexico's Authority.

The 13767 Executive Order – Securitization through Law

To address nation-wide attention to the security issue of migrants in the US, Trump, in his early days in office signed several executive orders with some of them address immigration policies. Specifically, the executive order number 13767, issued in January 2017 titled: "Border Security and Immigration Enforcement Improvements". Carved in Section 1, this order has reflected Trump's securitization of US-Mexico border:

"*Section 1. Purpose. Border security is critically important to the national security of the United States. Aliens who illegally enter the United States without inspection or admission present a significant*

threat to national security and public safety. Such aliens have not beenidentified or inspected by Federal immigration officers to determine their admissibility to the United States. The recent surge of **illegal immigration** *at the* **southern border** *with* **Mexico** *has placed a significant strain on Federal resources and overwhelmed agencies charged with border security and immigration enforcement, as well as the local communities into which many of the aliens are placed.*" (US Federal Register, 2017)

Through what is written in its first section, it can be noted that this order securitizes the status of alien by directly associate the term with possibilities to endanger national

security and public safety. Alien status fell under a crime category under Trump's executive order. The 13767 executive order predates the function of Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA). The IIRIRA is an immigration act signed under president Bush that holds one of Trump's key-point of legal standards to criminalize any kind of illegal entries, status of aliens, and revitalization of immigration enforcement as stated in the 13767 executive order's opening statement (Federal Register, 2017).

While the US Customs Border Patrol focuses on the flow of border entries, alien status is a status quo post-border crossing, which means a status given after one stay in the US. This issue is handled by a different federal body which domain is internal enforcement: US Immigration and Custom Enforcement (ICE). Trump's efforts to strengthen the border security was doubled with empowerment of the legal standing and operational capacity of the ICE through this executive order, expanded ICE's role in the internal section of the US immigration enforcement. The legal basis of ICE's domain revitalization is carved in the section 10: Federal-State agreement. This section gives

authorization to local-level law enforcers across the US to perform the function of immigration enforcement through local officers within the surveillance and control of federal level law enforcement agency, the ICE, for immigration purposes. Article (a) and (c) specifies the direction of previously mentioned purpose through one particular act: Section 287(g) of Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) (US Federal Register, 2017).

Internal Enforcement: The 287(g) Program

The 287(g) Immigration Act of INA offers a unique and very powerful authorization of ICE as a federal-level agency. As stated in INA, the 287(g) Act gives a specific function of state law enforcer, without warrant, to perform an arrest of any confirmed and suspected alien based on their residential status, to arrest upon crossing border, to search aliens within a reasonable range of US external boundary by inspecting passing vehicles within 25 miles outside US territory. A more extreme securitization under this program is the authorization for police officers to carry firearms and apply lethal force in case of resistance in detention process (US Citizenship and Immigration Service, 2004). This Act is also a program of ICE

under the same name, implemented under a bigger immigration policy: Zero-Tolerance policy.

The 287(g) program operates under 2 sub-strategies: Jail enforcement and Warrant-Service Officer (WSO) enforcement model. Jail enforcement model allows deputized officers to interrogate arrested noncitizens to confirm his/her removability status from US, while the WSO enforcement model allows ICE to train and certify local officers to perform an arrest based on immigration enforcement within local jail, or other correctional facilities (American Immigration Council, 2021). The 287(g) program has numerous subscribers located in Texas, Arizona, and Florida. Majority of signed MOUs except the Etowah Country Sherriff Office in Alabama, were signed between year 2019 to 2020, under Trump's presidential term (U.S Immigration and Customs Enforcement, 2022).

Trump's initiation of the 287(g) was a controversial move, as the program contained a number of track records detailing systemic discrimination against Latino immigrants. Cases were substantially concerning the public that American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), a US-based civil rights organization, issued an open letter to the Senior Advisor of Department of Homeland Security (DHS) (the host body of ICE and CBP) in February 2017, detailing a request to terminate the 287(g) program due to evidences of past offenses. For one, in Nye County of Nevada state, the program allowed the officers to not obtain and disclose evidences regarding an arrest, fail to perform lawful procedures to arrest and discipline misconducts, allow and encourage officers to construct "stories" regarding the arrest. On another note, Nye county's tax assessor namely Shirley Matson, emailed Nye county's sheriff's office questioning whether the migrant workers who were building a new jail in Pahrump were legal workers, on the ground of their Latino ancestral (American Civil Liberties Union, 2017). In Victoria, Texas, A sheriff named Nathaniel Robinson wrestled a 76-year old Latino namely Pete Vasquez to the ground, electric-tasered him twice before unlawfully arrest him for a minor offense: expired car registration (American Civil Liberties Union, 2017).

Internal Enforcement: Politics of Deferred Actions for Childhood Arrival (DACA)

Trump implemented an opposite act compared to that of

Obama, who used to bypass the US congress to protect millions of migrants (ABC news, 2014). A controversial move that he did in the first year of his term was the attempt to remove a protection program for undocumented children namely Deferred Actions for Childhood Arrivals (DACA). This program was initiated under Obama's term, to protect children migrants from deportation. This program started in 2012 through Obama's executive order, had protected 650.000 to 700.000 children migrants, majority of them are Latinos or South Americans. A major loophole in this program, however, was its unconstitutional status (The New York Times, 2021).

Trump, naturally, tried to lift the program. To pinpoint the problem of this program besides making clear that the program is unconstitutional, Trump issued a public statement in September 2017 about the decision to lift the program with a quite loud hint of securitization, with a specific Mexican-based gang he mentioned in his speech (MS- 13):

*"The temporary implementation of DACA by the Obama Administration, after Congress repeatedly rejected this amnesty-first approach, also helped spur a humanitarian crisis — the **massive surge** of **unaccompanied minors** from **Central America including**, in somecases, young people who would become **members of violent gangs** throughout our country, such as **MS-13**.*

*Only by the **reliable enforcement** of **immigration law** can we produce **safe** communities, a robust middle class, and economic fairness for all Americans."* (The Los Angeles Times, 2017)

Trump had the strategic advantage: his proposal to end DACA was backed up by legal standing whereas this program, issued by Obama, was considered bypassing the constitution, as the result proved that the program was unconstitutional. The process to lift DACA received a lot of public protests, but reached Supreme Court in 2019 nonetheless. The verdict that came out in 2020, however, concluded that the program was not entirely lifted, but the choice was given to the respective states. One of the only states that officially consider DACA illegal was Texas. The US district court of southern Texas issued a verdict in July 16, 2021, held that the DACA status is illegal (US Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2022).

External Enforcement: Border Security

This part of the discussion reflects the other main objective of Trump's Executive order. Border security was both a campaign object by Trump, and the flagship of Zero-Tolerance policy. There was a serious concern of humanitarian values in this policy in a way that it was unnecessarily extreme, the exact reason why Trump applied the policy. The Zero-Tolerance missions were to deter immigration especially from the South (Mexican border). Trump believed extreme acts would prevent more migrants to cross border. Separation of Children and strengthening border patrol were the main securitization acts in border security.

Separations of children from their parents did not have a neat result. A study by Physicians for Human Rights suggests that in between 2017 to 2018, number of children separation reached more than 5,000, including, among one of few very young children, a 4 month-old which was the youngest. A total number of 1,677, were not re-united with their parents and 381 whose status and location were not known (The Guardian, 2021). Another problem was the issue of DHS labelling of "dangerous parents" as the basis of securitization to separate them from their children. The DHS used to look up on foreign country's databases to gather intelligence regarding immigrant lives to find out whether they were a gang member or involved in one. Through these tactic allegations against random civilians happened. This allegation happened to a Salvadoran man who got separated from his children for being mistaken as a member of MS-13. The CBP did not officially disclose the evidence of the allegation, and did not even issue any statement after the man got imprisoned for six months in a highly-guarded prison (Pro Republica, 2019). The ACLU compiled a number of reports that suggests DHS and CBP's ineffective and extreme securitization of parent migrants that caused incidents, which were then formed into a legal protest against Trump's administration (AP NEWS, 2019).

Another securitization act was done by the border patrols. They were given special authority to use guns, permitted to conduct an arrest without warrants, and other aspects to ease their works to deter border crossings. This resulted in an excessive increase of incidents, including lethal ones. In 2017, under Trump's early presidential term, 89% incidents in the US-Mexico border

involved violence by the border patrol, some of which happened out of suspected emotional pressure. There were thousands of complaints filed to CBP regarding the issue, yet only few were investigated. Past records indicates that arming border patrols did not make situation at the border any better. There was a case involving a lethal force used by Lonnie Swartz, a border patrol who shot dead a 16-year old Mexican national, for throwing stones at him. He was charged guilty of manslaughter and second-degree murder but the case was dropped in 2019 (David Scott FitzGerald, 2019).

US-Mexico Migration Cooperation – 2019 Joint Declaration

Trump threatened to apply 25% tariff to all imported Mexican goods, and Mexico took it seriously through a bilateral talk that ended up in a joint declaration to address irregular migration (Soto, 2020). Under the joint statement Mexico agreed to: Strengthen migration controls at Mexico-Guatemala border including in its interior by utilizing enforcement efforts by National Immigration Institute (INM); Provide humanitarian aids for US-deported migrants and asylum seekers, as well as the in-due asylum claimants of US with access to healthcare, education, and employment; cooperate with US to terminate human smuggling networks; and cooperate with US in development investment in order to address the root causes of Central American Migration (Soto, 2020). López Obrador, Mexico's president in 2019, was the person who implemented the new immigration policies in accordance with the 2019 US-Mexico joint declaration.

López Obrador was harsh at the early days of the initiation, resulted in numbers of irregular Migration in Southern Mexico border sharply went down in 90 days post agreement's implementation. However, Mexico was committed to provide humanitarian assistances to asylum seekers, especially for those who got refused by the US authority. The US and Mexico agreed upon in terms of humanitarian operation: ending human trafficking issue in Central American migration (Soto, 2020). Through operation Sentinel, DHS launched a multi-agency operation with Mexico to combat organized transnational criminal networks through revoking visas of persons related to the organizations as well as the bank accounts (Congressional Research Service, 2021).

CONCLUSION

This paper discovered a number of key conclusions. As stated in the beginning, this paper attempts to address Trump's influence within the innerworkings of federal and local immigration and law enforcement agencies in securitizing Latin immigrants. Trump's securitization technique fits the Wæver's hourglass securitization model quite precisely. The Wæver's hourglass securitization model is state-centric in nature, where state-level government handles decision to address internal and external factors influencing the specific "security" issue. Trump's influence among government agency almost mirrors Wæver's hourglass framework despite setbacks in Democrat-controlled state in the west coast. Internally, there was a huge effort done by ICE agents and police officers involved in the 287(G) agreement to antagonize the Latin migrants for crime rates and public disturbances which were not entirely true and sometimes forged through layers of securitization as instructed by the higher rank agents themselves down to the field officers that were trained, including an authorization to apprehend Latino migrants on the ground of their own racial status. This effort was doubled with Trump's effort to legally end the DACA program, with a loud hint of securitization against Mexican migrants in his speech pertaining the effort to end the program. Externally, Trump blames Mexico for influx of irregular migration to US, and use the reason to justify revitalization of CBP and family-separation policy, to deter southern immigration. Trump threatened Mexico and forced the country to extend his immigration agenda to stop the influx of irregular immigration from and to its country.

This paper, with all its resources, still lacks a number of variables. Due to mostly secondary sources, the paper could not bring about local data regarding local level immigration enforcements: migrant detainment rate per state, local jail or PD field arrest rate, access to PD database per detained nationals, etc. This paper also lacks in discussion on federal-domestic government relations. The main focus of this paper is the national level implementation of Zero-tolerance policy, hence lack detailed explanation per state. The writer suggests researchers to dive deeper in local-level immigration control for detailed findings regarding Latin immigration in the area.

REFERENCES

ABC news. (2014, 11 21). *President Obama Offers Legal Status to Millions of Undocumented Immigrants*. Retrieved from https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/president-obama-offer-legal-status-millions-undocumented-immigrants/story?id=27063573

Allison, G. T. (1971). *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis.* Boston, United States of America: Little, Brown and Company.

Alper Aslan, B. A. (2020). The relationship between unemployment and immigration with linear and nonlinear causality tests: Evidence from the United States. *Economic Journal of Emerging Markets, 12*(1), 13-24. doi:10.20885/ejem.vol12.iss1.art2

American Civil Liberties Union. (2017). *The Unsuitability of Applicants to the 287(g) Immigration Enforcement Program.* Washington DC: American Civil Liberties Union.

American Immigration Council. (2021, 6 8). *The 287(g) Program: An Overview.* Retrieved from Research: https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/287g-program-immigration?__cf_chl_tk=U6YcS71aEc1am4sakJR2A6XnplQJgMdztvdP_VOA7dE-1641128842-0-gaNycGzNCT0

Amnesty International. (2017). FACING WALLS: USA AND MEXICO'S VIOLATIONS OF THE RIGHTS OF ASYLUM-SEEKERS. *Amnesty International*, 38.

AP NEWS. (2019, 7 31). *ACLU: 911 children split at border since 2018 court order*. Retrieved from US News: https://apnews.com/article/immigration-donald-trump-us-news-ap-top-news-ca-state-wire-ba5a05e6a7f14b6b898d75712dee1f6b

Babbie, E. (2011). *The Basics of Social Research* (5 ed.). Belmont, USA: Wadsworth CENGAGE Learning.

Baysal, B. (2020). 20 Years of Securitization: Strengths, Limitations and A New Dual Framework. *Uluslararası İlişkiler, 17, No. 67*, 3-20. doi:10.33458/uidergisi.777338

Center for American Progress. (2019, 2 7). *How Misinformation Fueled Anti-Immigrant*

Sentiment in the Tijuana Border Region. Retrieved from IMMIGRATION: https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/immigration/news/2019/02/07/465943/misinformation-fueled-anti-immigrant-sentiment-tijuana-border-region/

Chalfin, A. (2013). What is the Contribution of Mexican Immigration to U.S. Crime Rates? Evidence from Rainfall Shocks in Mexico. *American Law and Economics Review*, 220-268.

Congressional Research Service. (2021, 5 21). *Mexico's Immigration Control Efforts.* Retrieved from https://sgp.fas.org/crs/row/IF10215.pdf

David Scott FitzGerald, G. L. (2019). Mexican Immigrants Face Threats to Civil Rights and Increased Social Hostility. *Center for Comparative Immigration Studies*, 1-63.

Douglas S. Massey, K. E. (1997). What's Driving Mexico-U.S. Migration? A Theoretical, Empirical, and Policy Analysis. *American Journal of Sociology*, 939-999.

Espenshade, T. J. (1995). Unauthorized Immigration to the United States. *Annual Reviews*, 195-213.

Federal Register. (2017, 01 25). *A Presidential Document by the Executive Office of the President on 01/30/2017.* Retrieved from Presidential Document: https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2017/01/30/2017-02102/enhancing-public-safety-in-the-interior-of-the-united-states

Gosling, J. (2021). Maximising Soft Power: the Role of Digital Diplomacy in Building Trust with Nation-branding. *Global Affairs Review*, 19.

International Crisis Group. (2016). Border Control. *International Crisis Group*.

Katharine M. Donato, S. L. (2017). Crossing the Mexico-U.S. Border: Illegality and Children's Migration to the United States. *Jstor, 3, No. 4*, 116-135. doi:10.7758/rsf.2017.3.4.07

National Immigration Law Center. (2017). *Understanding Trump's Executive Order Affecting Deportations & "Sanctuary" Cities.* Los Angeles: National Immigration Law Center.

Pro Republica. (2019, 6 8). *Immigration Officials Use Secretive Gang Databases to*

Deny Migrant Asylum Claims. Retrieved from Zero Tolerance: https://www.propublica.org/article/immigration-officials-use-secretive-gang-databases-to-deny-migrant-asylum-claims

Randy Capps, M. R. (2011). Delegation and Divergence: A Study of 287(g) State and Local Immigration Enforcement. *Migration Policy Institute*, 1-67.

Sarah Pierce, J. B. (2018). *U.S Immigration under Trump: Deep Changes and Lasting Impacts.* Washington DC: Migration Policy Institute.

Soto, A. G. (2020). One Year after the U.S.-Mexico Agreement: Reshaping Mexico's Migration Policies. *Migration Policy Institute*, 21.

The Guardian. (2021, 11 24). *Families separated at border under Trump suffering severe trauma – study*. Retrieved from US Immigration: https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2021/nov/24/trump-family-separations-trauma-study

The Los Angeles Times. (2017, 9 5). *Read the Full Statement from President Trump on Ending the DACA Program*. Retrieved from https://www.latimes.com/politics/la-na-donald-trump-daca-statement-20170905-story.html

The New York Times. (2016, 09 1). *Transcript of Donald Trump's Immigration Speech*. Retrieved from Politics: https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/02/us/politics/transcript-trump-immigration-speech.html

The New York Times. (2021, 7 16). *What Is DACA? And Where Does It Stand Now?* Retrieved from U.S.: https://www.nytimes.com/article/what-is-daca.html

U.S Immigration and Customs Enforcement. (2022). *Delegation of Immigration Authority Section 287(g) Immigration and Nationality Act*. Retrieved from IDENTIFY AND ARREST: https://www.ice.gov/identify-and-arrest/287g

Ulrik Pram Gad, K. L. (2011). Concepts of Politics in Securitization Studies. *Center for Advanced Security Theory, University of Copenhagen*, 1-25.

United Nations. (2000). International migration and development in the Americas. *Symposium on International Migration in the Americas* (pp. 1-512). Santiago: Economic

Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC)/ Population Division, .

US Citizenship and Immigration Service. (2004). *Immigration and Nationality Act.* Retrieved from https://uscode.house.gov/view.xhtml?req=granuleid:USC-prelim-title8-section1357&num=0&edition=prelim

US Citizenship and Immigration Services. (2022). *Consideration of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA)*. Retrieved from Humanitarian: https://www.uscis.gov/DACA

US Federal Register. (2017, 01 25). *Executive Order 13767 of January 25, 2017 - Border Security and Immigration Enforcement Improvements.* Retrieved from Presidential Documents: https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/FR-2017-01-30/pdf/2017-02095.pdf

Waever, O. (1995). Securitization and Desecuritization. In R. D. Lipschutz, *On Security* (pp. 46-86). New York: Columbia University Press. Retrieved from https://www.libraryofsocialscience.com/assets/pdf/Waever-Securitization.pdf

Zoya Gubernskaya, J. D. (2017). US Immigration Policy and the Case for Family Unity. *Journal on Migration and Human Security, 5*(2), 417-430.