

Acrimonious Times in US Immigration Politics

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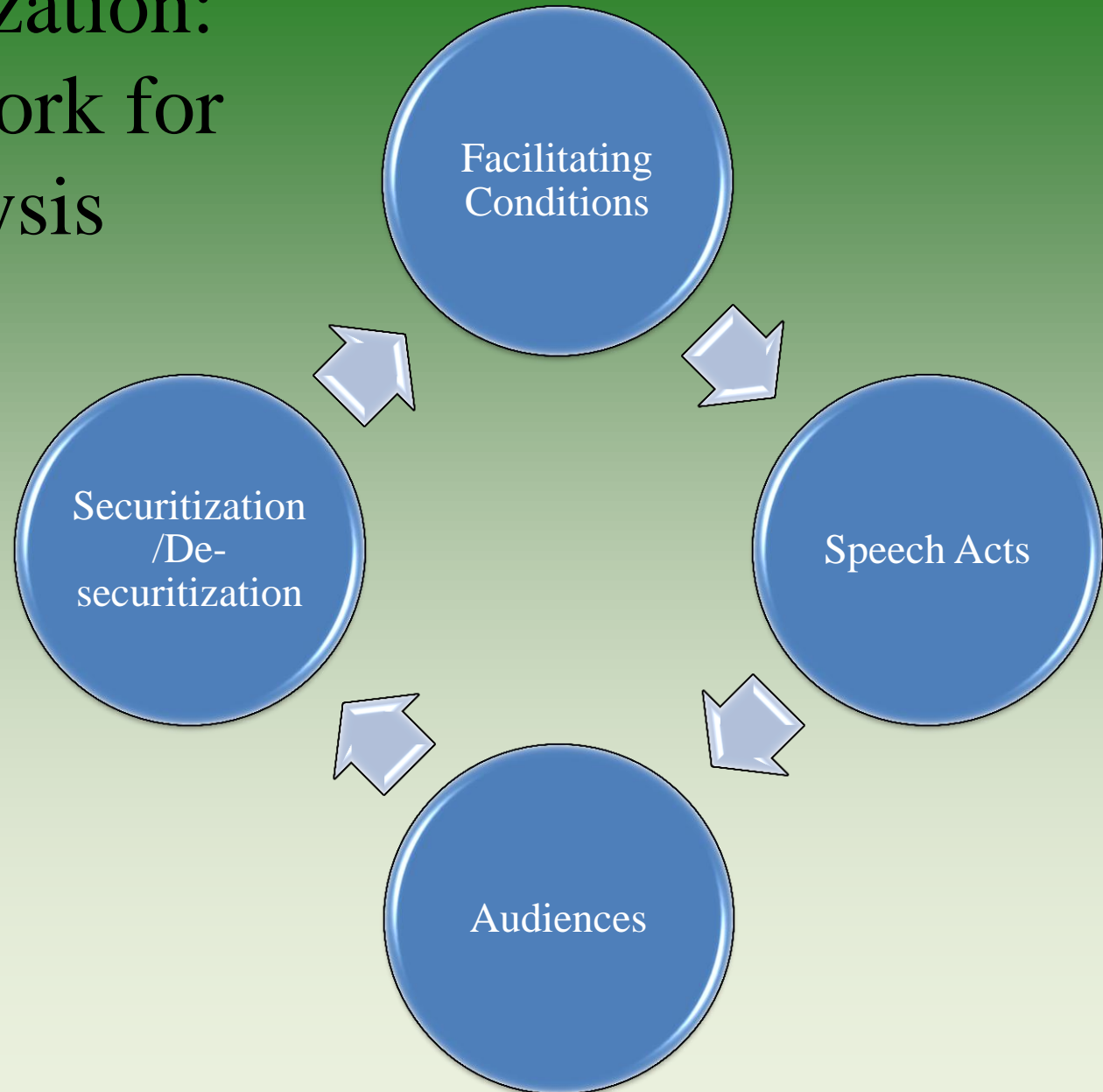
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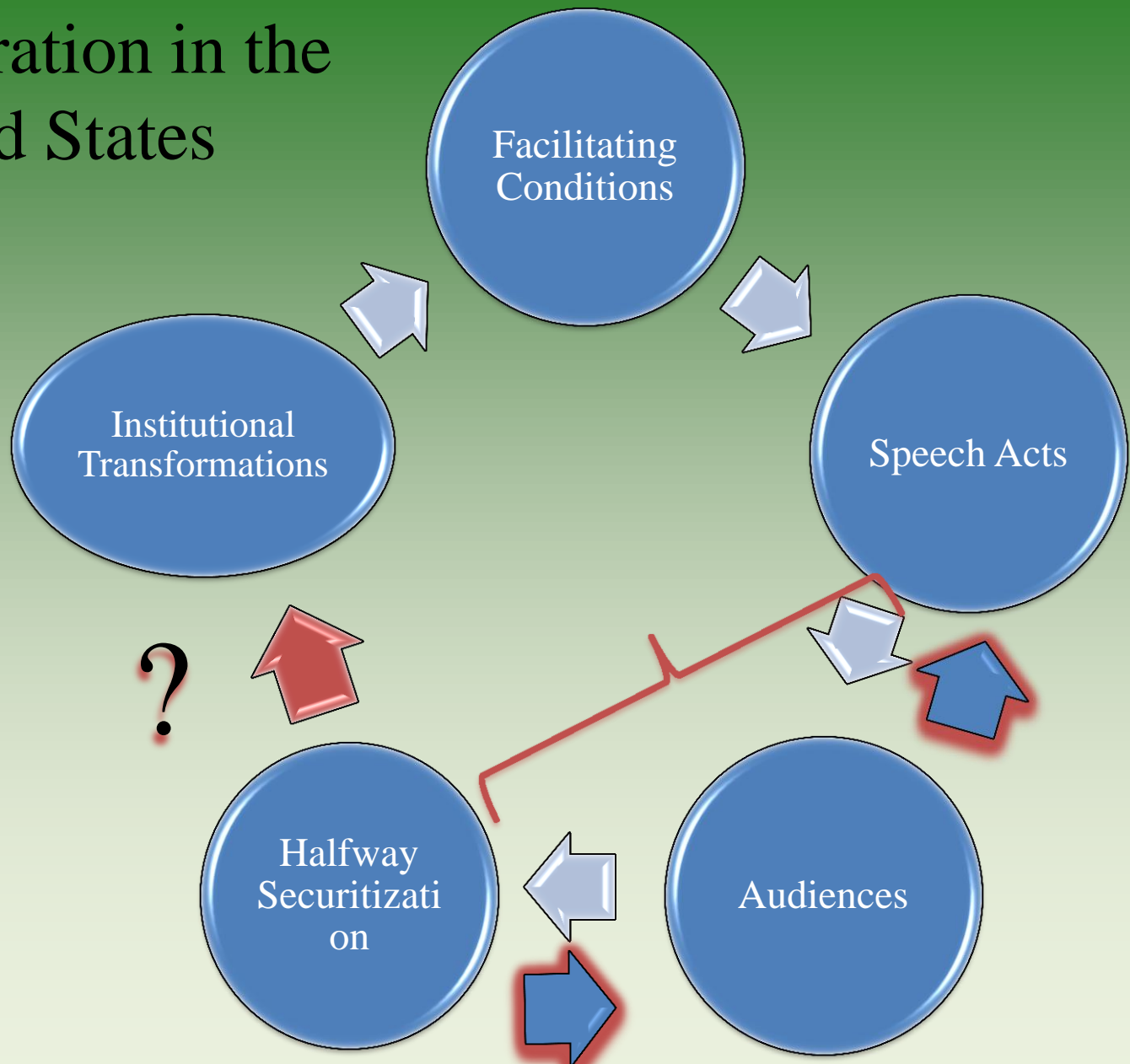
EUI-Network

- 2014 Humanitarian Crisis of 50,000 unaccompanied children arriving in the US
- Externalization of borders (Zaiotti, 2016)
- Obama requested 3.7 billion and received less than one.
- Obama: “Deporter” in Chief
- IRCA in 1986-Piecemeal approach

Securitization: Framework for analysis



Halfway Securitization of Immigration in the United States



Facilitating Conditions

Facilitating Conditions

- Roaring twenties, economic prosperity with a distinctive cultural edge
 - Warren Harding: 1921 Per Centum Act
 - Calvin Coolidge: 1925-national-origin quotas
- The U.S. economy grew by an average of 3.8% from 1946 to 1973
 - The Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965, based on reuniting immigrant families and attracting skilled labor to the United States

Facilitating Conditions 2016-17

- Is this Time Different?

Structural Trends

Low unemployment (less 5%)

Secular stagnation (1.3% annual economic growth).

Growing downward pressures on the West's middle classes (wrought by the snowballing forces of globalization and automation)

Fatigue with two-party system and outsider's perspectives

Junctural /Accidental

Trump's direct and short messages in campaign

Catharsis to a sense of disempowerment after two administrations of an African American president

Unappealing Democrat Party candidate

Hackings of sensitive information

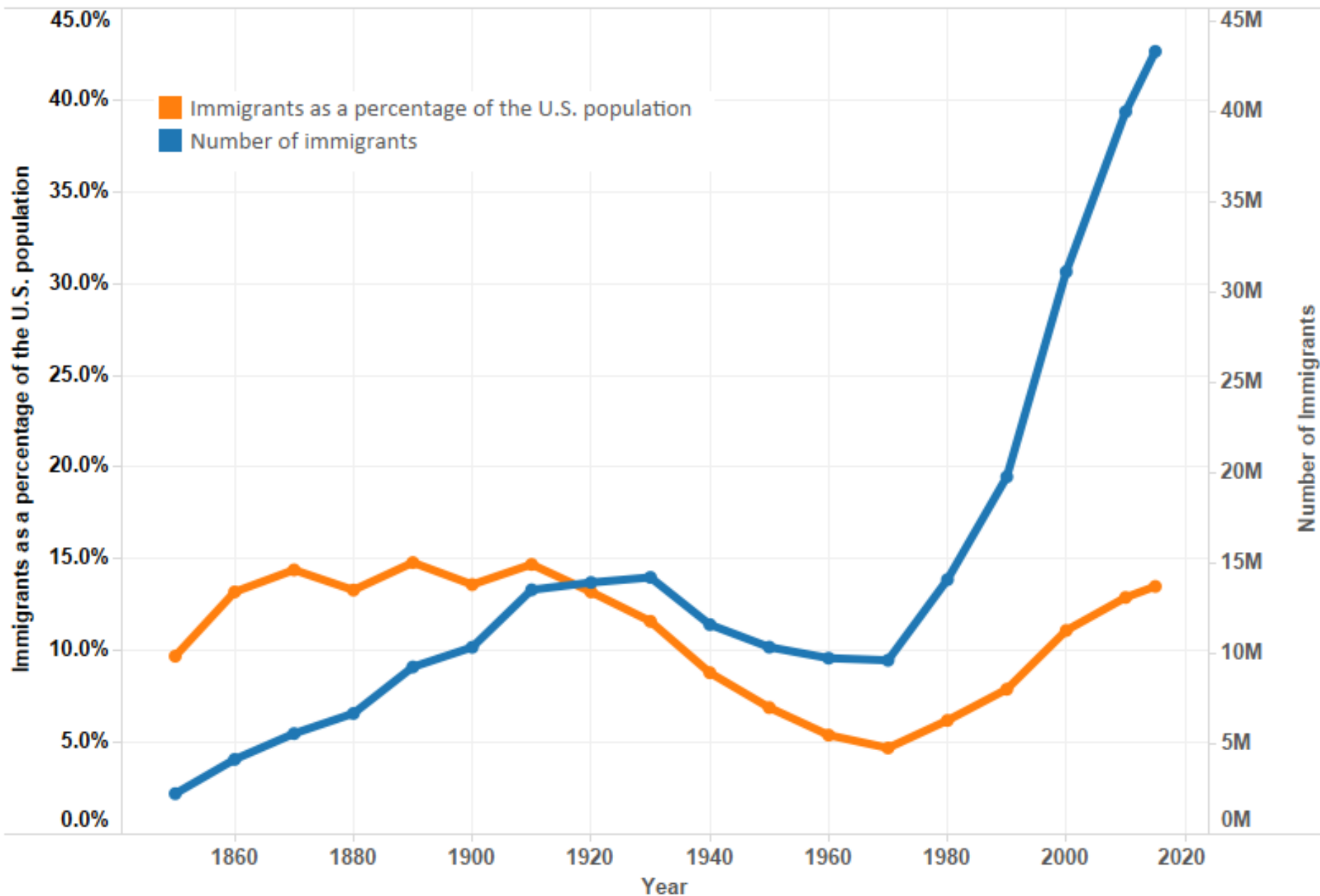
Public investigations in sensitive electoral timing.

The material component of Speech Acts

Immigration as a Threat

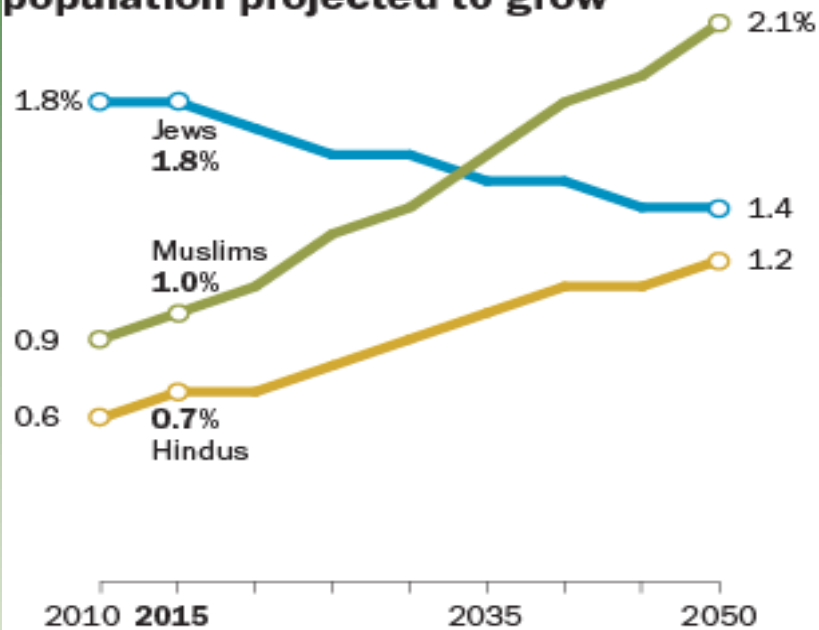
- Rapist (Hispanic/Mexican) and Terrorists (Muslims)
- Ideas were waiting for implementation
 - Buchanan: Cultural argument—North American Kosovo
 - Malkin: National Security argument
- Common method for argumentation: Cases as general trends

Number of Immigrants and Their Share of the Total U.S. Population, 1850-2015



Hispanic/Muslim Community in US

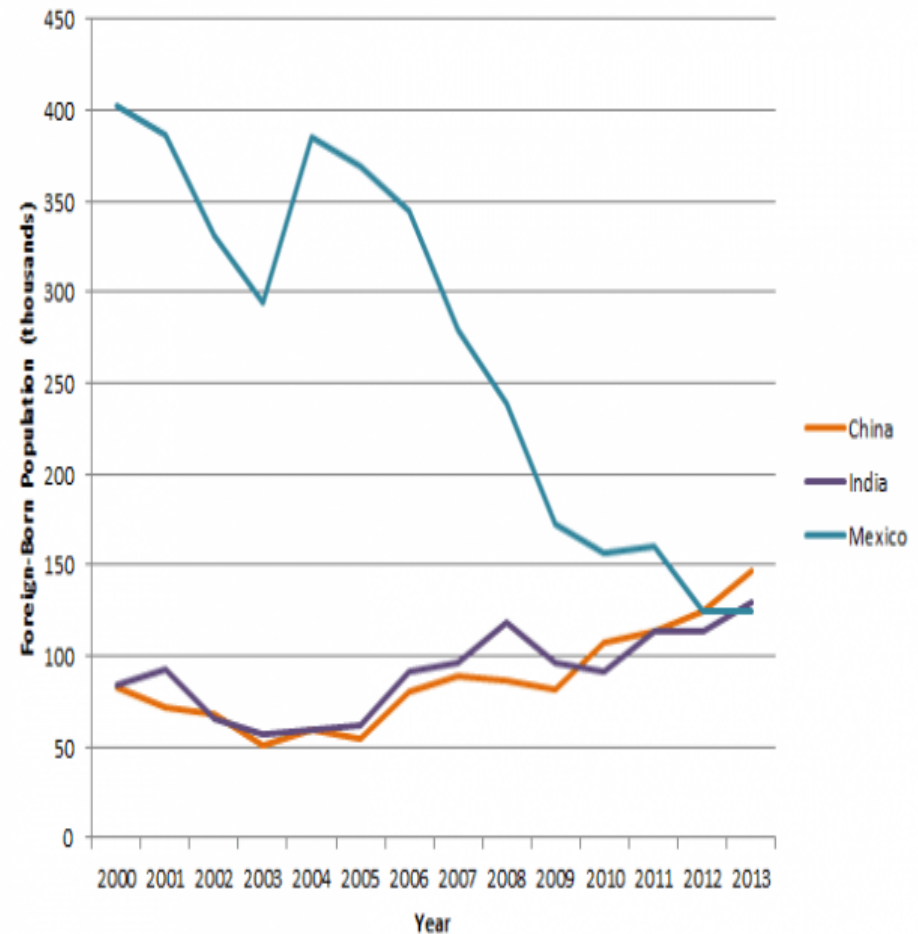
Although small, American Muslim population projected to grow



Note: Projections include both adults and children.

Source: The Future of World Religions:
Population Growth Projections, 2010-2050

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Immigrant Threats 9-11 to 2016

Terrorism is statistically a very minor problem in the USA

- 45 people have been killed in the United States by jihadi terrorists
- 48 have been killed by people animated by anti-abortion, neo-Nazi, anti-government fanaticism.
- Most of lethal terrorist attack in the United States since 9/11 have been conducted by American citizens or legal permanent residents.
- No-fly list: 16 people on 9/11; 47,000 in 2017.
- 3,000 or 5,000 times more likely to be killed a fellow American.
- In 2013 non-Hispanic black males accounted for 37% of the total male prison population, non-Hispanic whites 32%, and Hispanic males 22%.

Fragmented Audience(s)

Fragmented Audience

- ✓ Traditional voices: Malkin-Buchanan-Coulter
- ✓ Systematic pressure groups: FAIR, NUMBERSUSA, and CIS
- ✓ Trump's voters:
 - ✓ College educated white voters by a four-point margin over Hillary Clinton
 - ✓ White working class, twice the number of votes over for Clinton.
 - ✓ Anxiety about cultural change: 68 percent
 - ✓ Immigrants as threat to culture: 62 percent
 - ✓ Deporting immigrants: 27 percent
 - ✓ Investing in education is risky: 54 percent

Fragmented Audience

- Three more million votes for Clinton/Democrats
- Moderate immigration policies (Jeb Bush style); GOP internal division
- Apathy (Trump was not a joke)
 - African American turnout decline between 2012 and 2016
 - Hispanic turnout identical to 2012

Contestation of Policy Making Halfway Securitization

Contestation and Reversing of Policies

Immigration Area	Contestation/Reversing
Muslim Ban	Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals (June 12) rule against the implementation of the EO
Wall	It is already built in high traffic areas and some technology is already implemented. 2006 Secure Fence Act; Solar Wall; drugs interdictions have gradually decreased
Sanctuary Cities	300 jurisdictions Justice Department has sent requests to explain status
VOICE (Victims)	Does not alter immigration policies
DREAM Act/DACA	President Trump extended DACA
Immigration Reform	Unlikely after political cost of repealing Obamacare

Final Thoughts

- Still too early
- The securitization process is halfway and may be reversed
- Unconvincing narratives
- Fragmented audiences
- Contestations and concessions
- Multiple actors: courts, cities, lawmakers, late reactions of affected groups