CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

By 2016, the United States of America entered a new political leadership under the new elected president, Donald Trump. During his presidential campaign, he use slogan, "Make America Great Again." (Schoen, 2016). He began a new era with stricter behavior towards those who do not give benefits to the United States. He does not hesitate to speak firmly about another country's incompetence on trading with the United States for the United States' position in international trade, political, and security agreements. The United States has joined in multiple international agreements, wherein Trump in his presidency term pulled the United States out from the agreements with reasons that they are not benefiting the United States.

He firmly emphasized every part of the nation to benefit the United States in every occasion both in international affairs or national affairs. He did not hesitate to criticize the United States allies and trade partners when they make problems to the United States. His campaigns are mainly domestic affairs and the most concerning case is tackling illegal immigrants. For him, illegal immigrants are big problems in the United States, where he promised in his speech of deportation to illegal immigrants. One of the examples is what he said on the use of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) to triplicate the work of detaining illegal immigrants from the United States¹. The reason for his campaign is because, after this long, most of the illegal immigrants are the main cause of the increasing rate of

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Politico. (2015, 08 17). Trump's Immigration Plan: Mass Deportation. Retrieved from Politico: https://www.politico.com/story/2015/08/donald-trump-immigrationplan-121420

crime and other bothering activities for the locals. Illegal immigrants are one of the bigger and harder problems to be solved than other national-scale problems for him, and he focused more on tackling the numbers of illegal immigrants.

Trump's policy to illegal immigrants can be seen in how it reflected on his presidential campaign. In his official website of the presidency, he wrote three principles that support the reduction of illegal immigrants which are; a nation without borders is not a nation, a nation without laws is not a nation, and a nation that does not serve its citizen is not a nation. After those three principles, he tells about how illegal immigrants are putting serious bad impacts on American citizens. He wants to reduce the illegal immigrants based on the facts that he stated in the article that illegal immigrants are costing the country billions of money and disturb the workers. He also stated that the illegal immigrants make worse conditions by pointing out one of the Latin illegal immigrants that broke into a 64-year-old women's house committing unlawful actions, including violence and rape and murder (Donaldjtrump.com, 2016).

Mexico is a country bordering with the United States. They send their people to the United States the most compared to other countries. Mexicans are one of the majorities that make up United States citizen. One of the most spoken languages in the United States is Spanish because of Mexicans. Most Mexicans stay in several states in the United States mostly in Texas, New Mexico, California, and some are in New York. They come from many backgrounds and them vary from children to old people. They move to the United States for various reasons and not every one of them is well accepted by locals and government, because many of them entered the United States illegally, and worse some of the illegal immigrants are reported to commit crimes.

There are around 12 million immigrants from Mexico migrated to the United States by 2016. Around 45% of them are illegal. They are numbered massive mostly in the southern part of the United States where they usually come in caravans

of several people at once². They usually stay in rural areas around the southern part of the United States, some of them both legal and illegal immigrants come to the city finding job for better welfare. The illegals usually stay in random Latino brotherhood blending with them to stay away from the officers who are searching for them. The illegal immigrants are not only from those who came from the origin country but also from those who violated their legal term to stay in the United States. The illegal Mexican immigrants are heavily burdened with living expenses knowing that many of them have families, and they often have issues with the local citizens and police officers because of their discriminative treatments on almost every condition.

The United States and Mexico have a long history of relations. The United States has established a relationship with Mexico mostly by allowing immigrants to have their chances to work in the United States as blue-collar workers. Mexicans see this chance as a time to improve themselves better welfare for a better life. Most of the Mexicans that come to the United States are middle and low classes society in terms of economic capability and usually work in labor forces or blue-collar forces outnumbering blue-collar workspaces for the locals³. Mexicans then begin to make a huge move by migrating to the United States in massive numbers. This event, according to Trump, becomes one of the potential problems of the United States since it can increase the rate of competition for locals who intend to work in blue-collar fields. Mexicans then have too many chances of Americans who should had the chance more.

Americans encounter problems of finding a job and then blaming the government of allowing massive Mexicans to come inside the United States to find

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² Ana Gonzalez Barerra, J. M. (2018, 12 3). What We Know about Illegal Immigration from Mexico. Retrieved from Pew Research Official Website: https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/12/03/what-we-know-about-illegal-immigration-from-mexico/

³ Congressional Research Service. (n.d.). *Mexican Migration to the United States: Policy and Trends*. Congressional Research Service.

jobs. Since the massive migration of Mexicans to the United States, there is a major gap in the socio-economic condition more on the intolerances and disrespectful behavior of the locals and the police officers to the Latin Americans. Most of the Mexico immigrants that come to the United States and work in blue-collar fields are not only the legal ones but also the illegal ones. The illegal immigrants usually stay in a brotherhood of Latino to blend inside reducing the suspiciousness from the officials, and as they numbered massively and work in the blue-collar fields, the locals of the United States citizens begin to feel that they are taking over the chances of the unemployed Americans. The locals of the United States are also known for their social gap to Mexicans because of unhealthy competitions.

In some cases even, some of the Mexico immigrants identified as being member of criminal syndicates and committing crime in the region. New Mexico for example, is known for a place of Latin America gangs that operate drug commodities, and they are powerful in terms of weaponry which makes the United States government harder to solve the Latin America gang problem. These gangs recruit Latin Americans who usually do not have a home or full-time job. This condition makes the illegal immigrants who almost cannot get legal status to work in legal fields, to be vulnerable to join the Latin America gangs considering they can have better welfare faster than working in legal fields⁴. They are very dangerous since they take the lives of the locals and sometimes do firefights with other gangs around civilian areas, held hostages, and robberies. Aside from being gang members, many illegal immigrants in the United States are vulnerable to commit crime, and some already did. Illegal immigrants in the united states are one of the significant causes of crime that according to the Department of Homeland Security

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⁴ Business Insider. (2017, 9 27). Here is How Mexican Cartels are Actually Operating in United States. Retrieved from Business Insider Official Website: https://amp.businessinsider.com/what-are-mexican-cartels-doing-in-the-us-2017-4

agency report in the fiscal year 2018 about 59,945 illegal immigrants in the United States committed offensive crimes that made them deported⁵.

Trump used to revoke the bad sides of previous policy in his presidential campaign, by blaming president Obama for his weak immigration enforcement. President Obama, had a more tolerant characteristic to illegal immigrants, knowing that some of them have no criminal records and vulnerable immigrants. According to the Wall Street Journal, Obama enforced a policy that allowed illegal immigrants to be processed to be able to stay in the United States with a total amount of around 4 million immigrants. This policy was backed up with the limitation of category and put away those who had criminal records anywhere aside from those who were naturally seeking jobs or vulnerable migrants like children and women in the United States. This policy was stated by himself in the press conference about immigrants and The Wall Street Journal journalist recorded this moment. To tackle the potential threats, he used to process the information by involving the governments of the origin countries where the immigrants were coming from. Recorded in 2014, he said that the process of legalization will proceed following the information about the citizenship reports that will be given by the origin country⁶. This policy received strong disagreement by the Republican party where they categorized such acts would be dangerous even when knowing that the immigrants do not have high or significant potential of becoming a threat. The opposition party argued that the allowance of these illegal immigrants to the United States will only be taken

⁵ United States Department of Homeland Security, Department of Justice. (2019). *Alien Incarceration Report Fiscal Year 2018, Quarter 2.* United States Department of Homeland Security, Department of Justice.

⁶ The Wall Street Journal. (2014, 11 20). *Obama to Protect 4 Million-plus Immigration from Deportation.* Retrieved from The Wall Street Journal Official Website: https://www-wsj-

com.cdn.ampproject.org/v/s/www.wsj.com/amp/articles/president-obama-announces-moves-to-overhaul-immigration-

 $^{1416502101?}amp_js_v=a2\&_gsa=1\&usqp=mq331AQCCAE\%3D\#referrer=https\%3A\%2F\%2Fwww.google.com\&_tf=From\%20\%251\%24s\&share=https\%3A$

advantage of by these immigrants to pose as a non-threat potential person by manipulating the self-identification⁷.

Trump in his presidential campaign often blame the Democrats for allowing illegal immigration to blend in the locals and to use public facilities. Trump took the chance to revoke the bad sides of illegal immigration by make multiple speeches publicly in his presidential campaign about immigration and criminals. He loudly voiced out cases of violence from illegal immigrants to emphasize the importance of The United States to increase its awareness for illegal immigration. With that awareness, Trump promised to take action by removing as many illegal immigrants as well as their civil rights. The presence of illegal immigrants in The United States create multiple minor issues that are accumulated. Trump intends to wake up the people's awareness, that the previous leadership failed to keep the country safe from dangerous immigrants. Trump got massive nationalist audiences, which was why he won the presidential campaign.

In the current condition, there are currently millions of immigrants living under the policy that is pressing them off the United States. In this case, mostly illegal immigrants concern about this rule because they are also hunted by the police forces of the United States. The police forces begin to intensify their investigation over the illegal immigrants, beginning by suspecting the Latino brotherhood and randomly catching them for investigation. Under Trump's administration, removing the illegal immigrants from the United States does not really consider the criminal records. Trump argued that illegal immigrants are the cause of the increasing crime rate since there are many reports of crimes involving illegal immigrants. He enforced a zero-tolerance policy that is meant to indiscriminately remove the illegal immigrants. The enforcement of these acts in Trump's administration has significant impact to the illegal Mexican immigrants where it differs the treatment to the illegal Mexican immigrants compared to other illegal immigrants.

7 Ibid

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1.2 Research Question

Why Trump's immigration policy targets illegal Mexican immigrants?

1.3 Theoretical Framework

This paper uses the theory of national identity theory from Rupert Emerson. According to him national identity is "The structure of people who think that they are the country", which refers to self-categorization (Hopkins, 2001). Self-categorization means identifying oneself as a part of a country. The awareness of a sense of belonging to a certain country makes the person willing to contribute on behalf of the country (Hopkins, 2001). A group of people that share the sense of belongings to a certain nation because of the same ethno-cultural aspects, ideology, and socio-culture aspects in socializing to each other mean they feel that they belong to a certain national. National identity typically makes strong bonds among the those who bond with it, and in a country the foreign nationals will be treated differently in the society. With multiple national identities in a country, normally there will be policies with multiple restrictions to foreign nationals to prioritize the interests of the nationalists in the country. The nationalists would not want foreign national interests to exceed their degree, thus foreign nationals should either respect the custom and moral values in the country or leave (Meilaender, 2001).

The sense of belonging to a certain national make the members will contribute to develop positive values and create traditions among members. With such mindset, nationalists will tend to be careful to people from different national because they may not fit in and fully accept the nationalism they have. Worse, some foreign nationals are prone to disobey the local rules. Thus, nationalists will boast their nationalism value in their own country and will ask for other nationals to accept the value. If the foreign nationals do not accept local values, the nationalists will forcibly deport those foreign nationals because they are damaging the integrity of local values. Nationalists want themselves to rule over their own country, and will consider any foreign nationals who disobey local rules threats, therefore should be forcibly deported from the country. To protect the integrity of nationalism, the nationalists will fortify their country's border defence and immigration management. To address the issue of national identity in a country, a country would

also ask the immigrant's country government to be responsible of their people in the receiver country for not making any troubles especially that have potential to damage the integrity of nationalism.

For a half century long, many people are against the social construction of where American citizens are in the same position as the outsiders when speaking about civil rights. Presidents from Republican party in the past 20 years were closely related to the nationalist movement because they did not only bring the interests of the conservative group, but are also known for their security-centric policies and strictly against illegal immigrants at any costs. The anti-immigrant movements in The United States somehow reside in the Republican party itself, and such movement often happened because of security issues that are reported by the locals. Many locals are conservative nationalists and nativists, thus many of them support Republicans position regarding illegal immigration especially in Trump's presidency. The Republican party generally prioritizes anti-immigrant movements by passing bills of restrictions to illegal immigrants.

A sense of nationalism in The United States regarding on illegal immigration means that someone illegal from outside The United States is not capable of having political power. That means if they disagree that the American citizens should only use political power, they will get persecution. The socio-ethnic gap in The United States lasts very long because each of the ethnic groups, mostly from inside The United States, is radical to promote its power against outsiders. The term nationalism for them is closely related to prioritizing its people first than others. Outsiders are divided into several groups, and usually receive sentiments against them. Conservatives usually promote things that are related to saving people first to expose their spirit of nationalism (Bonikowski, 2019).

Illegal Mexican immigrants have the most attention in public, law enforcers, for they are the most numerous immigrants in the United States. The Illegals, especially, have created some rather disturbing image and contribution to the American society, considering many of them desperately commit crime to gain money. The nationalists of The United States have long history of bad relation with Mexican nationals, typically because of overfilling the job fields in The United

States, do not really want to speak English, and illegally break the laws smuggle slaves and drugs.

This is also supported by a matter of fact that Trump won the presidential election in 2016 because many of his followers are anti-immigrants and nationalists. People that support Trump has a radical opinion regarding illegal immigration. They see illegal immigrants as threat and therefore should be removed from The United States. The popular culture of illegal immigration and crime is circling mostly around illegal Mexican immigrants. Illegal Mexican immigrants make up the most number in southern states typically living in poverty. There are multiple cases that triggers the anti-immigrants about serious crimes such as murder and robberies that happens because the immigrants need money. The popular stereotype makes illegal Mexican immigrants show up on the eyes of law enforcers. Systemically, immigration enforcers suspect illegal Mexican immigrants more at public areas resulting in the usage of racial profiling as a technique on crime control.

Trump's immigration enforcement is centralized on illegal Mexican immigrants because of several reasons regarding on the issue of national identity in the United States. The direct border with Mexico country is one of them. The U.s-Mexico border is very long and has high risks of illegal trespassing from Mexico's side. Mexican nationals travelled illegally to the United States since decades and segregated themselves from the local of the United States. More and more illegal Mexican immigrants come since the beginning of 21st century and according to Trump condition was worse in Obama's era because of lack of attention to border security. According to Trump, the illegal Mexican immigrants bring security and local economic problems in the United States because of the inability to assimilate with the locals, thus become a threat to nationalists of the United States.

Trump also sees the illegal Mexican immigrants as the source of most illegal immigration problem, and the increasing crime rate committed by illegal immigrants. He gathered many events of crime committed by illegal Mexicans from recent past years. According to Trump, the illegal Mexican immigrants have irresponsibly brought their destructive and violent behaviour in the United States and disturb local peace. Trump accuses the illegal Mexican immigrants for

threatening the unity of the American nationals and immigrants because their ignorant minds.

Trump also accuses the Mexican government for their ineffective immigration control. Trump brings up the issues of drug and human trafficking, rapists, gangsters, and people with bad morals. According to him, the ineffective immigration control by the Mexican government leads to massive illegal immigrants flee from Mexico without any surveillance from the Mexican border patrol. Those massive illegal immigrants flooded the states directly border with Mexican territory and gradually increase crime rates where the victims are mostly locals, thus considered a threat to the American nationalism at the specific region affected by the illegal Mexican immigrants. To decrease the potential threats coming from Mexico, Trump intends to make Mexican government responsible by improving their immigration control to stem any illegal crossing attempts as many as they can.

1.4 Hypothesis

The reason of Trump's administration immigration reform explicitly target illegal Mexican immigrants is because of:

- a. Long direct land border with high risk of illegal entering points;
- b. Trump's negative perception to the Mexican immigrants who were accused as criminals;
- c. Trump's allegation to Mexican government which deliberately let the illegal immigrant entering the US.

Research Methodology

This paper uses a qualitative approach. It will use data analysis as the main method of research. Data analysis is a type of research method that uses primary and secondary sources to examine as the basis of the explanation. These sources can be from journal articles, news, books, recordings, and any qualitative secondary or primary resources that can be used to examine the main topic. The sources will be examined by looking at the patterns from several observations that usually

represent different cases under study where this method is called as cross-case analysis (Babbie, 2011). The paper uses variable-oriented analysis. Variable oriented analysis uses an overall analysis of the condition by examining every appearing variables in the case. When a case appears, the researcher directly directs his/her analytical points to the variables that appear and then gather and examine the co-relations within each other, and then summarize the whole points together as a research source. While case-oriented analysis focuses on a complete chronological case, the variable-oriented analysis focuses on the partial explanation of overall variables that are connected (Ibid.). Although variable-oriented does not examine the in-depth version of a case, it covers the overall explanations of multiple variables which is useful to explain a macro scale case that covers multiple or massive actors and other inter-connecting cases.

This paper uses a variable-oriented analysis based on the cross-case study method. This is because Trump's immigration policy has a wide range of variables inside, and many of them are interconnected following its impact on the illegal Mexican immigrants. The variable-oriented analysis is an effective method for this research because it can cover multiple events that are related to the implementation of the policies and its macro-scale impacts on illegal Mexican immigrants. It will begin by conducting researches on the Trump's policy to the immigrants in general by visiting any general resources related to immigration policies the United States official government website, and some journal articles that discuss any of Trump's statement about immigrants, and how The United States immigration enforcer bodies react upon the previous policies about immigrants. This paper will also visit the Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency of the United States that has several policies that regulate about legality of immigrants and actions towards legal and illegal immigrants. The research will identify the impacts based on the policy implementation on the illegal Mexican immigrants.

The research focuses on Trump's administration at the current period until the year 2019 where the new presidential election will take place. The research is limited to the implementation of the immigration policies under the jurisdiction of Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency to how far is the progress of the implementation from the beginning of Trump's presidential term until the current term. The research also includes the qualitative data regarding racism and illegal Mexican immigrants from the beginning of the implementation of policies to the current term. The research also examines the condition of illegal immigrants regarding the process of the implementation of the policies in several dimensions of security, rights, and graphics of their activities. This research examines the different inter-connecting conditions of the illegal immigrants after the implementation of the policies and will use a macro scale of a qualitative measure of Mexican illegal immigrant position after the implementation of the immigration policies. The events that are used as measurement tools will not be more than 10 years past, and will not pass post-Trump's leadership.

1.6 Outline

The research is divided into 5 chapters: chapter 1 for the introduction, Chapter 2 to 4 for the analysis, and Chapter 5 for the conclusion. The explanations per chapter are as follow.

Chapter 1

Chapter 1 discusses the introduction of the paper. It generally discusses the Trump's policy at the surface and his critics against the previous regime, and the technical explanation about the content of the research paper.

Chapter 2

Chapter 2 discusses the The historical dynamics of the US immigration policy and general information on Trump's immigration policy. To find the details of the complex relationship between the United States citizens and illegal Mexican immigrants, this chapter explained the distant past of the early immigration waves of Mexican immigrants.

Chapter 3

Chapter 3 discusses political dynamics about immigration in Trump's administration. It will discuss about Trump's administration efforts to improve the

Zero – Tolerance policy effect, and the targets of its efforts. There are conflictual sides regarding to Trump's Zero – tolerance policy and the sides have their own agendas that affect Zero – tolerance policy.

Chapter 4

Chapter 4 discusses the reasons behind the Trump's immigration policy bias towards illegal Mexican immigrants.

Chapter 5

Chapter 5 is the conclusion of the research. It explains Trump's reason to address illegal Mexican immigrants in big picture.