

THE SECURITIZATION OF LATIN AMERICAN IMMIGRANTS IN
THE USA: A COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY OF OBAMA AND
TRUMP ADMINISTRATIONS

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ABSTRACT

THE SECURITIZATION OF LATIN AMERICAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE USA: A COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY OF OBAMA AND TRUMP ADMINISTRATIONS

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Migration is a concept that increases its importance in international politics every passing day. Along with regular migration, irregular migration and asylum-seeking applications are increasing due to ongoing humanitarian crises in different parts of the world. As a melting pot for immigrants and the world's biggest resettlement country, the USA is at the center of the discussions regarding migration. With Donald Trump's inauguration as the 45th President of the USA, immigration policies which affect immigrants and asylum seekers were implemented. In addition to his policies, Trump uses a discourse that securitizes especially Latin American immigrants and asylum seekers. He presents them as security threat for the American society that need to be stopped. In accordance with the Copenhagen School's securitization theory, his discourse influences the society and

shapes the perception on Latin American immigration. In this thesis, the effect of Trump's policies and discourse concerning immigration on the views of the American society is discussed. To demonstrate the change in the views, Barack Obama's immigration policies and discourse as the previous president of the USA will be examined as a base for comparative case study with Trump Administration.

Keywords: Immigration, securitization, Copenhagen School, the United States of America.

ÖZ

AMERİKA BİRLEŞİK DEVLETLERİNDE LATİN AMERİKALI GÖÇMENLERİN GÜVENLİKLEŞTİRİLMESİ: OBAMA VE TRUMP YÖNETİMLERİNİN KARŞILAŞTIRMALI VAKA ÇALIŞMASI

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Göç, her geçen gün uluslararası politikadaki önemini artıran bir kavramdır. Düzenli göçle birlikte düzensiz göç ve iltica başvuruları, dünyanın farklı yerlerinde devam eden insani krizler nedeniyle artmaktadır. ABD göçmenler ve mülteciler için dünyanın en büyük yerleştirme ülkesi olarak bir eritme potası olmakla beraber, göç konusundaki tartışmaların merkezindedir. Donald Trump'ın ABD'nin 45'inci Başkanı olarak göreve başlamasıyla, göçmenleri ve sığınmacıları etkileyen göçmenlik politikaları uygulandı. Politikalarına ek olarak, Trump, özellikle Latin Amerikalı göçmenleri ve sığınmacıları güvenlikleştiren bir söylem kullanmaktadır. Onları, Amerikan toplumu için durdurulması gereken bir güvenlik tehdidi olarak sunmaktadır. Kopenhag Okulu'nun güvenlikleştirme teorisine göre söylemi toplumu ve Latin Amerika göçü üzerine olan algıyı etkilemektedir. Bu tezde, Trump'ın göç konusundaki politika ve söyleminin Amerikan toplumunun görüşleri

zerindeki etkisi tartıřılmaktadır. Grřlerdeki deęiřimi gstermek iin, ABD'nin nceki bařkanı olan Barack Obama'nın g politikaları ve sylemi Trump Ynetimi ile karřılařtırmalı vaka incelemesi iin bir temel olarak incelenecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: G, gvenlikleřtirme, Kopenhag Okulu, Amerika Birleřik Devletleri.

To My Family

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CAA	Cuban Adjustment Act
CAM	Central American Minors
DACA	Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals
DAPA	Deferred Action for Parents of Americans and Lawful Permanent Residents
DHS	Department of Homeland Security
DREAM	Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors Act
ICE	Immigration and Customs Enforcement
IOM	International Organization for Migration
INA	Immigration and Nationality Act
INS	Immigration and Naturalization Service
IRCA	Immigration Reform and Control Act
NACARA	Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act
TPS	Temporary Protected Status
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
USA	United States of America
USCIS	U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Scope and Objective

Migration is coded into the genes of humanity since we are always looking for better conditions and protect themselves from potential dangers. This process started before the beginning of history and will continue in the future even into a time when humankind leaves the earth to sustain life on another planet. With the establishment of borders and sovereign states, migration started to be subjected to regulations in accordance with state policies. After World War II along with the international political system, the perception of migration changed too. Millions of people in Europe changed places to escape from death and devastations and new concepts such as asylum seeker, refugee and internally displaced person emerged. Correlatively, in this era, migration draw attention as one of the academic areas to focus on and academics started to study in this field. Meanwhile, people continue to migrate since peace did not rule on the world in the second half of the 20th century and especially after the end of Cold War, the world started to witness more asylum seekers and refugees due to collapsing states and power struggles.

The United States of America (USA) is in the spotlight of the discussions on migration because it attracts immigrants and refugees with the image of American Dream and at the same time as the dominant figure of international policies, also the US government has always had a key role in a political crisis in every part of the world. Moreover, the USA is a nation of immigrants which was founded by the people who traveled from Europe to

a new continent. There are more than 44 million immigrants in the USA and every one in seven US residents is an immigrant (Zong, Batalova, & Burrows, 2019). Thus, an immigrant identity is a significant part of being an American. However, this condition started to change especially after the 9/11 attacks. With this terrorist attack, national security became a growing concern for US society and implementations that limit freedom and increase security checks started to be accepted by US citizens. It affected the perception of foreigners and it started to change negatively. Bush Administration's immigration policies were affected by national security understanding and they became more security oriented. First, the southern border was strengthened and fences were built to prevent illegal crossings. Secondly, tougher border and internal enforcement was established and aiding an illegal immigrant became a crime that is punishable for prison (Gutiérrez, 2007). Thirdly, irregular immigrants were chased and workplaces were raided to catch the people (Aguirre, 2009). Lastly, catch and release policy was ended that set people free after apprehended and enable them to attend deportation hearing later. These policies feed the fear of people in regard to national security and the perception of immigrants was deteriorated under Bush Administration. According to surveys, the worry level of people about illegal immigration increased (Jones, 2017) and undocumented immigrants are started to be seen as threats (Gallup, Inc, n.d., "Immigration"). Therefore, immigrants and foreigners began to be seen as potential security threats rather than a part of the American culture.

Although the attackers of 9/11 had a different ethnicity, Latin American immigrants took their share from this deteriorating image of immigrants. The biggest regional group among immigrants are Latin American immigrants and they constitute more than 44% of the total immigrant population (Zong, Batalova, & Burrows, 2019). Due to close historical bounds and economic opportunities, the USA attracted Latin American immigrants and there are more than 19 million Hispanic descended

immigrants in the USA (Zong, Batalova, & Burrows, 2019). Latin American immigrants were influenced negatively by the changing immigration perceptions but this deteriorated image recovered during Barack Obama's presidency for eight years. With the election of Donald Trump in 2016, the trend for considering immigrants as a security threat was strengthened. This change in perception brings us to this thesis' research question; to what extent Latin American immigration to the USA was securitized under Trump Administration in comparison to the Obama era? Trump is an eccentric figure who is not similar to any previous US presidents and both before and during his presidency, he took unusual actions as president. To measure the effect of his administration, a comparative case study will be presented to compare Obama and Trump administrations. These two presidents are chosen since they faced similar conditions and responsibilities.

1.2. Key Concepts and Terminologies

Before the starting the discussion, relevant concepts and terminologies that will be used in the thesis need to be clarified and defined. To be able to identify the difference among them, the definitions of an asylum seeker, refugee and immigrant should be explained. According to International Organization for Migration (IOM) definition;

An asylum seeker is “an individual who is seeking international protection. In countries with individualized procedures, an asylum seeker is someone whose claim has not yet been finally decided on by the country in which he or she has submitted it. Not every asylum seeker will ultimately be recognized as a refugee, but every recognized refugee is initially an asylum seeker (IOM, n.d., “Key Migration Terms”).

In connection with asylum seeker, refugee means;

a person who, owing to a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it” (IOM, n.d., “Key Migration Terms”).

Both definitions are difficult to differentiate from each other but both an asylum seeker and refugee are used to define people who need to escape from their country for their safety. The difference between them is the recognition of well-founded fear of persecution in accordance with 1951 Geneva Convention.

Immigrant means that “from the perspective of the country of arrival, a person who moves into a country other than that of his or her nationality or usual residence, so that the country of destination effectively becomes his or her new country of usual residence” (IOM, n.d., “Key Migration Terms”). An immigrant has different motives than asylum seekers and refugees and generally change a country for better economic opportunities. However, not all immigrants immigrate legally. Borders might be crossed illegally. IOM defines this condition as irregular migration which is the “movement of persons that takes place outside the laws, regulations, or international agreements governing the entry into or exit from the State of origin, transit or destination” (IOM, n.d., “Key Migration Terms”).

1.3. Organization of Thesis

This thesis is divided into five chapters. In the first chapter, the theoretical background will be discussed and Copenhagen School’s approach on security, securitization process and security sectors will be discussed. In the second part of the chapter, how the School’s approach is implemented in the

migration concept will be examined and potential constraints of the Copenhagen School's approach regarding security perception within the society will be presented. In the second chapter, the roots of immigration to the USA will be presented from the 16th century to modern days. Since the USA was built by immigrants, exploring the process of immigration is necessary to understand the current identity of being an American. Moreover, immigration policies of the 20th century are presented to demonstrate the change in approaches and provide a basis to compare with the policies of the 21st Century. Thirdly, the history of Latin American immigration will be illustrated with the reasons that lead to immigration. How different policies of the 20th century affected the immigration trends from the south of the border will also be discussed in this chapter.

In the third chapter, immigration policies and the perception during the Obama administration will be focused. First, Barack Obama's presidential run and his promises during the campaign will be demonstrated and a general overview of his eight years of the presidency will be provided. In the second section of the chapter, Obama's immigration policies will be explained in detail and how they brought a change in the lives of immigrants will be illustrated. In the third section, Obama's speech acts in connection with his immigration policies will be analyzed in different security sectors and his views on immigrants will be illustrated. In the last section, the effect of his discourse on the audience will be sought out thanks to public polls which were regularly conducted.

The fourth chapter will focus on Trump Administration. Similar to the previous chapter, the road that led to Trump's presidency will be touched upon and his promises which appealed to the voters will be illustrated. The second section will concentrate on Trump's immigration policies in the first two years of his presidency which are mostly reversing Obama era policies. The effect of changing policies on immigrants will be touched upon either.

In the third section, Trump's discourse on Latin American immigration will be examined in detail along with his policies and securitization process created by this discourse will be sought out. Lastly, the influence of his speech acts on immigration will be examined through surveys that reflect the views of the US residents. Finally, the thesis will end with a conclusion chapter that wraps up the discussion on the level of securitization of immigration under Trump Administration in comparison with the Obama era.

1.4. Methodology

In this research, Obama and Trump administrations are chosen as case studies. Both presidencies are examined starting from their election campaign promises concerning immigration to immigration policies which were implemented throughout their presidencies. Key immigration policies and the changes that were brought by them to American society and the lives of immigrants are presented as part of the comparative case study. In accordance with the Copenhagen School's securitization theory, both Obama and Trump's speech acts are analyzed. Discourse analysis is a method to present hidden contents of written and verbal discourses. Influential figures affect the society with their words and how they presented them. Thus, speech acts of both presidents in regard to immigration will be analyzed and the effect on the audience will be presented. Obama's discourse examined by going over his speeches regarding the immigration policies of his presidency. During his both terms immigration was not a primary topic to focus on thus, his discourse is limited with his three immigration speeches on his second term.

On the other hand, Trump's discourse is analyzed by scrutinizing his various speeches on immigration implementation and the system. In addition to speeches, Trump is an active Twitter user and he sends several tweets on day to express his views on the issues. Thus, Trump's tweets are

presented to illustrate his perception on immigration. The language he used in the tweets is emphasized in order to show how they appealed to the audience. Moreover, the ranking of immigration related tweets among other tweets and the number of favorites they get and in comparison with other tweets of Donald Trump related to other issues are presented to measure to effect on the audience.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Survival is a basic instinct of humankind, which enabled them to defeat all-natural competitors and disadvantageous conditions for thousands of years. This success was achieved thanks to forming communities and states respectively. With the formation of states, every state had to ensure its survival and compete with other counterparts. Survival of states created security understanding and it caused development of security studies to both interpret states' actions in international relations and forecasting future engagements among states.

Until the Second World War, security understanding was studied under War Studies and Military History. After the war, it evolved to how to protect the state from internal and external threats (Buzan & Hansen, 2009). International politics during the Cold War led to the protection of the state from an external threat or internal threats that are influenced by foreign ideologies. Thus, the referent object was the state and threats which are directed to states were the subjects of the field of study for security studies. With the collapse of the USSR and the end of the Cold War, states lost their positions as only referent objects and other elements of societies started to become the subject of security studies. Since the globalizing world connected people who live thousands of kilometers away, other issues such as environment, transnational companies and minority rights gained importance and studies started to focus on these concepts. New approaches such as Copenhagen School, Human Security, Critical Security Studies and Constructivist Security Studies emerged and brought new definitions and explanations for security studies. Copenhagen School pioneered these

movements with their securitization theory and alternative concepts for security discussions.

The School emerged more than 25 years ago through the writings of Ole Waever and Barry Buzan. It introduced new concepts such as securitization and five security sectors in security studies. Moreover; most importantly, it broadened the definition of security and Copenhagen School's security conception is implemented in different areas such as migration, minority rights, terrorism and development and studied by different scholars (Huysmans, 1998). It changed the traditional security perception that puts the state and its security in the center. Now, other actors can be referent objects and non-military threats. Environmental problems, migration or minority rights can be securitized since they may threaten human security. To understand how these various issues become part of security studies, the securitization concept should be defined.

2.1. Securitization

According to the School, issues can be categorized in a wide range from non-politicized to politicized and securitized. Non-politicized issues do not need public concern, the state does not embrace an active role to deal with the issue. A politicized issue creates a public concern and state uses its sources to satisfy the public need. On a securitized issue, public concern is very high and the issue is seen as an existential threat and needs to be eliminated. The state has to take an active role and use extraordinary measures to fight with the threat. These extraordinary measures can be taken outside of the democratic decision-making process since eliminating the threat has the highest priority (Buzan, Wæver, & De Wilde, 1998).

The securitization process comes into existence through the speech act. When a security actor labels an issue as a threat via its speeches or actions, the issue is started to be raised as public concern and moves from politicized area to the securitized realm. These security actors can be politicians,

governments, media and non-governmental organizations (Buzan et al., 1998). As one of the human beings' primary abilities, language is quite powerful to shape ideas and change the views of the people. Continuous presentation of an issue as dangerous and threatening leads to penetration to the views and values of people and affects them. These speech acts can be straight-forward and directly defining an issue as a security problem. On the other hand, some speech acts present a concept as a threat through choices of words and affecting people's subconscious. For example; irregular migration means that movement that takes place outside the regulatory norms of the sending, transit and receiving country (IOM, n.d., "Key Migration Terms"). This term is used generally for people who escaped from their country due to several reasons such as economic, social or fear of persecution. However, the term used by actors that aim to securitize migration is "illegal immigration". This term questions the legal aspect of the action instead of the humanitarian side and regardless of the reason for arrival, people are labeled as criminal since they act outside of the legal regulations. Constant use of illegal immigration instead of irregular migration affects the perception about immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees and they become criminals in the eyes of people instead of individuals who escaped because of desperation.

Another example of a speech act that influences people's subconscious is the difference between the terms of migrant and refugee. According to the Oxford Dictionary, a migrant is a person who moves from one place to another especially, in order to find work or better living conditions (Oxford Dictionaries, n.d., "migrant"). On the other side, a refugee is someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of the persecution, war or violence. A refugee has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality political opinion or membership in a particular social group (Oxford Dictionaries, n.d., "refugee"). As can be seen from definitions, migrant and refugee are quite different concepts but due to lack

of knowledge or a desire to securitize the issue, these terms being used as interchangeably. Once securitizing actors use “migrant” for the people who had to escape from their country due to fear of death, they represent them as if they come to the country willingly to work and earn money. This changes the perception of the host community and they started to see every refugee as an economic migrant and classify individuals in a group that they do not belong to and see them as a threat to their well-being. Thus, the presentation of people or concepts through speech acts constitutes an important part of Copenhagen School’s securitization theory.

Since the security actors are influential in societies, their continuous labeling may lead to securitization eventually but it should not be taken as granted. For the completion of the securitization process, the securitizing move should be accepted by a target group which is exposed to these moves. The target group is named as the audience by Copenhagen School. Audience acceptance is essential for successful securitization and audience should perceive the securitized issue as a threat to their and society’s security. Only after that, the issue would be securitized. If the audience does not accept to name issue as security threat then, the act only becomes a securitizing move and it is not securitized and only politicized (Buzan et al., 1998).

Many concepts underwent a process of securitization and they are evaluated as security threats. International terrorism is one of these concepts that is securitized successfully. Terrorism is a systematic use of violence to create general fear in the population to achieve a political objective and it has been used for centuries for groups to achieve their aims. Although it was a security threat since the very beginning, the securitization process was completed after the 9/11 attacks. With this violent and massive terrorist action that caused the death of more than 2000 people, terrorism becomes a reality for everyone in the world and especially for the citizens of the USA.

With the help of speech acts of US political leaders, terrorism is securitized and US citizens became willing to accept limitations on their freedom to ensure safety and extreme precautions could be taken such as wars in Afghanistan and Iraq to combat terrorism. Thus, terrorism was securitized successfully. As will be discussed in the following sections, environment and migration are undergoing the securitization process too and they require the attention and collaboration in international politics. They are seen as threatening for people all around the world in different areas such as social, economic or political. Therefore, to combat them, extreme measures are discussed and they constitute an important place in daily and international politics.

2.2. Security Sectors

Another concept that was introduced by Copenhagen School is security sectors. Securitization is implemented in these five sectors: military, environmental, economic, political and societal sectors. In the military sector, the referent object is the state and it is the most traditional and institutionalized security sector. State integrity and existence are essential for this sector and any threat against the state needs to be identified and eliminated (Buzan et al., 1998). These threats can be a foreign army or a terrorist group that wants to annihilate the state and existing order. To eliminate the threat, military means can be implemented and it should be eliminated for the state's wellbeing. This sector reflects classical security understanding that is changed by Copenhagen School.

Secondly, the environmental sector refers to all components of the environment such as endangered species, types of habitats (rain forests, lakes, etc.) and planetary climate and biosphere (Buzan et al., 1998). Threats in this security sector involve human activities, industrial products and policies that may harm the environment. There should be a sustainable relationship between nature and them to prevent all lives. This sector

broadens the horizon of classic security understanding and the scope is expanded from a state's wellbeing to all living creatures on the earth. With heavy industrialization, humankind found a chance to affect nature more than any level in history and through the second half of the 20th century, these deteriorating effects started to become irreversible. Over the past decades, we started to witness destroying effects of climate change like wildfires, droughts and floods. Without environmental security, the security of a state would be meaningless. States started to recognize the severity of environmental deterioration and more than 190 countries signed the Paris Agreement in 2015 to reduce carbon emissions and limit the effects of climate change. Environment security is crucial for the sustainability of all creatures on the earth and the environmental sector is also important for Copenhagen School's understanding since it is the example of changing security studies and demonstrate how a phenomenon rather than a war forced states to collaborate internationally to ensure security. The elimination of environmental threats would not be possible with classic security comprehension.

Thirdly, the political sector is similar to the military sector. The state is referent object and non-military threats which are menacing state authority and governance are the concerns of this sector. Threats should target the state's general function to govern and implement authority to all citizens (Buzan et al., 1998). There is no need for a threat of foreign army to demolish the state and it's all functions physically. Factors that damage functions of state and deteriorate the rule of law and governance are threats for the political sector. For instance; Arab Spring was born in Tunisia, caused chaos and changed the government. It spread to other countries in the region, ignited mass protests and led to the collapse of the existing governments. Some countries like Libya still could not manage to maintain the order and establish a stable government. Therefore, elements other than a foreign invasion might also destroy the political order of the state.

The fourth is the economic sector. The threat of bankruptcy of the state, firms, individuals and economic crisis can be part of this sector. The bankruptcy of firms and individuals may not be seen as threatening for the state however, the scale of some firms and individuals might affect the economy of the state massively (Buzan et al., 1998). The globalization connected every part of the world so tight that the collapse of a firm can cause a massive crisis on the other side of the globe. Therefore, bankruptcy is not a problem solely for the firm itself. For example, during the 2008 Mortgage Crisis, people cannot pay their credit loans to banks and this affected major investment banks like Lehman Brothers. This created a tsunami wave that hit the US economy first and then, the global economy. The effect was so massive that the US government had to bail out some firms to prevent their bankruptcy even though it conflicted with US liberalism and the principles of free market. Because if these firms went to bankruptcy, they would have affected other firms and eventually the state, like dominos that take down each other. Therefore, economic security is connected with the security concept and the existence of the state.

The last one is the societal sector. States are built on common keystones between the people and unify them to act as one collective unit. This keystone might be a religion, a shared value or national identity that led to the foundation of the state. A group does not fit that unifying keystone, becomes a threat against to peace and existence of the society (Buzan et al., 1998). For instance, Basques and Catalans do not feel belonging to Spanish identity and they want separation from Spain. Thus, they constitute a threat to the unity of the state and society. In another example, Turkish immigrants in Germany are seen as outsiders of society and they are not compatible with the rest of the German society. Some rightist political parties consider their existence since they are threatening existing values. Likewise, Turkish immigrants see German and European values as a threat to their own culture and religion and they want to protect their values from any external values

while raising their children (Wæver, Buzan, Kelstrup, & Lemaitre, 1993). This led to ghettoization and living as small communes and, their presence is securitized by influential figures like political leaders. Thus, a minority group or a group which immigrated to the country in the last decades can be a threat to the societal sector and threaten the values that are important for the unity of the state.

2.3. Desecuritization

Copenhagen School defined securitization concept and security sectors but School does not favor the securitization process and removal of concepts from a politic sphere. The issues should be dealt with in the political area. The securitized issue can be exposed to emergency measures which are taken without the democratic decision-making process. Therefore, issues should be taken from the securitized area and become politicized again. This process is called ‘desecuritization’ (Buzan et al., 1998). According to the School, securitizing concepts should not be preferred and problems should be solved within daily implementations of politics. When securitization increases in societies and involves more areas, it might provide leverage to governments to take undemocratic decisions with the excuse of ‘securing their citizens’. It would damage the freedom and the rights of people and eventually lead insecurity among people toward their governments.

Thus, desecuritization is the ideal aim that has to be reached. Securitized issues do not have to stay as they are and once they do not possess any threat, they should be taken out of the securitized area. For instance, communism is an example of desecuritization. After the Second World War, communism was the most dangerous threat for the US way of life and it was heavily securitized. However, once the USSR collapsed and the Cold War ended, the threat of communism diminished and speech acts labeling communism as a danger stopped. In a couple of years, communism was desecuritized successfully and today, no one fears the emergence of

communism (Şemşit, 2010). As this example demonstrates, if people live in a more desecuritized world, they may enjoy more freedom and human rights.

2.4. The Securitization of Migration

As mentioned earlier, migration became a part of securitization discussions, thus, Copenhagen School also focuses on the securitization of migration. Migration belongs to other areas such as economic, societal and political but politicians are choosing to evaluate migration as security problem because stopping migration flows seems easier than to solve problems of immigrants in these areas (Huysmans, 2000). Thus, borders are strengthened to prevent crossings and discourage immigration. Moreover, politicians lead securitization through their speeches which are indicating how immigrant possesses a threat against their current way of life. They refer to them as 'burden' and 'boat people' and associate them with the organized crime (Weinar, 2009).

Migration fits more than one security sector as defined by the Copenhagen School. It is a threat in the societal sector because immigrants are outsiders and they threaten homogenous culture and values of the society they are living in (Huysmans, 2000). Locals fear that they will lose their identity and immigrants' values would replace theirs. Secondly, immigration is seen as a menace in the economic sector. Especially, in countries that have a high unemployment rate, immigrants have difficulty in finding jobs and when they find, they are accused of stealing the jobs of locals (Faist, 2002). Due to securitization efforts, they are seen as scapegoats of any failure in the economy. Furthermore, in welfare states, governments have to allocate sources to support its citizens and immigrants are benefiting from these sources naturally. However, they are seen as free-riders of the system and benefitting from it without any contribution (Huysmans, 2000).

Lastly, migration can be seen as a threat in the military sector too. Immigrants do not have an army but they may still possess a threat to the authority of the state. With the current flow of immigrants, people who are targeting to state may not be detected as aimed and they might get involved in terrorist attacks in the countries they are residing in. Even immigrants' children who have born and grown up in host countries, might be affected by radical views and participate in terrorist groups. Terrorist assaults in Germany and France in 2015 were conducted by people who came to Europe as a child or were born there. Thus, immigrants can be a threat to states and they might be securitized in military sectors.

Malaysia and Australia are two examples of how immigration is securitized. Malaysia's economy has a significant immigrant workforce which constitutes 20% of 2 million total workforce of Malaysia (McGahan, 2009). They are mostly undocumented due to strict immigration policies of Malaysia and they are seen as the scapegoats of increasing crime rates, diseases and unemployment of Malaysian citizens (McGahan, 2009). This is a process that continues since the 1990s and in 2002, the Malaysian government started a campaign called "Hire Indonesians Last" to prevent Indonesian immigrants' recruitment. In addition to economic concern, this campaign aimed to protect Malaysian culture and language from the influence of Indonesian immigrants (McGahan, 2009). Moreover, the government announced that immigrants' children will not be admitted to public schools (McGahan, 2009).

In Australia, Asian asylum seekers who come to Australia via boats are seen as a threat to Australia economy and society. They are referred to as "boat people" by the politicians that are presenting them as threats. In 2001, due to the flow of asylum seekers, then Australian government argued that they are possessing a threat to Australia's sovereignty and territorial integrity since only Australia can decide who will come to the country and under which

circumstances they come. In this regard, emergency measures were taken which includes naval blockade and deploying troops to prevent the arrival of asylum seekers, the development of offshore facilities to process asylum application and limiting media and public access to asylum seekers (McDonald, 2011). Despite some enhancements were implemented, the securitization process was accelerated in the 2010 election campaign. Liberal Party leader Tony Abbott argued that asylum seekers are constituting a threat in military and identity term since terrorists might hide among asylum seekers groups and their values are threatening Australian way of life (McDonald, 2011). Moreover, both Abbott and Julia Gillard, the leader of the Labor Party, called for an open and frank discussion about asylum seekers in Australia to encourage Australian people to express their views. However, a discussion without the limit of political correctness would turn into an expression of reactionary and racist fears that would increase securitization of asylum seekers in Australia (McDonald, 2011).

As a result, asylum seekers and immigrants are easy targets to blame for everything that goes bad in the country and the current political environment leads securitization of migration as can be demonstrated by the Copenhagen School. Malaysia and Australia are examples of this process and in the following chapters, the US example of securitization of immigration will be examined in detail.

2.5. Criticisms Against Copenhagen School

Although the new definition of security and securitization theory that was introduced by the Copenhagen School starts a new discussion in security studies, it is not a final chapter for the book. Some scholars recognize the new approach of the Copenhagen School and securitization theory but they suggest that the School's understanding is deficient to explain the securitization process and criticize the School and their key elements of the process. The biggest criticism is the limitation of speech act to securitize an

issue. Scholars such as Bigo and Balzacq suggest that sole verbal act cannot have the capacity to securitize an issue and create acceptance to the audience. Speech act has power but it should be supported by other elements such as treaties, images, policies, laws, etc. (Bigo, 2002). A combination of these instruments might be successful through securitization and the issue can be accepted as a threat by the audience. For instance; as the technologies that are used in entry points of a state develops, the level of security increases and if these technologies are used for a specific group of people, these groups are securitized. Thus, just defining a group as a threat is not sufficient to complete the securitization process. Other instruments such as technology support and verbal indication strengthen the securitization process.

Secondly, Copenhagen School suggests that an audience should accept securitizing moves for successful securitization. Without an acceptance, securitization would be limited as securitizing move only. However, scholars who defend the sociological approach criticize the School since the definition of an audience and its role on the securitization process is too vague and ambiguous. There is no fix and determined definition of an audience and it is difficult to identify it in every context. For instance; while examining a securitization process in the EU, it is problematic to find out the audience on the EU level since it is a large and diverse organization (Yavuz, 2017). Measuring the effect of speech acts on the audience is difficult because the attachment of each country to EU is different and securitizing actors' speech acts do not penetrate all societies of the Union at the same level. Thus, it is not possible to identify an audience and measure the securitization level in a study that covers the entire EU. Furthermore, since the concept of audience is too vague, an element may fit the definition of both audience and actor on the securitization process. Media can be an example of such a situation. As a powerful source of knowledge, the media can be a securitizing actor through publishing news and stories that show an

issue as a security threat. On the other hand, media can be an audience too. Political leaders and elites can target media as their target audience and influence and convince media to determine and represent an issue as a threat (Lindqvist, 2017). Since concepts can replace each other during the process, it is not reliable enough to measure the level of securitization.

Thirdly, it is also difficult to gauge the acceptance level of the audience. There can be multiple audiences which is exposed to securitizing move or different groups in the same audience might be affected distinctively. For instance, in an environment that actors securitize tax-evading, the audience would be all taxpayers. However, the effect of speech acts regarding the tax rate on wealthy citizens who need to pay more taxes and people who earn minimum wage and pay minimum tax would be different. This securitizing move would have a different level of acceptance on the different groups of people that belong to the same audience. Hence, measuring the acceptance of the audience is another problematic part of the Copenhagen School which attracts criticisms from other scholars.

The last criticism towards the Copenhagen School is the ignorance of the power of social interaction between people. The School suggests that the audience is exposed to securitizing moves and due to their effect, they start to see an issue as a security threat. Nevertheless, they do not refer to social interaction and how it affects the views of people on an issue. Since human beings are social creatures and maintain a social life as communities, their views are affecting each other and might strengthen or deteriorate the securitizing moves. For example, Turkey hosts more than 3.5 million Syrian refugees and to maintain order and prevent any unrest in society, the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior tries to desecuritize migration in Turkey. According to the statistics, the ratio of Syrian refugees' involvement in crime is lower than Turkish citizens (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti İç İşleri Bakanlığı, 2017,) and through publishing such statistics, the

government aims to reduce tension between Syrian and Turkish people. Despite the efforts of the government, Turkish citizens have negative views about Syrian refugees which is derived from daily interactions and this even turns into campaigns in social media to send Syrian people back to Syria (Deutsche Welle, 2019). Thus, even though an actor tries to securitize or desecuritize an issue to the audience, social interaction between the people who consist of the audience might be more influential than the moves.

Criticisms towards the Copenhagen School have valid points and although this thesis adopts the School's approach, it recognizes possible limitations. The securitization process might be affected and completed by other instruments such as treaties, technological changes and policies as suggested by scholars who defend the sociological approach. However, to detect such various factors, first, there should be a perception of threat to cause interaction between people and the implementation of other elements that might lead to the completion of securitization. At this point, the power of language steps in as it was at the beginning of the history in differentiating human beings from animals and verbal interaction develops the image of threat in the brains of the audience. Without an identification of a threat, other policies and implementations of securitization would be unnecessary and injudicious. Speech acts of actors influence the audience and convince them that they are threatened and this opens a way for the introduction of various tools to securitize an issue.

Thus, this thesis will focus on the speech acts of Barack Obama and Donald J. Trump and how their discourse influenced the people's perception of immigration during their services as president. In the following chapter, history of immigration and its Latin American roots in the USA will be explained to demonstrate how immigrants contributed to the USA and provide a basis to evaluate Obama and Trump's actions regarding immigration.

CHAPTER 3

THE HISTORY OF IMMIGRATION IN THE USA

America is a relatively young continent compared to Europe and Asia and its civilization is younger than other parts of the world. Therefore, its evaluation was recorded by the people who are living in the same era and we have the opportunity to track the foundation of modern settlements in the North America. To be able to evaluate the effect of Barack Obama and Donald Trump on immigration perception in the USA, the historical development of migration to the USA should be examined in detail to provide a perspective which enables to compare and contrast. Thus in this chapter, immigration in the colonial era, 20th century immigration policies and Latin American immigration to the USA will be discussed.

3.1. Colonial Era to 20th Century

In 1607, the first British colony was founded in Jamestown. By 1650, England established other colonies and a strong presence on the Atlantic coast of the North America. First settlers crossed the ocean to find religious freedom that they could not find in the old continent. Colonies managed to survive through cooperation with each other and native Americans (America's Library, n.d., "Colonial America (1492-1763)").

In some places that they could not cooperate, cultures clashed and new settlers managed to secure their positions in the North America. Also, diseases brought by immigrants affected native Americans whose immune system weak against smallpox, measles and the plague and it helped to the domination of Europeans in the continent (The Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation, n.d., "Immigration Timeline").

Between 1600 and 1799, one million immigrants came to the North America and established a new life. Most of the immigrants were Europeans but one-third of these immigrants were African slaves who were forcibly taken from their homes to work in agriculture. Half of the European immigrants were indentured servants whose condition were not quite different from slaves. An indentured servant was a term used for the people who did not have enough money to cover travel across the Atlantic Ocean. They were signing a contract and in exchange for travel expenses, they accepted to serve for a fixed term. Their conditions were slightly better than African slaves but they were not as free as other white Europeans who managed to cover their expenses by themselves. Furthermore, convicts were sent to these colonies too. To secure the empire's position in the new continent and increase the population, the British Empire sent convicts to the North America as a way of punishment or presented it as an option instead of a prison sentence. By 1770, thirteen colonies were established and their population reached two million people. In addition to immigration from Europe, the population growth rate was high in the young continent. New settlers were prolific since wide and fertile lands required crowded families to be engaged in agriculture. Bachelors and unwed women could not manage to do agriculture effectively therefore, colonists started to marry at a young age to have large families for a kind of support mechanism.

Traveling across the ocean was a new start for all colonies and it provided an environment that required people to begin from the zero. This motivated people to be more individualistic and being freed from European feudal inheritance gave colonists confidence to build their future. Hence, they started to create a new culture and identify themselves as "American". This term was also used by the inhabitants of the old continent to identify friends from the other side of the ocean. In addition to cultural separation, the British Empire's increase of taxes caused discomfort among the colonies and led to the independence war. After eight years of struggle, thirteen

colonies won their independence from the British Empire and the United States of America was founded in 1783. Six years later from the establishment, the first law regulates the American citizenship requirement was enacted. The Naturalization Act of 1790 states that any free white person who resided in US soils for two years had a chance to become a US citizen. This act excluded indentured servants, Native Americans, African Americans and slaves to become a citizen. Naturalization Act was updated in 1795, 1798 and 1802. In the first years of the young state, the immigration rate was decreased and the trend was slowed. However, with industrialization and population growth in Europe, people started to evaluate immigration to the USA as an option again. Also, the Irish Famine forced people to leave Ireland and Irish immigrants sought their future in the USA. Meantime, the USA was expanding to the west and there was a labor shortage for railways constructions. Thus, immigrants were needed and Asians immigrants joined their European counterparts to fill this vacancy. As a result, the immigration trend to the USA was accelerated as of the second half of the 19th century.

The increased flow of immigrants obliged the US officials to regulate immigration procedures in a more comprehensive system. Also, the USA's open border policy started to change in this era and restrictions were brought to limit immigrants' enter to the USA. The first law regarding limitations on immigration is the Page Act of 1875. It brought a ban on Chinese women to enter the USA. For Gold Rush in the west of the state and continental railroad constructions, many Chinese men came to the USA for work. Since they were working for low wages, they could not afford to accumulate enough money to bring their wives to the USA. Thus, this created a prostitution industry in areas that Chinese immigrants were residing. Page Act aimed to prevent this industry's development through forbidding Chinese women to enter the country. There is also racist reasoning behind this act; to protect white men's morals from Chinese

prostitutes and sexually transmitted diseases (Peffer, 1986). Racist implementations against Chinese people were not limited to the Page Act. In 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act was enacted to forbid all Chinese immigrants to enter the USA. It is the first law which targeted a specific ethnic or nationality group to prevent their immigration. Chinese immigrants were subjected to criticisms since they were working for low wages and it affected the market for labor salaries. Thus, it constituted a base to ban all immigration from China. However, the Chinese population was only 0.002 % of the USA's population at that time so that, it did not have enough capacity to influence the market effectively (Our Documents, n.d., "Chinese Exclusion Act (1882)").

In addition to the Chinese Exclusion Act, the Immigration Act was enacted in 1882. This act imposed a tax on every person who entered the USA as an immigrant. Collecting taxes required a bureaucratic system thus, this act was the first step for the creation of the US immigration bureaucracy. Also, the second component of the act obliged to the deportation of criminals, insane individuals and the people who were unable to take care of themselves. This also required a system to evaluate people's condition whether they fit or not in these categories therefore, it contributed to the creation of immigration bureaucracy. Immigration Act of 1891 modified the Act of 1882 and presented more comprehensive and systematic regulations. First, ship captains should have kept the record of their passengers with biographical information and submitted it to the inspectors at the port. Information was required for the evaluation of immigrants regarding criteria. Along with the lists, inspectors had the authority to conduct medical examination for immigrants who might have dangerous diseases that could lead to deportation. Ellis Island was the symbol of the inspection of newly arrived immigrants. As one of the busiest centers of immigration inspections, it was opened one year later the 1891 Act and hosted millions of immigrants during its service.

Secondly, the Office of Superintendent of Immigration was established. The office was responsible for all inspectors on duty at the entry points, seaports and land borders. Thirdly, the authority of deportation was given by the act and conditions for deportation were regulated. Another milestone to form a bureaucracy was with the 1891 Act. In 300 years, a new state created by immigrants who escaped from religious oppression and economic challenges. This state welcomed new immigrants with open border policy. With time and changing trends, the USA altered its immigration policy through enacting laws and a functioning bureaucracy at the end of the 19th century.

3.2. 20th Century Immigration Policies

Development in steam engines as a result of industrialization shortened the way to the USA and it influenced the number of immigrants who immigrated to the new continent positively. In early stages of migration, the travel that took months, caused sickness and deaths in ships but shortened travel time encouraged immigrants to cross the ocean. Thus, immigrants poured into the USA from all regions of the world. Especially, Mexicans who were escaping from the revolution, Jews who were fleeing pogroms and Southern and Eastern Europeans that were looking for better opportunities came to the USA. Between 1880 and 1930, 27 million people came to the USA (The Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation, n.d., "Immigration Timeline"). This flow required US governments to take measures and regulate immigration procedures in more detail. In 1903, the new Immigration Act was enacted. With this act, the new four classes were added as inadmissible. Anarchists, people who had epilepsy, beggars and importers of prostitutes were not accepted to the USA as immigrants. Also, taxes imposed on immigrants were increased. As another aspect of immigration, naturalization procedures were regulated in 1906. With the Naturalization Act of 1906, the language requirement was brought for the immigrants who want to become citizens. Immigrants were subjected to

learn English to be naturalized. In 1907 with the Immigration Act, inadmissible classes for entry were expanded widely. In section two of the act, mentally or physically disabled persons, people with mental illnesses, tuberculosis and contagious diseases were stated specifically and indicated that they were not admitted as immigrants. Restriction and inadmissible classes were expanded in ten years later and the 1917 Immigration Act added new classes as inadmissible immigrants. In addition to previous acts, alcoholics, criminals, political radicals, contract laborers and polygamists were added as unacceptable classes for immigration. More importantly, literacy condition was brought for all immigrants. All immigrants needed to have the ability to read their language at least for 30-40 words. Also, immigration from the Asia-Pacific zone was forbidden that's why this act was also known as the Asiatic Barred Zone Act. However, Japan and the Philippines were not included in this act.

Seven years later, the US Administration introduced The Immigration Act of 1924. With this act, immigrants were started to be accepted in accordance with the national quota system. The state provided visas according to people's nationality and each nationality was represented in the USA, could have a quota of two percent of their total population in the USA and the total limit for immigration was designated as 150.000. This system aimed to reduce the number of unskilled immigrants and protect the existing ethnic distribution of regions. Thus, the quota system favored immigrants from Northern and Western European countries and limited immigration from other parts of Europe and Asia since the Asia region was excluded from the system. Due to these, the 1924 Immigration Act was considered as racist and exclusionary. 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) brought modification and new regulations to the previous immigration act. It kept the national quota system but it was eased and a quota for 2.000 Asian immigrants was designated. It indicated the naturalization process with criteria; being older than eighteen years old, admitted to reside in the USA

permanently and already resided for five years, had a good character and attached the principals of the US Constitution. Also, a new preference system for immigrants based on their skills, professions and education was introduced and the government's authority was increased to deport people who had relations with the Communist Party.

The radical change was brought to immigration with INA Amendments in 1965 and it altered the immigration process completely. The national quota system was abandoned and the seven-category preference system was enacted. It eliminated immigration based on race and ancestry and the main focus changed to professionals and skilled immigrants. Also with this change, skilled immigration and family reunification was emphasized. Family reunification constituted a significant part of total immigration in the following years. In 1986, the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) was enacted and focused on irregular immigration. The Act provided amnesty for 2.7 million irregular immigrants who came to the USA before January 1st, 1982. Also, hiring undocumented immigrants was made illegal for employers and financial and legal penalties were regulated. Moreover, border enforcement was strengthened and wet foot/dry foot policy was introduced. According to this policy, the Cubans who were apprehended in the sea would be returned to Cuba or a third country if there was fear of persecution. If they managed to reach the US shores, they had a chance to have a legal residence permit in accordance with Cuban Adjustment Act (CAA). It was aimed to solve the status problem of undocumented immigrants but as it will be discussed in the following chapter, it is still an ongoing issue in our days.

The last major change in the immigration system was made in 1990. The Immigration Act of 1990 brought a fairer and inclusive approach to immigration consideration. Total immigration ceiling was increased to 700.000 and job-based visas were expanded into five categories and

140.000 visas were allocated for this category. Furthermore, the definition of family was widened and the number of visas for family reunification was augmented to 480.000. As a new implementation, diversity immigrant visas were introduced. Around 50.000 visas were allocated for the random selection of immigrants who applied for this visa. The selection process was based on a lottery and the program aimed to increase diversity in the US society and prevent exclusion of some countries as it was implemented to Asian countries in the past.

With the beginning of the 20th century, the USA started to establish an immigration bureaucracy and a system to deal with the flow of immigrants. In the first half, there were nationalist policies to protect the state from specific classes of people and countries due to the effect of two world wars. However, with the implementations of INA in 1952 and its amendments in 1965, the USA adopted a more inclusive and diversified approach. Through this approach, the USA remembered its roots and founding fathers' characteristics as immigrants who came to the continent for new opportunities.

Similar to immigrants, the USA also attracted refugees. With the Cuban Revolution, Cubans who were against to Castro Regime fled to the USA and sought asylum. As will be discussed in detail in the following section, Cubans' flow to the USA caused the enactment of the Cuban Adjustment Act (CAA) in 1966. The Act provided permanent residency for Cubans who entered the USA after January 1st, 1959 and resided in the USA for one year. This was also part of ideological war and propaganda against communism. Along with Cubans, people from Iran, Afghanistan, El Salvador, Honduras and other Central America countries escaped from wars or natural disasters to save their lives. In 1980, the Refugee Act was enacted. The act regulated procedures for refugee application and designated a quota for refugee admissions for each fiscal year. Since the 1980s, more

than two million people sought asylum in the USA. On the last decade, due to war in Syria and Iraq and chaos environment in the Central America, people were continuing to seek asylum in the USA. In addition to people who approached to the US border and seek asylum, the USA is the most important resettlement country which accepts refugees from all around the world who do not have a chance to maintain their lives in asylum countries. Thus, the USA is giving hope to millions of refugees to build a new and better future.

3.3. Latin American Immigration to the USA

Spanish Crown started to colonize the new continent a century before the British Empire. Most colonies in Central and South America were built before Jamestown. Similar to colonies in the north, colonizers combatted with locals and diseases which traveled with them ended many civilizations. Adventurer and wealthy Spaniards enslaved local people and brought African slaves to work in fertile plantations and colonies were built upon this relation. As of the 1850s, Spanish colonies began to gain their independence from the Spanish Crown. New states were weak and became the target of expansionist and aggressive US policies. US-Mexican War from 1846 to 1848 ended by Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and with the Gadsden Purchase, the USA acquired half of Mexico's lands. This changed the borders but economic and social relations among the people did not change. People's relatives, friends or occupations just remained on the other side of the border. Thus, it laid the foundations of Latin American immigration to the USA. Mexican immigrants started to cross the border to be with their relatives or for job opportunities (Tienda & Sanchez, 2013). Also, the USA had a strong presence in Latin America economically. During the late 19th century, American investors dominated to the Mexican economy and they controlled 80% of the stock on Mexico's railroads, took control of Mexico's booming mining industry, had nearly half of its developing oil industry; and held over one-quarter of Mexico's land surface.

Moreover, they dominated the industries of banana and railroads. These economic relations, especially with Mexico, caused an integrated labor market in agriculture, railroad projects and mines (Ochoa & Ochoa, 2007). This was another driving force to Latin American immigration to the USA. Moreover, the INA of 1952 and its amendments in 1965, affected immigration positively since they replaced national quotas that prevented immigration from Latin America. 1965 Amendments emphasized family reunification and spouses, children and parents of the US citizens were exempted from country caps. Family reunification provided an important base for the increase of Latin American immigrants in the USA.

The Immigration Act of 1924 brought national quotas for immigration. However, Latin American countries were excluded from quotas. Thus, it caused the nonregistration of immigrants. Since they had no way to enter legally, immigrants chose illegal ways to enter and reside in the country. Furthermore, the USA initiated the Bracero Program with Mexico to meet the above mentioned labor needs. The program initially took place between 1917 and 1922 and it was ended when the labor necessity was over. During the World War II, once the USA needed cheap labor again, the program was started again in 1942 and lasted until 1964. In the scope of the program, Mexican workers were provided with basic living conditions and low wages to work especially in agriculture. Three million Mexican workers entered the USA under this program (Topal, 2016). Bracero Program was another source to increase undocumented immigrants since workers stayed in the USA instead of returning to Mexico once their contract or the program ended. IRCA provided amnesty for 2.7 million undocumented immigrants in 1986 and 85% of the beneficiaries of the amnesty were Latin American and 70% of them were Mexican. It was an important step to solve a general problem of undocumented immigrants but since it was a temporary measure, it continued to grow and still a significant issue for the immigration system of the USA (Tienda & Sanchez, 2013).

In addition to Mexican immigrants, the USA attracted refugees from the southern part of the continent. Due to civil wars and natural disasters, Cubans and Central Americans sought asylum on the US soil. After the Cuban Revolution, many Cubans left the country and entered to the USA. The first group of asylum seekers was called Golden Exile since it contained professionals, entrepreneurs and landowners. Since they did not fit into the refugee definition of UN terminology and it was a great opportunity for the USA for propaganda against communism, CAA was created in 1966. It provided permanent residency, a range of services to facilitate their participation in the labor market and a college loan program for Cuban asylum seekers and they were put in fast track to citizenship. By 1974, 650.000 Cubans entered the USA. The second major flow of Cubans happened in April 1980. Cuban government opened the port of Mariel for everyone who wanted to leave Cuba including lunatics and prisoners. 125.000 Cubans reached US shores in a few months. Despite they did not fit into the refugee definition in the 1980 Refugee Act, the US Congress provided refugee status for them by a congressional decree. The third major wave occurred in the mid-1990s. Cuban government lifted the ban for departures and 33.000 Cubans left the country. The USA did not welcome asylum seekers this time due to previous experience and they were sent to the Guantanamo camp initially. However, they were also given legal permanent residency eventually. Although it did not take place in media as the port of Mariel incident, 320.000 Cubans were granted legal permanent residence since 2001 under wet foot/dry foot policy. Under this policy, asylum seekers who were detained on the sea could have been returned to Cuba but they had an opportunity to seek asylum in the USA and most of them used it (Tienda & Sanchez, 2013).

Along with Cubans, Central Americans entered to the USA to seek asylum. During the Cold War, the USA waged a war against communism and as part of this policy, the US government supported dictators and coups in this

region. Constant coups caused political instability in these countries and led to civil unrest. In Guatemala, the civil conflict escalated in 1978 and this led to a mass exodus in the 1980s and 1990s. By 2010, Guatemalans became the fourth largest Latin American born group in the USA (Tienda & Sanchez, 2013). El Salvador is another Central America country experienced a similar fate to Guatemala. Due to civil conflict, El Salvadorians fled from their countries and since the 1980s, more than 700.000 of them received legal permanent resident status (Tienda & Sanchez, 2013). By contrast with Guatemalans and El Salvadorians, Hondurans could not seek asylum. They came to the USA due to severe poverty and high unemployment in the 1980s and 1990s. Also, Hurricane Mitch in 1998 left hundreds of thousands of people homeless. The total number of Hondurans who were under temporary protected status or undocumented is 330.000 as of 2010.

Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act (NACARA) was enacted in 1997 and provided legal permanent residence for asylees from Nicaragua, Cuba, El Salvador and Guatemala and former Soviet bloc countries. 70.000 asylees were benefitted from NACARA (Tienda & Sanchez, 2013). For those who were not asylum seekers, temporary protected status (TPS) was provided as a legal status. However, it is subject to the extension of Congress and TPS holders are expected to return their countries once the conditions that led them to leave their homelands, enhanced. Thus, it is not a permanent status. Today, roughly 318.000 people benefitted from TPS (Cohn, Passel & Bialik, 2019, "Many immigrants with Temporary Protected Status face uncertain future in U.S."). Because of the flow from these Central America and other South America countries, diversity among Latin American immigrants in the USA was increased. Regional diversification among the Latin American born population demonstrates a 12-fold increase since 1970. Mexican dominance continues but the share of Central American immigrants increased from 6% in the 1960s to 15-16% in the 1990s. (Tienda & Sanchez, 2013). Thus, Latin

American immigrants are a diverse group that requires attention for their different needs and conditions. This diverse and young group can be a solution for America's aging white population and can take their place in the workforce to carry the US economy further (Tienda & Sanchez, 2013).

3.4. Conclusion

The USA was founded by people who escaped from Europe due to religious oppression and the feudal structure of the continent. They started from scratch and they had to build their life with their own hands. Their adventurer and venturous characteristics made them successful and young continent continued to attract people from all parts of the world. The trend of flowing people to the USA did not change but with the 19th century, the attitude towards immigrants has changed and US governments started to limit immigration to the state. This approach led to even racist implementations but as of the second half of the 20th century, the USA embraced a more positive and inclusive approach through boosting family reunification and increasing diversity.

Latin American immigration has a significant position in the immigration history of the USA. Changing borders in the 19th century created social and economic bonds that still last. Latin American immigrants constitute almost half of the legal immigrants and most of the undocumented immigrants. Thus, they are a crucial part of the US immigration policies. Any policy or change regarding them also influences the system and perception of immigration. The effect of Obama and Trump administrations' policies on immigration and Latin American immigrants will be discussed in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 4

IMMIGRATION POLICIES AND PERCEPTION DURING OBAMA ADMINISTRATION

The presidency of the USA might be the most powerful political position in the world. As the real winner of the World War II, the USA shaped international politics and organizations in favor of American policies and this made the president quite influential as the head of the executive branch of the USA. Thus, the election of Barack Obama in 2008, influenced the rest of the world as well as American society. His promise for the change and peace inspired people after the Bush Administration's war against terrorism. In the following sections, Obama's presidential run, his immigration policies, speech acts regarding immigration and audience acceptance for his policies will be discussed.

4.1. Run for Presidency and Promises

Barack Hussein Obama was born on August 4th, 1961 in Hawaii to a father from Kenya and a mother from Kansas. His father was a foreign student who attended the University of Hawaii. His parents were divorced in 1964 and Obama grew up with his grandparents in Hawaii. He studied political science at Columbia University and entered Harvard Law School in 1988 where he became the first the African – American president of the Harvard Law Review. After his graduation, he returned to Chicago to teach constitutional law at the University of Chicago and participated in community services.

His political participation started with community services and his help on voter registration drive in Bill Clinton's 1992 presidential campaign. He was

elected in Illinois State Senate from Democrat Party in 1996 and started his political career. During his service in the state senate, Obama contributed to the pass of major ethics reform, a decrease in tax for working families and the expansion of the healthcare program for children and parents. With these legislations, he received the support of both parties (Scott, 2007). He continued his service until 2004 when resigned for his election to the US Senate.

During his service as a state senator, Obama maintained high profile especially with regard to the Bush Administration's decision for the Iraq War. He gave a speech in an organized protest against the Iraq War which gave him recognition and opened a road to the US Senate. Obama formally launched his campaign in 2003 with an appeal to black professionals as well as wealthy whites from the North Side. After a successful campaign, he was elected in November 2004 and this accomplishment made him the third black senator since Reconstruction and underlined his figure as a role model for the black and immigrant community due to his origin (Helman, 2007). As a US senator, Obama worked for the reduction of mass destruction weapons and transparency in federal public spending which enabled citizens to follow online.

In February 2007, Obama announced his candidacy for the 2008 presidential election. His campaign promises were ending the Iraq War, reforming the healthcare system and creating energy independence. Hope and change were the themes of his campaign (The Independent, 2008). He became the candidate of the Democrat Party through defeating former First Lady, US Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton in June 2008. In November 2008, Obama won the election with 52.9 % of popular votes and became the first black president as 44th President of the USA. In 2011, Obama announced that he will run for reelection in 2012 and he became the Democrat Party candidate in April 2012. His Republican opponent was Mitt Romney and he won the

election again with 51.1% of popular votes. He was chosen to serve for the second term and maintained the duty until 2017 when his service ended.

Obama's service as president for eight years, was generally considered a successful era for politics. The president faced with an economy in crisis, deteriorated relations with other countries and environmentally ignorant state. In these eight years, Obama managed to withdraw soldiers from Iraq, passed Obamacare to expand healthcare services to vulnerable citizens, accomplished to establish the Paris Climate Agreement to decrease global carbon emission. With these accomplishments, he left the office with 59% approval rate (Gallup, Inc, 2019). Due to this heavy agenda and problems required to be addressed immediately, immigration did not have the highest priority for policies. Despite his promise to reform the US immigration system to solve deep-seated problems, Obama could not manage to create a comprehensive system. However, as will be discussed in following sections, Obama Administration's efforts to regulate immigration implementations changed the lives of millions of people and sparked public discussions on the issue although not all of the policies were implemented successfully.

4.2 Immigration Policies

During his presidential campaign, Policy Working Groups were formed to detect problems that needed to be addressed by the Obama Administration and create policies to combat these problems. Areas that groups needed to examine were immigration, health care, economy, environment, government reform, national security and technology (Aguirre, 2008). Working group for immigration, contained specialists from various backgrounds such as professors, bureaucrats and lawyers. In their mission statement, they emphasized the immigration culture of American society and indicated that the broken immigration system should be fixed to strengthen families, enhance national security and rule of law (Aguirre, 2008). Along with their statements, Obama promised his voters to create a comprehensive

immigration system that answers the needs of people rather than the needs of the bureaucracy. This coincided with his campaign themes, hope and change.

The views and statements of members of the working group reflected Obama's promises. The co-chair of the group, T. Alexander Aleinikoff who was a professor and a professional who was working in the migration area. Aleinikoff suggested that increasing border security was not a solution for irregular migration since it does not discourage people, on the contrary, it leads people to use more dangerous roads or pay more money to smugglers. He favored focusing on the legalization of the people who are residing in the country as undocumented. Undocumented immigrants should be registered and their presence in the USA needed to be legalized. As part of this process, Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) which is responsible for legalization activities should be removed from the authority of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) since DHS was considering immigration from the viewpoint of fighting terrorism. This understanding ignored the humanitarian aspects of immigration and classified it as a security concern (Aguirre, 2008).

Tara Magner was another member of the group. She was an expert on immigration and refugee protection who was working for both governmental and civil organizations in these areas. Magner criticized the Bush Administration approach to handle the immigration reform. According to her, the Bush Administration saw immigration as an enforcement problem and the solution was based on the increased enforcement. However, this approach ignored the American economic and labor needs. Immigrants are the backbone of many sectors and their absence would damage the economy rather than creating more jobs for American citizens. She indicated that due to this comprehension, the Bush Administration's efforts to reform the immigration system failed. Reform should provide a

legal ground for undocumented immigrants to live and work legally rather than punishing immigrants. This can be managed through tough but humane border security and law enforcement. Employer sanctions for the employers who employ undocumented immigrants without legal documentation and exploit their exertion is the part of her law enforcement proposal. This approach held the employer responsible rather than putting all responsibility on the shoulders of people who try to survive without any legal rights. With this understanding, the American vision as a melting pot which welcomes and protects immigrants can be fulfilled (Aguirre, 2008). Last but not least, David Martin also shared his views on immigration through an article which was published in the New York University Journal of Legislation and Public Policy. He was an academic who also worked in General Counsel of DHS. Martin focused on the enforcement system too and he suggested that the USA needed a stable, effective and enduring enforcement system. Due to the lack of such a system, the polarization created by these discussions, increases and policy swings between two different perceptions for decades. A system with a workplace verification and follow up and supported by a strong border would solve the problems derived from the illegality of people who are residing in the USA (Aguirre, 2008).

In accordance with the views of the members of the working group, the Obama Administration was given three key points that needed to be focused on immigration reform. First, the undocumented immigrants should be provided with the options for a pathway to citizenship and their presence in the USA should be legalized. Second, effective methods should be developed for border security and borders needed to be strengthened. However, these methods should not criminalize immigrants. Thirdly, employer sanctions should be implemented for those that violate regulations and abuse to the exertion of immigrants. The responsibility of working illegally should not be put on immigrants and employer has to carry the responsibility (Aguirre, 2008). Although Obama could not create a

comprehensive immigration system as advised by the working group members, history demonstrated that he listened to his advisors and made an effort to implement their suggestions through laws and executive orders. He failed to pass permanent laws from the US Congress but he managed to create implementations especially at the end of the first term and throughout his second term. Following parts of the section will focus on the immigration policies that Obama tried to implement.

4.2.1. Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors Act (DREAM Act)

Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors Act (DREAM Act) is a bipartisan bill that aims to provide an opportunity for undocumented youth to have legal status. Thus, they can live without the fear of deportation, study and work legally. People who fit this category are called “DREAMers” (Fathali, 2013). This bill constitutes an important place in the US politics in the last decades. It was first introduced in 2001 and failed to pass from the Congress. Then, the bill was introduced several times in 2006, 2007, 2009, 2010 and 2011, but failed to pass each time since it required the support of both parties. Although the bill was introduced in different forms, the core element was the same; to provide legal status for undocumented youth (Delahunty & Yoo, 2013).

After the rejection in 2010, the Republican Party managed to have a majority in Congress therefore, the hope to pass the DREAM Act diminished for the Obama Administration. In April 2011, 20 Democrat Senators from the Congress wrote an official letter to ask President Obama to consider his executive power to regulate the issue (Fathali, 2013). Since people’s problems continued with regard to attending university education, working legally and having a driving license, they did not have time to wait for reconciliation between two parties to pass the DREAM Act when they

were in constant danger of deportation. Thus, administrative means without legislation started to be considered and implemented.

4.2.2. Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA)

On 15th June 2012, President Obama announced the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program for young immigrants who did not have legal documentation. With this program, Obama used his executive powers to provide a legal shield against deportation danger and providing a chance to enjoy basic rights as US-born citizens such as obtaining a driver's license, applying student loan for university education and having a working permit (Singer & Svajlenka, 2016). With DACA, protection was provided for a target population which was aimed to reach via the DREAM Act.

As an executive action, DACA is announced via the U.S Citizen Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) memorandum, Exercising Prosecutorial Discretion with Respect to Individuals Who Come to the United States as Children. There were five criteria to apply for DACA program; the individual (1) came to the USA before age of sixteen; (2) has continuously resided in the USA for at least five years before June 15, 2012, and was present in the USA on June 15, 2012; (3) is currently in school, has graduated from high school, has obtained a GED (a test proves academic skills), or is an honorably discharged veteran of the Coast Guard or Armed Forces of the USA; (4) has not been convicted of a felony, a significant misdemeanor, multiple misdemeanors, or otherwise poses a threat to national security or public safety; and (5) is not above the age of 30 (Fathali, 2013).

The individuals who meet these criteria could apply for DACA program. From August 2012 to March 2013, 465.000 people applied for the program and 87% of the applicants were approved (Singer & Svajlenka, 2016). In total, 741.000 people benefited from the DACA program (Martin, 2017). Along with their families, it affected millions of people's lives positively.

DACA Program drew criticism with regard to how it was created. Ten U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) officers filed a lawsuit arguing that Obama violated the separation of powers principle through enacting program via his executive means. However, as Fathali argues that Obama used the same type of power as used by previous presidents while creating DACA and did not violate the separation of powers.

Also, DACA does not give rights to the people as legislation does, it simply provides protection against enforced removal for a period of two years (Fathali, 2013). Thus, the ICE officers' lawsuit did not block the implementation of the program. Moreover, DACA was beneficial for the ICE. Without the program, every undocumented immigrant was the responsibility of ICE officers for removals but after implementation of the program, DACA recipients were no longer in the risk of removal. Therefore, ICE officers could focus on undocumented and criminals alien rather young hard-working individuals who did not commit any crime. It was useful for the allocation of limited ICE sources to be used more effectively (Fathali, 2013).

DACA is not permanent legislation, on the contrary, it is a temporary measure after the DREAM Act failure. It is stand-in to help DREAMers to tread water until comprehensive and permanent immigration reform is legislated. So that, they can maintain their lives without the fear of deportation (Fathali, 2013). DACA needs to be renewed every two years and as will be demonstrated in the following chapters, Obama's successor Donald Trump is not in favor of the program. Although he could not manage to establish an effective and stable immigration system, DACA is the biggest success of Barack Obama in his immigration policies. He touched the lives of millions of people and gave them a chance to maintain a safer and honorable life.

4.2.3. Deferred Action for Parents of Americans and Lawful Permanent Residents (DAPA)

On 20th November 2014, President Obama announced Deferred Action for Parents of Americans and Lawful Permanent Residents (DAPA) Program for the undocumented individuals who are parents of a US-born citizen or lawful permanent resident (USCIS, 2014). Similar to DACA, this program is an executive action of Obama to prevent removals of people and enable them to work and reside legally in the USA. People who want to apply for the program need to fulfill some criteria; the individual; (1) had, on November 20, 2014, a son or daughter who is a U.S. citizen or lawful permanent resident, (2) has lived in the USA continuously since January 1, 2010 and (3) is not an enforcement priority for removal from the United States, under November 20, 2014 (USCIS, 2014). This program was seen as the extension of DACA to cover more people to exit from shadows and maintain a more secure and transparent life. Unfortunately, the program could not have been implemented. 26 Republican states sued to block DAPA through arguing the presidency does not have the authority to grant such widespread amnesty. After a temporary suspension in February 2015, Fifth Circuitry affirmed the suspension in November 2015. The Department of Justice appealed the decision but the Supreme Court's split vote in June 2016 prevented the program. Therefore, DAPA was canceled before any implementation (Bendix, 2017).

It was estimated that the program could have reached 3.6 million unauthorized immigrants. With an opportunity to work legally, the general living conditions of both beneficiaries and their families would have been improved. The poverty rate for DAPA families is 36% meanwhile, it is 22% for immigrant families and 14% for US-born parents' families and the program might have helped to balance income inequality in American society. However, since the risk of deportation continues for the breadwinner of the family, this income inequality is destined to grow. Also,

69% of the target population is residing in the USA for 10 or more years, while 25% is at least for 25 years (Capps, Koball, Bachmeier, Soto, Zong, & Gelatt, 2016). Thus, in addition to economic risks, immigrants are in danger to be deported to a country which they may not have any connection. This leads to societal risks for both the USA and the country of immigrants which they will be deported to. A program might give people hope and enhancement of their lives was put on the shelf and revoked by Trump Administration in 2017 (Bendix, 2017).

4.2.4. Central American Minors (CAM) Refugee Program

The humanitarian crisis that accelerated in the Northern Triangle countries led people to leave their countries to seek better living conditions. Unaccompanied minors are a significant part of these people. The number of minors who were apprehended at the border was 70.000 between October 2013 and September 2014. It demonstrates 77% increase from 2013 Fiscal Year and 79% of these children were from Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras (Ataia, Cohen, Riley, Lieberman, Reidy, & Chilton, 2018). The road between these countries and the USA is more than 3000 kilometers and quite dangerous. They are assisted by smugglers and thus, they are mostly the victim of human trafficking. Once they enter the USA, they are sold for forced labor or prostitution (Ataia, Cohen, Riley, Lieberman, Reidy, & Chilton, 2018).

This humanitarian crisis did not remain unanswered and the Obama Administration responded with the Central American Minors (CAM) refugee program. The program enabled certain minors to be considered for refugee resettlement in the USA while they are still in these three countries. Even, an individual was ineligible for refugee resettlement, they could have been accepted to enter the USA under parole. The program aimed to protect minors from a long dangerous road and potential risks that might increase their vulnerability.

To apply for this program, they needed to meet three criteria; the individual; (1) has to be son or daughter of lawful US resident who is married and/or older 21 years old, (2) has an in-country biological parent of the qualifying child, (3) caregiver of a qualifying child who is either related to the U.S.-based qualifying parent or qualifying child (USCIS, 2017). Since the beginning of the program, 13.000 children applied until August 2017. 1.500 children under refugee resettlement and 1.400 children under parole were approved and they came together with their families in the USA. Only 1% of applicants were rejected from both the refugee program and the parole (Rosenberg, 2017). The program saved the lives of these children from both violence in their home countries and the dangers of the road to the USA.

Unfortunately, the CAM program was ended by the Trump Administration. The parole component of the program was ended on August 16th, 2017 while the refugee program continued operation for a while. However, the refugee program was ended too in November 9th, 2017 with the announcement of DHS indicating that the program stopped to receive new applications. With the executive order titled as Border Security and Immigration Enforcement Improvements, President Trump ordered DHS to follow case-by-case consideration for the cases under parole competent for residence permit renewal. Only the individuals who have urgent humanitarian reasons or a significant public benefit will be approved after executive order (USCIS, 2017). With the termination of the CAM program, unaccompanied minors were rendered helpless against violence in these countries. Thus, it encouraged them to choose more dangerous and desperate ways to enter the USA as it will be discussed in the following chapter.

4.2.5. Border Enforcement

Border enforcement constituted a significant part of the Obama Administration's immigration policies in addition to efforts for the

legalization of unauthorized immigrants. In accordance with the Policy Working Group's suggestions, the Obama Administration strengthened the southern border with a tough but humane approach. In 2010, Obama announced Operation Phalanx which included sending 1.200 National Guard troops to the border. Also, Obama extended the 2006 Bush Administration's Operation Jump Start that kept 6.000 National Guard troops in the US-Mexico border (ARNG, 2011). With these orders, army presence and security level were increased in the border. In addition to the army, 600 million \$ budget was allocated to increase border security and capacity of federal agencies related to border and immigration management. This enabled to recruit 1.000 new border patrol agents and 500 agents for both ICE and U.S. Customs and Border Protection (PBS, 2010). These steps boosted the sense of security in the border and agencies deployed more human resources and technology to prevent illegal crossings from the south side of the border.

Despite the increased level of security, the humane approach was maintained for the detention of illegal crossers. As mentioned above, a tremendous number of unaccompanied minors approached to US border to seek asylum. Temporary shelters constructed for minors to accommodate them until they were united with a parent or other relative who was already living in the USA (Rose, 2019). This caused some criticisms with regard to separating families by placing children in these shelters. However, only the accompanied minors were placed in these centers. Only if the parent committed a crime during their crossings such as carrying drugs, the children were taken from the parents. Otherwise, family unity was aimed to be protected. Once the family crossed the border, one adult was given an ankle monitor and the family received an immigration court date. After their release, they were fed in the rescue center and instructed about the procedures they needed to follow. Most cases spent their time with their families or friends who were already in the USA until the court date (VOA

News, 2018). Thus, people were treated in accordance with humanitarian principles rather than like stone-cold criminals who needed to be kept away from society. The Obama Administration showed their true colors with regard to strong enforcement against unauthorized immigrants who committed crimes.

Barack Obama was labeled as Deporter in Chief in his presidency due to the high number of deportations. In eight years of presidency, more than three million people in the USA were deported which was more than any other US president in history (Chishti, Pierce & Bolter, 2017). Although he drew some criticisms from immigrant rights advocates, the categorization of people for deportation precedence justified this statistic with regard to Obama's immigration policies favoring immigrants. In 2014, the Obama Administration's executive action on immigration set policy for deportations and announced the priorities. According to the executive action, DHS started to focus on criminals rather than undocumented immigrants who maintained an ordinary life with strong family and community links.

There were three priorities for deportation; the first priority was the people who were a threat to national security, border security and public safety. Convicted gang members, people engaged with terrorism or espionage and people who were apprehended in the border while trying to enter unlawfully constituted top priority for deportation. The second priority group was the people who convicted of three or more misdemeanors (other than minor offenses), people who convicted of a significant misdemeanor (domestic violence, sexual abuse/exploitation etc.), people who entered unlawfully January 1st, 2014 and people who abused visa programs. The third priority was the people with a final order of removal issued on or after January 1st, 2014. These priorities targeted 13% of 11.3 million undocumented immigrant population. In the 2016 fiscal year, priorities were implemented

in full force and 98% of removals met one of these 3 criteria meanwhile 92% of them convicted of a crime (Zamora, 2017). This policy enabled undocumented people to maintain their lives without the fear of deportation since they knew that the state targets the criminals and it contributed to the allocation of sources more efficiently. Rather than chasing the people who were going to school or work and did not commit any misdemeanors, federal agents only targeted criminals who threatened the security of the nation and society. Also, it helped to prevent the portrayal of all undocumented immigrants as criminals. The possibility of deportation anytime demonstrated people as threats to the society that needed to be detained and deported. Thus, strengthening border enforcement and security measures also helped to erase the image of immigrants as a threat and enhance their participation in society.

4.3. Speech Acts Regarding Immigration

Obama served as US president for two terms but due to more urgent problems like the economic crisis and ongoing wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, he could not focus on immigration. The president could not fulfill his promises on immigration to create well-functioning immigration system. These more immediate problems and lack of bipartisan support, prevented him to take concrete steps. At the end of his first term and throughout his second term, despite his failure to pass the DREAM Act, Obama managed to take some action to solve the status problem of undocumented immigrants. In accordance with these policies, Obama's speech acts regarding immigration can be traced during his second term. His speeches which were given on immigration policies demonstrated his views regarding immigrants and their contribution to the USA. Different security sectors were affected by his speech acts and as one of the most powerful political positions in the world, he influenced the public views. His speeches on the DACA announcement and immigration system in August 2013 and November 2014 will be examined within this scope.

In the societal sector, Obama emphasized the contributions given by immigrants to society and how their presence underlines the USA's identity as a nation of immigrants. Rather than considering them as a security threat, their added value to the society was recognized. His policies in border enforcement and speeches were connected with the military sector but his actions affected the perception of an undocumented immigrant and provided a distinction between criminals and ordinary people. It decreased to the sense of security in the border and society. With regard to the economic sector, Obama did not consider immigrants as a threat to American jobs. Instead, they fill an important gap in various sectors and create job opportunities for US-born citizens. In the next sections, Obama's speech acts on immigration will be examined in detail with regard to sectors.

4.3.1. Speech Acts on Societal Sector

On 15th June 2012, Barack Obama announced the DACA program for undocumented youth in the USA to provide them a more secure life without the fear of deportation. In his announcement speech, he explained the program details and the importance of these people and their contribution to the US society;

...These are young people who study in our schools, they play in our neighborhoods, they're friends with our kids, they pledge allegiance to our flag. They are Americans in their heart, in their minds, in every single way but one: on paper...

...Put yourself in their shoes. Imagine you've done everything right your entire life, studied hard, worked hard, maybe even graduated at the top of your class, only to suddenly face the threat of deportation to a country that you know nothing about, with a language that you may not even speak...

...I believe that it's the right thing to do because I've been with groups of young people who work so hard and speak with so much heart about what's best in America, even though I knew some of them must have lived under the fear of deportation. I know some have come forward at great risks to themselves and their futures in hopes it would spur the rest of us to live up to our own most cherished values. And I've seen the stories of Americans in schools

and churches and communities across the country who stood up for them and rallied behind them, and pushed us to give them a better path and freedom from fear, because we are a better nation than one that expels innocent young kids...

...We have always drawn strength from being a nation of immigrants, as well as a nation of laws. And that's going to continue...(The New York Times, 2012).

With this speech, the president emphasizes that these children grew up in the USA and became American as other US-born citizens. The only thing that separates them from other people is just a paper. He reminds the roots of the USA as the nation of immigrants and being an immigrant means the true identity of an American. Through explaining the condition from the perspective of a DREAMer, he helps people to understand how it feels to be an undocumented immigrant and danger of deportation even though s/he obeys the rules and becomes a respectful individual to the US state. This is an important aspect to desecuritize people and emphasize that rather than demonizing undocumented immigrants as threats to society, they are like every other US citizen who feel and live like an American.

Secondly, in his speech on August 29th, 2013, Obama focused on similar issues on DREAMers and the other unauthorized immigrants;

...We have 11 million undocumented immigrants in America, 11 million men and women from all over the world who live their lives in the shadows. Yes, they broke the rules. They crossed the border illegally. Maybe they overstayed their visas. Those are the facts. Nobody disputes them. But these 11 million men and women are now here. Many of them have been here for years. And the overwhelming majority of these individuals aren't looking for any trouble. They're contributing members of the community. They're looking out for their families. They're looking out for their neighbors. They're woven into the fabric of our lives...

...We took up the cause of the dreamers, the young people who were brought to this country as children, young people who have grown up here, built their lives here, have futures here. We said that if you're able to meet some basic criteria, like pursuing an education, then we'll consider offering you the chance to come out

of the shadows so that you can live here and work here legally, so that you can finally have the dignity of knowing you belong...

“...We’ve got to -- we’ve got to lay out a path, a process that includes passing a background check, paying taxes, paying a penalty, learning English, and then going to the back of the line behind all the folks who are trying to come here legally, that’s only fair. All right? So that means it won’t be a quick process, but it will be a fair process and it will lift these individuals out of the shadows and give them a chance to earn their way to green card and, eventually, to citizenship... (The New York Times, 2013).

Obama sees this issue as a social and legal status problem of eleven million undocumented immigrants rather than security risk to the US society and state. Thus instead of an exclusionist language, he is inclusionary and emphasizes that they are part of daily life and these people take care of their families while contributing to society. However, he also accepts that they broke the rules and to have legal status, they need to follow procedures like every other immigrant who is not in the USA already. Emphasizing fairness in the process is significant to provide social peace in the society since the legalization of unauthorized immigrants might be seen as a cutoff to become a citizen. To prevent it, Obama explains conditions to become citizen such as learning English, paying taxes and passing a background check. Thus, Obama’s speech tries to desecuritize DREAMers.

Lastly, Obama’s speech on DAPA announcement on 20th November 2014, underlines the necessity of protecting family unity of immigrants, immigration history of the USA and why DAPA is needed for the US society;

...For more than 200 years, our tradition of welcoming immigrants. from around the world has given us a tremendous advantage over other nations. It’s kept us youthful, dynamic, and entrepreneurial. It has shaped our character as a people with limitless possibilities. People not trapped by our past, but able to remake ourselves as we choose...

...Undocumented workers broke our immigration laws, and I believe that they must be held accountable, especially those who

may be dangerous. That's why over the past six years deportations of criminals are up 80 percent, and that's why we're going to keep focusing enforcement resources on actual threats to our security. Felons, not families. Criminals, not children. Gang members, not a mom who's working hard to provide for her kids. We'll prioritize, just like law enforcement does every day...

...And let's be honest, tracking down, rounding up and deporting millions of people isn't realistic. Anyone who suggests otherwise isn't being straight with you. It's also not who we are as Americans. After all, most of these immigrants have been here a long time. They work hard often in tough, low paying jobs. They support their families. They worship at our churches. Many of the kids are American born or spent most of their lives here. And their hopes, dreams, and patriotism are just like ours...

... Over the past years I've seen the determination of immigrant fathers who worked two or three jobs without taking a dime from the government, and at risk any moment of losing it all just to build a better life for their kids. I've seen the heartbreak and anxiety of children whose mothers might be taken away from them just because they didn't have the right papers. I've seen the courage of students who except for the circumstances of their birth are as American as Malia or Sasha, students who bravely come out as undocumented in hopes they could make a difference in the country they love... (The Washington Post, 2014).

Obama announced the DAPA program to keep families together and protect them from deportation but it was stopped by the federal court. In his speech, he reminds the roots of American society and welcoming nature for immigrants again. He underlines that not every immigrant is criminal and criminals have already been deported for public safety. Most of these people were ordinary people who are trying to earn their living in difficult conditions and the DAPA program aimed to encourage them to get out of shadows. They are going to churches, their children are American born and he does not distinguish their children from his daughters Malia and Sasha. According to Obama, they are as American as his children. The president demonstrates that there is no difference between US-born citizens and unauthorized immigrants. They are as American as native-born citizens and belong to that country. In all three speeches, Obama emphasizes similar key

points and desecuritizes undocumented immigrants through mentioning their place and contributions in the society.

4.3.2. Speech Acts on Economic Sector

The economy is one of the main areas that draws attention to immigration discussions. In his speech acts, President Obama refers to this issue and unlike anti-immigrant arguments, he praises immigrants' contribution to the country's economy. According to him, immigrants bring diversity and their talents to the US economy. In his DACA announcement, he mentions these contributions;

...It makes no sense to expel talented young people who, for all intents and purposes, are Americans. They've been raised as Americans, understand themselves to be part of this country. To expel these young people who want to staff our labs or start new businesses or defend our country simply because of the actions of their parents or because of the inactions of politicians...

...We still need to pass comprehensive immigration reform that addresses our 21st-century economic and security needs; reform that gives our farmers and ranchers certainty about the workers that they'll have; reform that gives our science and technology sectors certainty that the young people who come here to earn their Ph.D.s won't be forced to leave and start new businesses in other countries... (The New York Times, 2012).

In line with his speeches on the societal sector, Obama emphasizes that DREAMers are American like native-born US citizens and that they want to work for the USA. By working in labs and starting new businesses, they are contributing to the economy and deporting them due to their status, will be a significant loss for the US economy. Also, it would affect American citizens since new job opportunities will not exist when the young population who wants to create jobs expelled.

Secondly, in his speech on immigration reform in 2013 President Obama underlines the contribution of immigrants to the US economy again and how the legalization of immigrants will enhance the economy;

...We define ourselves as a nation of immigrants. That's who we are, in our bones. The promise we see in those who come here from every corner of the globe, that's always been one of our greatest strengths. It keeps our workforce young, it keeps our country on the cutting edge, and it's helped build the greatest economic engine the world has ever known. After all, immigrants helped start businesses like Google and Yahoo. They created entire new industries that in turn created new jobs and new prosperity for our citizens.

...In recent years 1 in 4 high-tech startups in America were founded by immigrants. One in 4 new small-business owners were immigrants, including right here in Nevada, folks who came here seeking opportunity and now want to share that opportunity with other Americans. But we all know that today we have an immigration system that's out of date and badly broken; a system that's holding us back instead of helping us grow our economy and strengthen our middle class...

...Every day, like the rest of us, they go out and try to earn a living. Often they do that in the shadow economy, a place where employers may offer them less than the minimum wage or make them work overtime without extra pay. And when that happens, it's not just bad for them, it's bad for the entire economy, because all the businesses that are trying to do the right thing, that are hiring people legally, paying a decent wage, following the rules -- they're the ones who suffer. They've got to compete against companies that are breaking the rules. And the wages and working conditions of American workers are threatened too...

...So if we're truly committed to strengthening our middle class and providing more ladders of opportunity to those who are willing to work hard to make it in the middle class, we've got to fix the system. We have to make sure that every business and every worker in America is playing by the same set of rules. We have to bring this shadow economy into the light so that everybody is held accountable, businesses for who they hire and immigrants for getting on the right side of the law. That's common sense, and that's why we need comprehensive immigration reform...

...There's another economic reason why we need reform. It's not just about the folks who come here illegally and have the effect they have on our economy; it's also about the folks who try to come here legally but have a hard time doing so and the effect that has on our economy. Right now there are brilliant students from all over the world sitting in classrooms at our top universities. They're earning degrees in the fields of the future, like engineering and

computer science. But once they finish school, once they earn that diploma, there's a good chance they'll have to leave our country...

...Cracking down more forcefully on businesses that knowingly hire undocumented workers. To be fair, most businesses want to do the right thing, but a lot of them have a hard time figuring out who's here legally, who's not. So we need to implement a national system that allows businesses to quickly and accurately verify someone's employment status. And if they still knowingly hire undocumented workers, then we need to ramp up the penalties...

...If you're a foreign student who wants to pursue a career in science or technology or a foreign entrepreneur who wants to start a business with the backing of American investors, we should help you do that here because if you succeed you'll create American businesses and American jobs, You'll help us grow our economy, you'll help us strengthen our middle class.... (The New York Times, 2013).

In his speech, Obama mentions a comprehensive immigration system thus, he underlines the importance of both undocumented and regular immigrants to the economy. The President gives an example of Google and Yahoo, the companies which were created by immigrants and provides statistics from Silicon Valley to show how high tech industry is supported by immigrants as the owners of many companies in this sector. Obama underlines that the success of immigrants enriches the US economy and creates US jobs therefore, immigrants should be welcomed and the broken immigration system should be fixed to keep young and successful immigrants in the country.

In addition to regular immigrants, Obama addresses the legalization of unauthorized immigrants with regard to economic consequences. Many undocumented immigrants are working illegally to earn a living for their families and due to their status, they are working for less than minimum wage or working for extra hours without extra payments. This creates a shadow economy that leads to exploitation of the people who do not have any other choice rather than working in these jobs. With comprehensive immigration reform, Obama argues that all companies will need to follow

the rules in accordance with the law and this shadow economy will be tailed off. Without a shadow economy, all companies will comply with the same rules and this would feed competition in the economy as it is suggested by American liberalism and both citizens and the state would benefit from this competition. Moreover, legalization would enable undocumented immigrants to find more decent jobs to cover the needs of their families and their rights will be protected by US laws. Their welfare would increase and they will pay taxes as part of the legal economy. So this increased welfare would contribute to the state's budget and provision of services such as education and health. Immigrants would be included in the economy rather than being seen as the burden of society and economy. President Obama evaluates both undocumented and regular immigrants as a crucial part of the US economy. Their contributions are recognized by his two speeches and aim to convince citizens to support an immigration reform to secure and increase these accretion values. Thus, these speech acts are trying to desecuritize immigrants with regard to the economic sector.

4.3.3. Speech Acts on Military Sector

As discussed in the previous section, border security and enforcement are part of the Obama Administration's immigration policies. His speeches regarding these issues are included in the scope of the military sector. In his speeches, he mentions how border and enforcement were strengthened and how these policies affected immigrants. On his DACA announcement in 2012;

...What we've tried to do is focus our immigration enforcement resources in the right places. So we prioritize border security, putting more boots on the southern border than at any time in our history. Today there are fewer illegal crossings than at any time in the past 40 years. We focus and use discretion about whom to prosecute, focusing on criminals who endanger our communities rather than students who are earning their education. And today deportation of criminals is up 80 percent. We've improved on that discretion carefully and thoughtfully...

...We still need to pass comprehensive immigration reform that addresses our 21st-century economic and security needs;... reform that continues to improve our border security and lives up to our heritage as a nation of laws and a nation of immigrants ... (The New York Times, 2012).

Obama focuses on strengthened border, increased enforcement and deportation of criminals. According to the president, immigration reform requires secure border and strong enforcement. In his terms, enforcement focused on the deportation of undocumented immigrants who had criminal records. These procedures were seen as essential to be a nation of laws by the president. With the deportation of criminals, scarce resources were allocated more effectively and enforcement forces could focus on criminals who were dangerous to communities rather than students. Also, it would increase the general level of security in the society.

In his speech on immigration reform in 2013 and on DAPA announcement in 2014, Obama addresses similar points;

...During my first term, we took steps to try and patch up some of the worst cracks in the system. First, we strengthened security at the borders so that we could finally stem the tide of illegal immigrants. We put more boots on the ground on the southern border than at any time in our history. And today, illegal crossings are down nearly 80 percent from their peak in 2000. Second, we focused our enforcement efforts on criminals who are here illegally and who endanger our communities. And today, deportations of criminals is at its highest level ever... I believe we need to stay focused on enforcement. That means continuing to strengthen security at our borders... (The New York Times, 2013, "Full Transcript of President Obama's Remarks on Immigration Reform").

...Today we have more agents and technology deployed to secure our southern border than at any time in our history. And over the past six years illegal border crossings have been cut by more than half.

...We'll build on our progress at the border with additional resources for our law enforcement personnel so that they can stem the flow of illegal crossings and speed the return of those who do cross over... (The Washington Post, 2014).

With regard to the military sector, in both speeches, Obama emphasizes the same points. Thanks to statistics, he demonstrates how illegal crossings were prevented and the benefits of focusing on deporting criminals rather than ordinary people. Although he focuses on security and enforcement, his speech acts do not constitute a securitization move. Through speeches, Obama does not criminalize undocumented immigrants or he does not consider them as threats for the state and society. With the stronger border, new arrivals are aimed to be stopped but unauthorized immigrants are not a threat to the US state. Their nonregistration condition is labeled by Obama as a status problem that needs to be addressed rather than a security threat in those three sectors. Thus, Obama did not use a language that addresses people as criminals or menace to the country. In his speeches, he mentions criminals and deportation of them. As discussed in immigration policies, criminals are targeted for deportation processes by federal agents. Rather than chasing students or ordinary people who are just trying to earn a living, federal agents focused to detain and deport undocumented immigrants who committed serious crimes such as sexual offenses, domestic violence or membership to gangs. Therefore, the people who are referred as “criminals” in Obama’s speeches are real criminals who were condemned by the US courts. The language that he used, helped to underline the difference between criminals and innocent people who were unauthorized immigrants for American citizens. Thus, despite he took the actions to increase the general level of security in the border and society, his speech acts did not aim to securitize Latin American immigration in the US society.

In conclusion, Obama made speech acts on societal, economic and military sectors but his speech acts did not present undocumented immigrants as threats to these areas. He politicized the issue and urged citizens to demand comprehensive immigration and politicians to unite and create the reform. However, while discussing the nonregistration of immigrants, President Obama did not demonstrate them as threats instead considered this a status

problem that needed to be responded with a comprehensive immigration system. Hence, his speech acts serve the purpose of the desecuritization of Latin American immigration in the USA.

4.4. Audience Acceptance

Obama's immigration policies and speech acts on immigration are examined in detail in the previous sections. The president could not focus on immigration in his first term due to the economic crisis and the ongoing wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. However, at the end of first and throughout his second term, Obama took important steps to fix the immigration system of the USA even though he could not manage to create a comprehensive immigration system. As a powerful political figure, his speech acts are quite influential on the audience. As the Copenhagen School suggests, the effect of his speech acts can be measured with the acceptance of the audience. Surveys conducted by the Gallup company help us understand American society's perception of immigration and its development in time. In different aspects, the views on immigration changed positively during Obama's presidency.

First, Gallup has been asking participants whether they worry about illegal immigration or not since 2001. The rate of Americans who worry about illegal immigration (great deal and fair amount) reached the highest level in 2006 and 2008 as 72% and 70% respectively. During Obama's presidency, rates decreased and reached as low as 57% in 2012 and 2014 (see table 1). Also, the rate among Democrats decreased from 60% to 48% in 5 years' period between 2012 and 2017. This rate also changed among Independents from 67% to 57%. Although Americans did not stop worrying about illegal immigration, the level of concern decreased in the Obama era (see figure 1) (Jones, 2017).

Table 1 Worry Level About Illegal Immigration

How much do you personally worry about illegal immigration?					
	Great deal %	Fair amount %	Only a little %	Not at all %	No Opinion %
2019 Mar 1-10	36	18	24	21	1
2018 Mar 1-8	34	24	21	20	-
2017 Mar 1-5	37	22	22	18	-
2016 Mar 2-6	37	23	22	17	-
2015 Mar 1-8	39	24	20	16	1
2014 Mar 6-9	33	24	24	18	1
2013 Mar 7-10	37	23	26	14	-
2012 Mar 8-11	34	23	24	17	1
2011 Mar 3-5	42	23	20	14	-
2010 Mar 4-7	39	25	21	14	-
2008 Mar 6-9	40	30	19	11	-
2007 Mar 11-14	45	23	20	12	1
2006 Mar 13-16	43	29	18	10	-
2005 Mar 7-10	33	23	29	14	1
2004 Mar 8-11	37	22	25	15	1
2003 Mar 24-25	37	26	23	13	1
2002 Mar 4-7	33	25	26	16	-
2001 Mar 5-7	28	24	29	18	1

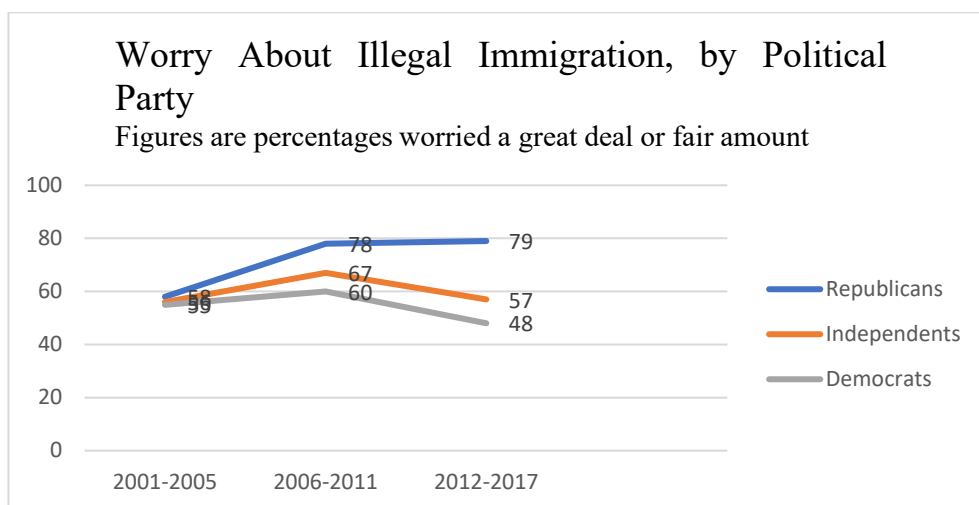


Figure 1 Worry Level About Illegal Immigration

Secondly, Gallup surveyed American society about the level of immigration by asking whether it should be kept in the present level, increased or decreased. The survey has been conducted since 1965 and yearly data is available from 1999. In the first year of Obama's presidency (2009), 50% of Americans believed that the immigration level should be reduced. However, this rate decreased steadily until the end of Obama's second term. It reached the lowest level in 2015 as 34% and it was 35% six months after his leave from the office. Moreover, the rate of people who want an increase in immigration augmented in Obama's eight years in the White House. It was 14% in 2009 and it rose up to 27% in 2014. Once he left the presidency, the rate was 24% in June 2017 (see table 2) (Gallup, Inc, n.d., "Immigration").

Table 2 The Views on Current Immigration Level

Should immigration be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?				
	Present level %	Increased %	Decreased %	No Opinion %

Table 2 (cont'd)

2019 Jun 3-16	37	27	35	2
2019 Jan 21-27	37	30	31	3
2018 Jun 1-13	39	28	29	4
2017 Jun 7-11	38	24	35	3
2016 Jun 7-Jul 1	38	21	38	3
2015 Jun 15-Jul 10	40	25	34	1
2014 Jun 5-8	33	22	41	4
2014 Feb 6-9	35	27	36	2
2013 Jun 13-Jul 5	40	23	35	2
2012 Jun 7-10	42	21	35	3
2011 Jun 9-12	35	18	43	4
2010 Jul 8-11	34	17	45	4
2009 Jul 10-12	32	14	50	5
2008 Jun 5-Jul 6	39	18	39	3
2007 Jun 4-24	35	16	45	4
2006 Jun 8-25	42	17	39	2
2006 Apr 7-9	35	15	47	4
2005 Dec 9-11	31	15	51	3
2005 Jun 6-25	34	16	46	4
2004 Jun 9-30	33	14	49	4
2003 Jun 12-18	37	13	47	3
2002 Sep 2-4	26	17	54	3

Similar to this survey, people are also asked about their satisfaction level on the immigration level. While 23% of participants were satisfied with the immigration level in 2008, it increased to 41% in 2017. Also, the dissatisfaction level decreased from 72% to 53% in the same period (see table 3). Among dissatisfied people, 50% of participants want more decrease in the level of immigration in 2008. This level declined to 36% in 2017 (see table 4) (Gallup, Inc, n.d., "Immigration").

Table 3 Satisfaction Level on Immigration

How you feel about the level of immigration into the country today?					
	Very Satisfied %	Somewhat Satisfied %	Somewhat Dissatisfied %	Very Dissatisfied %	No Opinion %
2019	5	29	28	31	6
2018	8	32	27	27	7
2017	10	31	22	31	7
2016	3	27	22	41	7

Table 3 (cont'd)

2015	6	27	25	35	7
2014	6	32	23	31	8
2013	5	31	25	31	8
2012	4	24	25	39	8
2008	4	19	27	45	5
2007	5	19	29	41	5

Table 4 Change Request on Immigration Level

Would you like to see the level of immigration in this country increased, decreased or remain about the same?					
	Total Satisfied %	Dissatisfied, Want Increase %	Dissatisfied, Want Decrease %	Dissatisfied Remain Same %	No Opinion %
2019	35	16	23	21	6
2018	40	11	28	15	7
2017	41	5	36	12	7
2016	30	4	43	16	7
2015	33	7	39	14	7
2014	38	7	35	12	8
2013	35	5	35	16	8
2012	28	6	42	16	8
2008	24	6	50	16	5
2007	24	3	49	18	5

These changes in both surveys are significant and they demonstrated that the Obama Administration contributed to altering people's views about immigration. People's views on immigration changed positively throughout Obama's presidency and the overall satisfaction on immigration increased. Another survey is about undocumented immigrants. People were asked about their consideration of the issue with regard to importance; critical, important or not important. Surveys were conducted in 2004, 2018 and 2019 and the rate of people who evaluated the undocumented immigrant issue as critical declined from 50% to 39% between 2004 and 2018 (see table 5) (Gallup, Inc, n.d., "Immigration").

Table 5 Threat Perception on Undocumented Immigrants

Do you see as a critical threat of large numbers of undocumented immigrants entering the U.S.?				
	Critical %	Important %	Not important %	No Opinion %
2019 Feb 1-10	47	30	22	2
2018 Jun 1-10	39	31	29	1
2004 Feb 9-12	50	35	14	1

This period of fourteen years does not correspond to the Obama's era perfectly but eight years of this period was under the Obama Administration. Therefore, it is fair to state that his executive actions like DACA and DAPA and speech acts on undocumented immigrants led American people to decrease the level of importance they attach to the issue and it was removed from the agenda as an emergency that needs to be combatted.

Other surveys focus on immigrants and their contribution to the state. In the first questionnaire, attendees are asked whether immigration is a good or bad thing for the USA. Questionnaire has been conducted regularly since 2001. Six months later Obama's inauguration, 58% of attendees believed that immigration is good for the country meanwhile 36% of them oppositely considered immigration. According to the same survey which was conducted in June 2017, 71% of participants answered that immigration is good and 23% of them believed it is bad for the country.

Also in 2012, the rate of people that evaluate immigration as positive is 66% (see table 6) (Gallup, Inc, n.d., "Immigration"). These rates reflect that people who consider immigration as beneficial for the country increased by 13% in eight years and it continued to rise after 2012 when Obama's executive actions regarding immigration were issued. Thus, it is remarkable to show the effect of Obama's discourses on immigration.

Table 6 Overall Perception on Immigration

On the whole, do you think immigration is a good thing or a bad thing for this country today?				
	Good thing %	Bad thing %	Mixed (vol.) %	No Opinion %
2019 Jun 3-16	76	19	4	Less than 0.5
2018 Jun 1-13	75	19	4	2
2017 Jun 7-11	71	23	4	2
2016 Jun 7-Jul 1	72	25	2	1
2015 Jun 15-Jul 10	73	24	2	1
2014 Jun 5-8	63	33	3	1
2013 Jun 13-Jul 5	72	25	2	1
2012 Jun 7-10	66	29	3	2
2011 Jun 9-12	59	37	2	3
2010 Jul 8-11	57	36	4	2
2009 Jul 10-12	58	36	3	3
2008 Jun 5-Jul 6	64	30	4	2
2007 Jun 4-24	60	33	3	4
2006 Jun 8-25	67	28	4	1
2005 Jun 6-25	61	35	3	2
2003 Jun 12-18	58	36	4	2
2002 Jun 3-9	52	42	4	2
2001 Jun 11-17	62	31	5	2

The second survey concentrates on immigration's contribution to the state in six different areas. The members of American society were asked whether immigrants affect the crime situation, job opportunities, food, music and arts, the economy in general, taxes and social and moral values better or worse. Concerning crime, 58% of participants believed that immigrants affected crime conditions worse in 2007. However, this rate declined to 45% in 2017. With regard to job opportunities, people who believed that immigrants affect this area in a better way increased from 12% to 20% in ten years. The rate of attendees that considered immigrants are influencing food, music and art better increased from 40% to 57%. While people believed that immigrants are affecting the economy in general better rose from 28% to 45, the rate in taxes also augmented from 11% to 23% with

regard to people who considered immigrants affected this area positively. Lastly, the ones who evaluated immigrants influencing the country better in social and moral values increased from 19% to 31% (see table 7) (Gallup, Inc, n.d., "Immigration").

Table 7 The Effect of Immigrants in Different Areas

Please say whether immigrants to the U.S. are making the situation in the country better or worse, or not having much affect.				
	Better %	Worse %	Not much effect %	No Opinion %
The Crime Situation				
2019 Jun 3-16	7	42	50	2
2017 Jun 7-11	9	45	43	3
2007 Jun 4-24	4	58	34	4
2004 Jun 9-30	6	47	43	4
2002 Jun 3-9	8	50	37	5
2001 Jun 11-17	7	50	38	5
Job opportunities for your family				
2019 Jun 3-16	19	25	56	Less than 0.5
2017 Jun 7-11	20	28	51	1
2007 Jun 4-24	12	34	52	2
2004 Jun 9-30	11	37	51	1
2002 Jun 3-9	14	37	46	3
2001 Jun 11-17	15	31	50	4
Food, music and the arts				
2019 Jun 3-16	57	10	32	1
2017 Jun 7-11	57	10	29	4
2004 Jun 9-30	44	10	42	4
2002 Jun 3-9	54	10	31	5
2001 Jun 11-17	58	8	29	5
The economy in general				
2007 Jun 4-24	40	9	46	4
2019 Jun 3-16	43	31	25	1
2017 Jun 7-11	45	30	22	2
2007 Jun 4-24	28	46	23	3

Table 7 (cont'd)

2004 Jun 9-30	22	41	34	3
2002 Jun 3-9	32	36	28	4
2001 Jun 11-17	32	32	31	5
Taxes				
2019 Jun 3-16	20	42	37	1
2017 Jun 7-11	23	41	33	3
2007 Jun 4-24	11	55	28	3
2004 Jun 9-30	12	45	38	5
2002 Jun 3-9	12	50	31	7
2001 Jun 11-17	12	46	34	8
Social and moral values				
2019 Jun 3-16	31	28	39	1
2017 Jun 7-11	31	28	36	3
2007 Jun 4-24	19	37	41	3
2004 Jun 9-30	18	27	50	5
2002 Jun 3-9	25	30	39	6
2001 Jun 11-17	25	26	45	4

This survey also does not correspond to Obama's terms, but eight years of these ten years were under Obama's presidency and in this period, American society started to believe that immigrants are making the country better in various areas. Especially, the change with respect to the economy and taxes are notable, since the USA was in an economic crisis after 2008 and despite the bad condition of the economy, people evaluated immigrants positively.

Another Gallup survey was conducted in 2005 and 2017 illustrate a similar result. In the survey, people are asked whether immigrants are helping or hurting the economy. The ones who think that they are helping rose from 42% to 49% meanwhile the rate of participants that consider them as hurtful declined from 49% to 40% (see table 8) (Gallup, Inc, n.d., "Immigration"). In his speeches regarding immigration, Obama always used unitary

language and underlined that immigrants enrich society. Therefore, Obama's speech acts were accepted by the audience in these regards.

Table 8 Whether Immigrants Help or Hurt the Economy

Do you think immigrants mostly help the economy by providing low cost labor or mostly hurt the economy by driving wages down for many Americans?					
	Mostly help %	Mostly hurt %	Both (vol.) %	Neither (vol.) %	No Opinion %
2019 Jun 3-16	55	37	4	2	2
2017 Jun 7-11	49	40	5	2	4
2005 Jun 6-25	42	49	3	3	3
2004 Jan 9-11	30	65	2	1	2
2000 Sep 11-13	44	40	7	3	6

Gallup also conducted surveys that concentrate on American society's view on policies regarding immigration. First, people are asked whether the US government should focus on halting the flow of illegal immigrants or dealing with immigrants in the USA already. The rate of people who chose to halt the flow was 53% in 2010 and it steadily dropped to 41% in 2013. The rate was 45% in 2016. The people that believed that dealing with immigrants in the USA should be the priority was 45% in 2010 and it was increased to 55% in 2013. The rate in 2016 was 51% before Obama left the office (see table 9) (Gallup, Inc, n.d., "Immigration").

Table 9 The Views of Government's Focus on Immigration

If you had to choose, what should be the main focus of the U.S. government in dealing with the issue of illegal immigration: developing a plan for halting the flow of illegal immigrants into the U.S. or developing a plan to deal with immigrants who are currently in the U.S. illegally?
--

Table 9 (cont'd)

	Halting flow of illegal immigrants %	Deal with immigrants in U.S. illegally %	No Opinion %
2016 Jun 7-Jul 1	45	51	4
2014 Jun 5-8	41	53	6
2014 Feb 6-9	46	51	2
2013 Jun 13-Jul 5	41	55	4
2012 Jun 7-10	41	55	5
2011 Jun 9-12	55	43	2
2010 Jun 11-13	50	45	5
2010 May 1-2	53	45	3
2006 May 5-7	52	43	4

These rates are correlated with Obama's immigration policies. In his first term, the main focus was the strength of border and enforcement. Focus has changed to undocumented immigrants who are already in the USA in his second term and executive actions were taken like DACA and DAPA. Therefore, people's views reflect Obama's policies.

Secondly, in two different surveys which were conducted in 2014, people are asked similar questions and asked to share their views on the government's policies on preventing illegal immigrant flow and dealing with illegal immigrants inside the USA. They were asked to choose between the options as extremely important, very important, moderately important and not that important. The majority of the people (43% for the first survey and 44% for the second survey) believed that these issues were extremely important. The option of "very important" was chosen as 34% and 35% respectively (Gallup, Inc, n.d., "Immigration").

It illustrates that priorities for both society and the Obama Administration coincided. Furthermore, a survey on DACA reveals the views of American society about executive action. A survey was conducted in 2018 and according to responses, 40% of Americans were strongly favoring and 43%

of them were in favor of DACA. 83% support demonstrates that DACA had bipartisan support from American society and became a well-accepted implementation of the Obama Administration (see figure 2) (Newport, 2018, “Americans Oppose Border Walls, Favor Dealing with DACA”).

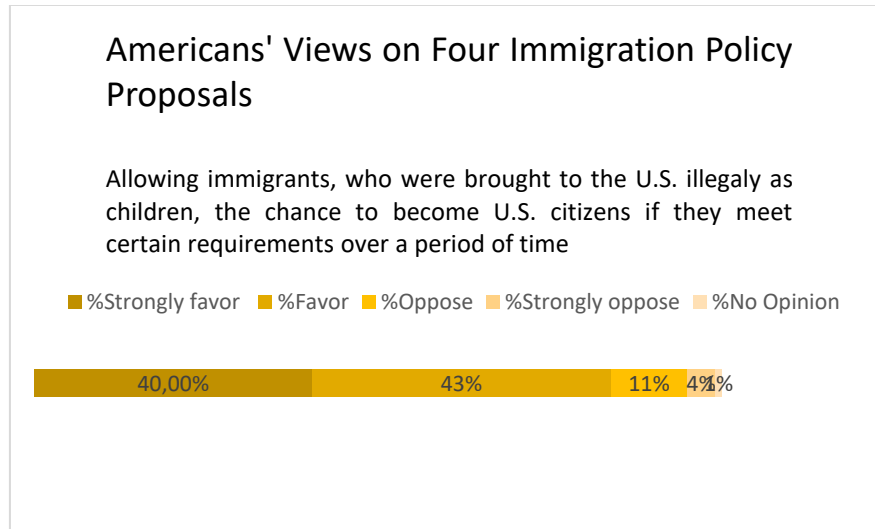


Figure 2 Americans' Views on DACA

4.5. Conclusion

Barack Hussein Obama promised hope and change for the voters during his election campaign. Once he was elected as the 44th President of the USA, Obama gave hope to all disadvantaged people as the first African-American President of the USA. After his inauguration, Obama had to deal with an economy which was in the biggest economic crisis of the history and two ongoing wars that continue in Iraq and Afghanistan. Thus, he could not take concrete actions regarding immigration in his first term in the office. With the election for his second term in the presidency, Obama found an opportunity to focus on immigration and important regulations were enacted. First, he tried to pass the DREAM Act from the Congress to provide legal status for undocumented immigrants but he failed to accomplish. Secondly, he enacted DACA and DAPA programs to provide a

legal base for unauthorized immigrants to protect them from deportation. Although DAPA could not be implemented, 600.000 youths benefited from DACA and started to live without the fear of deportation. Thirdly, the CAM program was enacted to protect Central American Minors from a dangerous trip to the USA and they were given an opportunity to apply for refugee status in their home countries. Last but not least, border security was strengthened and enforcement priority was changed from all removable aliens to undocumented aliens who had criminal records.

As discussed in the previous section, all surveys which focused on different aspects of immigration demonstrate that the immigration perception among the society changed during Obama's service in the White House. Certainly, other effects contributed to this change such as enhancing relations with foreign allies and overcoming the global economic crisis. However, Obama's policies and speech acts regarding immigration had a significant part in this change. The president always used them to desecuritize undocumented immigrants and aimed to illustrate that they were part of American society and the American way of life. He reminded the roots of the USA and how the immigrants built that country. Thus, his speech acts were unifying and meant to provide peace in the society. According to the results of surveys, Obama's efforts were accepted by the audience and the general perception about both legal and undocumented immigrants was improved. Immigration became part of politics and undocumented immigration became an issue that should be solved through policies. In other words, the issue was "politicized" as the Copenhagen School calls. They were not presented as a security threat for the society which should be combatted with every possible means. In the following chapter, the policies and speech acts of Donald Trump, the successor of Barack Obama, regarding immigration will be discussed to evaluate the securitization of immigration in the USA.

CHAPTER 5

IMMIGRATION POLICIES AND PERCEPTION DURING TRUMP ADMINISTRATION

5.1 Run for Presidency and Promises

Donald John Trump was born in New York City (1946) as the fourth of five children of Frederick Christ Trump who was a successful real estate developer. Fred Trump made thousands of apartment units in the USA, thanks to the federal loan guarantees and built his wealth. Donald Trump took over the control of his father's company in 1971 and continued its operation in the construction sector. However, unlike his father, he headed to more luxury construction projects such as hotels, skyscrapers and casinos. Trump Tower in Manhattan which is the symbol of his brand, was opened in 1983. These projects brought recognition of Trump in media but he became famous in worldwide via a reality show. The Apprentice started to be broadcasted in 2004. In this reality show, contestants had to overcome some challenges to become an employee of Trump. The reality show was successful enough to be nominated for Emmy awards and it strengthened the image of Trump as a 'successful businessman' (Trump, 2017). Before the show, Trump was a celebrity but thanks to the country-wide broadcasting of the show, every American citizen started to know him and this recognition prepared a base for him for his future political career.

Donald Trump's interest in politics is not a new phenomenon. He publicly mused about being a president in the 1980s. He switched his voter registration from Republican Party to the Reform Party in 1999 and established a presidential exploratory committee. However, he did not run

for the presidency in the 2000 elections but published a book with Dave Shiflett, *The America We Deserve*, which reflected his political views. He later joined the Republican Party and maintained a high profile during the 2012 elections thanks to his continuous claims with regard to Barack Obama's birthplace. According to American laws, the president of the USA must be born on the soils of the USA and Trump falsely claimed that Obama was not born in the USA. These persistent allegations took public attention so much that Obama had to present his birth certificate which proves that he was born in Hawaii, the USA. Despite his allegations were proved as a lie, Trump used this public interest to run for the presidency in 2016 elections.

In June 2015, Donald Trump announced that he would run for the presidency in the US presidential elections for 2016. He promised voters to 'make America great again'. His pledges contained create millions of new jobs; to force American companies to move their production facilities from overseas to the USA, to abrogate Obamacare; to build a wall across Mexico border to prevent crossings and to ban Muslim immigration to the USA (Trump - Pence Make America Great Again, n.d., 'The 45th President of the United States Donald J. Trump'). Although he was not given a chance among other candidates who to become Republican Party nominee, Trump won the primaries and he was announced as the party's nominee in July 2016. Democrat Party's nominee was Hillary Clinton and throughout the campaign, Trump portrayed Clinton as 'crooked' and blamed her for Benghazi attack. Also, FBI investigation on Clinton since she was using private e-mail addresses for official correspondences during her service as the secretary of state in the Obama Administration was another popular topic for Trump to criticize Clinton. Similar to primaries, Trump accomplished to overcome statistics and expectations again; he won the election on November 8th, 2016 with 304 electoral college vote against 227. He swore an oath and took the office on January 20th, 2017. Since then,

Trump legislated many controversial laws, gave unexpected statements through formal channels and Twitter and acted against customs which all led to international crises and public stun.

5.2. Immigration Policies

Immigration was a significant component of Trump's election campaign and attracted many voters especially from a low-income group who believed that immigrants are stealing their jobs. Thus along with his promises regarding the economy, his immigration agenda helped Trump to win the election. After five days of his inauguration, the first executive order was related with border security and immigration enforcement. With the following executive orders and DHS's regulations, Trump Administration brought various changes in immigration policies. Visa sanctions were increased, the number of countries that agreed to accept their nationals if they were removed from the USA was increased and definition for the people who were deportable was expanded (Pierce, 2019). Moreover, Trump made an effort to keep his promises regarding border wall, sanctuary cities and refugee admissions and radical changes were made. In these sections, Trump's immigration policies since his inauguration will be examined and changes brought by Trump Administration will be demonstrated.

5.2.1. Border Wall

Building a wall across the southern border was the core component of Trump's campaign promises. This border is one of the busiest borders in the world with close to seven billion total legal crossings since 1996 and 315 million crossings yearly (U.S. Department of Transportation, n.d., 'Workbook: Border Crossing Annual Data'). Along with these legal crossings, the border witnesses illegal crossings due to opportunities offered by the USA. In 2000, 1.6 million people were apprehended in the southern border because of illegal crossings and the rate steadily decreased in the

following years. In 2017, 310,511 were apprehended in the border (Molloy, 2018). Although the rates were reduced significantly, Trump's election campaign was built on illegal crossings and how they threatened the security. Therefore, he promised voters to build a wall across the border which would cost 25 billion \$. The cost of the wall caused a conflict between Democrat and Republican parties since the Democrat Party refused to allocate such amount from the budget. For the 2017 and 2018 fiscal years, 1.68 billion \$ was allocated for the wall by the Congress. For the 2019 fiscal year, although President Trump requested 5.7 billion \$, Congress provided 1.375 billion \$. However, until parties reached an agreement, the federal government was shut down for 35 days which was a record for US history. During the shutdown, some state services could not be provided and it affected the daily lives of the citizens. Moreover, since building the wall had such an importance for Trump, he declared a national emergency to transfer the missing 3.6 billion \$ for construction from other sources such as counterdrug activities and fund of Treasury Department on forfeitures (Pierce, 2019). Both shutdown of the federal government and the declaration of national emergency underline the importance of the construction of the wall to Trump and demonstrate his perception regarding immigration and the threat level created by border crossers.

5.2.2. Border Security and Enforcement

Donald Trump emphasized possible threats constituted by immigrants to the US society during his presidential campaign and he kept his promise to make changes in this regard once he took the office in January 2017. With his two executive orders, Trump has changed the administration's focus on border security and internal enforcement (Pierce, 2019). He took steps to strengthened the border and capability of agencies that are dealing with interior security. First, Trump ordered the deployment of 4,000 National Guards to the southern border of the USA in April 2018. Their mission was until September 2018. Later, it was extended until January 2019. According

to reports, as of March 2019, there were 2.100 National Guards that are still stationed in the border. In addition to National Guards, President requested the Defense Department to send 5.200 active-duty personnel to the border in October 2018. In February 2019, another 3.750 troops were sent to the border and in April 2019, Defense Department announced the planned to send additional 320 troops (Pierce, 2019). Along with army presence on the border, in his January 2017 executive order, the President directed to hire 5.000 Border Patrol agents. By the end of 2018, Congress approved the recruitment of 21.370 Border Patrol agents but 19.500 of them were employed (Pierce, 2019). The total number of agents was tripled in comparison with the number of border agents in 2000 (Center for Migration Studies, 2017). With recruitments and deployments, the general level of security on the border was increased. However, this also drew some criticisms from society. Military personnel in the border are just setting tents and saving people from drowning mostly. Since they are well trained for combat and other military purposes, their presence on the border means waste of resources. Their current responsibilities do not match their training and their skills are wasted on the southern border.

The second change brought by the Trump administration in border policies is the separation of children from families. People who are coming to the USA from the south are held in detention centers and waiting for their asylum proceedings. Meanwhile, the children who are under eighteen years old are taken away from their families and they are held in children welfare facilities. More than 2.700 children were separated from families between May and June 2018. Due to public outcry, the implementation was ended with another executive order in June 2018 but for-cause separation is still implemented. This principle suggests that the child can be separated from parents or legal guardian if the parent or guardian has a criminal record, if it is medically necessary or if border agents decided it is needed for child's welfare. According to statistics, this kind of separations is now twice more

than they were done in 2016 (Pierce, 2019). If the child is unaccompanied when s/he arrives at the border, s/he is also placed in these facilities for immigration application review. At present, along with unaccompanied children more than 11,800 children are housed in these facilities in 15 cities (BBC, 2018). This implementation is harmful to children's psychological development and their relation with their parents during their adolescence. Moreover, the President ended practices that were helping children and pregnant women. There were children friendly court practices that enabled children to see empty courtroom before hearing and allowing them to call in for master calendar hearings if they were not residing in a place which was close to the court (Pierce, 2019). Secondly, the administration ended the AmeriCorps initiative which sustains lawyers for thousands of minors who are not capable to shield themselves (Pierce, 2019) and brought additional interrogations for the potential sponsors of the unaccompanied minors (Pierce, 2019).

Also, during the Obama Administration, pregnant women were released from federal custody to protect their wellbeing but this policy was ended by Trump (Pierce, 2019). Trump has ended the policy which he refers 'catch and release'. During Obama Administration, once families approached border they were placed in rescue and center and once they were fed, they were given an ankle monitor and released with a court date (VOA News, 2018). This provided the unity of families and 954 families benefitted from this program. 99% of them went to court for their immigration hearing (Pierce, 2019). However, as one of his promises, Trump ended the program since he argued that the program led to 'the release of the criminals to the society'.

Lastly, Trump Administration has made important alterations to provide interior security. With his executive order on January 2017, Trump has changed the Obama era policy that was focusing on the undocumented

immigrants who had criminal records. He directed agencies to follow up all removable aliens and every undocumented alien was targeted with this policy change (Pierce, 2019). This has increased the level of security in the society and caused undocumented people to avoid enforcement forces not to be deported. Furthermore, the reinstatement of the Secure Communities program contributed to this avoidance. The program is a federal information-sharing system that examines fingerprints of people entered in the local or state custody and flags them as removable. Therefore, if an undocumented immigrant is taken into custody, s/he might be identified as removable and can be deported even if they are not found guilty by the court. At the end of the 2017 Fiscal Year, 43.300 undocumented immigrants were deported as the result of this program (Pierce, 2019).

To be able to cope with these increased targets, President Trump ordered to hire 10.000 ICE agents by his executive order in January 2017. There were 5.800 deportation officers when Trump took the office. In 2019 Fiscal Year, Trump Administration requested to hire 2.000 additional enforcement officers (Pierce, 2019).

With this increased workforce, the administration started to conduct worksite investigations to find undocumented immigrants working illegally. Investigations increased from 1.691 to 6.848 between the fiscal years of 2017 and 2018 (Pierce, 2019). Donald Trump gave important pledges voters and he took action to fulfill these promises immediately after his inauguration. His executive orders command actions to strengthen the southern border through deploying soldiers, to change Obama era immigration policies and to focus on interior enforcement and to increase in numbers of enforcement officers.

5.2.3. Sanctuary Cities

Sanctuary cities are a general term for cities that limit their involvement and cooperation with federal agencies with regard to sharing information about

the registration status of immigrants in case of their deportation under the Secure Communities program. These cities do not limit their services for undocumented immigrants such as having a driving license and they can benefit from them.

Also, they are not given to US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) for deportation if they are not engaged in violent crimes. (Kopan, 2018). Throughout the USA, 179 cities in eight states are sanctuary cities (Griffith & Vaughan, 2019, "Maps: Sanctuary Cities, Counties, and States"). Thus, they draw criticisms from immigration hardliners because since they do not give undocumented immigrants to ICE officers for deportation and this causes a security problem for the society. However, these cities aim to prevent innocent people to be deported to a country in which they have a weak connection and they collaborate with ICE officers if an undocumented alien engaged with violent crimes.

President Trump is one of the immigration hardliners who believe that sanctuary cities hurt national security due to the lack of collaboration with enforcement agencies. Cutting federal funds for sanctuary cities is one of his immigration promises during his election campaign. His executive order on January 25th, 2017 directs to exclude sanctuary cities from receiving federal funds. Federal courts stopped this implementation and the appeal of administration was rejected on August 1st, 2018. Therefore, Trump Administration is looking for alternative measures to cut federal funds to sanctuary cities (Pierce, 2019). These cities are obstacles for Trump's policy for removable aliens. Therefore, sanctuary cities continue to be an important part of immigration policies of Trump Administration.

5.2.4. DACA & DAPA Programs

As explained above the Obama Administration developed programs for both undocumented immigrants in the USA and minors in Central American countries. DACA provided legal status to prevent the deportation of

undocumented youths who meet some criteria at the time of its announcement in June 2012. 741,000 people benefited from the DACA program (Martin, 2017). Thus, it was an important step to legalize undocumented immigrants. However, DACA was part of Obama's removal policy which was focusing on criminals for deportation and it conflicts with Trump's immigration policies. Therefore, in September 2017, the Trump Administration announced its plan to end the DACA program. After the announcement, USCIS stopped receiving new applications for DACA and in October 2017, it was announced that USCIS will not receive DACA renewal applications too. The end of the program was a disappointment for both beneficiaries and other undocumented immigrants who are living with the fear of deportation. In January 2019, three federal courts blocked the program's termination. Trump Administration appealed the blockage and the case will be heard in the Supreme Court in 2019-2020 term. Meanwhile, USCIS provides DACA status to individuals who received status prior to termination (Pierce, 2019).

DAPA was announced by the Obama Administration in November 2014. The program was aimed to provide legal status for undocumented immigrants who were parents of US citizens or lawful permanent residents. It is similar to DACA and it would provide a more comprehensive approach to solve the status problem of undocumented aliens. However, DAPA could not be implemented since it was blocked by federal courts upon the request of Republican senators. Hence, the program was born dead and never implemented.

Trump Administration rescinded the DAPA program officially in June 2017 (Pierce, 2019). The termination of both programs also coincides with Trump's general immigration policies which consider undocumented immigrants as a security problem rather than the status problem of the people who are parts of American society.

5.2.5. Changes in Immigrant and Refugee Admissions

Donald Trump's election promises regarding immigration include legal immigration and refugee admissions along with preventing illegal crossings and deporting undocumented aliens in the USA. Similar to other areas, President Trump took action to fulfill his promises without loss of time. With his executive order on January 2017, the president forbid nationals of seven countries (Iran, Libya, North Korea, Somalia, Syria, Venezuela and Yemen) to enter the USA since these individuals possess a security threat for the national security. Federal courts prevented implementation but at the third attempt, travel ban became permanent with revisions (Pierce, 2019). The first version of the order included legal visa holders which led the separation of families since when a member of the family was out of the USA, could not return for a while. Similarly, with the same executive order, Trump ordered to limit visas for the nationals of recalcitrant countries. These countries did not cooperate with the USA to accept their deported citizens and they were constantly delaying or refusing to receive them. Thus, this order put pressure on these countries to cooperate and it became successful. The number of these countries decreased from 23 to 10 by the end of 2018 and more countries such as Ghana, Laos, Cambodia and Eritrea accepted to receive their nationals as a result of this pressure. Trump used the country's political hegemony in international politics to implement his domestic immigration policies (Pierce, 2019).

Trump's immigration promises involve the change of immigration system to attract more skilled immigrants. However, Trump Administration brought an additional layer for employment visa application. As of October 2017, all applicants should attend a face to face interview to receive employment-based residency. Before that, applicants were called for an interview if there was a specific concern related with the individual's application. Therefore, Trump Administration complicated the immigration process. A similar regulation was also implemented for Green Card holders. USCIS had the

authority to provide a waiver of interview for certain Green Card holders but as of November 2018, administration limit USCIS' such authority and applicants were incapacitated from this right.

Along with the immigrants who choose to live in the USA, people who did not have much chance to come the USA to save their lives were affected by Trump's immigration policies. The USA is a resettlement country for refugees from all around the world and it is the biggest resettlement country in the world. Thousands of refugees are assessed by specialists and they are undergoing numerous interviews and security checks before coming to the USA. However, asylum seekers and refugees are seen as a security threat by the Trump Administration. Refugee admissions to the country were stopped for 120 days between June 26th to October 27th in 2017. Also, the administration set the lowest annual refugee ceiling since the 1980 Refugee Act. For the 2017 Fiscal Year, the ceiling was lowered from 110.000 which was set by the Obama Administration to 50.000 and 53.716 refugees were admitted. In the 2018 Fiscal Year, it was lowered to 45.000 and 22.491 was accepted. For 2019 Fiscal Year, the ceiling was set as 30.000 and less than 13.000 people were admitted in the first six months of the fiscal year (Pierce, 2019). Furthermore, new vetting requirements were brought by Trump Administration and nationals of eleven countries were deprioritized since these countries were considered as high risk to the national security. Syria, Iraq, Yemen and Somalia are among high-risk countries and most of the refugees in the world are from these four states (Pierce, 2019). Therefore, millions of refugees are losing their hope to be resettled in a country that they can live peacefully and it damages the USA's image as a pioneer of human rights.

Another Trump Administration implementation that hurts refugee admissions to the USA is the termination of the CAM program. The program was established by the Obama Administration in November 2014

to prevent Central American minors to take a dangerous journey to the USA for asylum-seeking. The program gave youths a chance to apply for asylum in their native countries if they have a lawfully resident parent in the USA. Also, they had a chance to be accepted under parole even they were rejected as a refugee. In total, 13.000 minors applied for this program and they were protected from thousands of kilometers travel and being targeted by human traffickers and smugglers. Similar to DACA and DAPA, the CAM program was also terminated by the Trump Administration. USCIS announced that they stopped accepting new applications for the refugee side of the program in November 2017 and in January 2018, they stopped interviewing CAM applicants completely. However, on March 2019 federal district court judge directed DHS to process the case of 2.714 applicants who were accepted to the USA under the parole (Pierce, 2019). CAM became the part of Trump's policy to accept fewer refugees and immigrants to the USA and left Central American minors without a choice to come the US border by themselves as part of migrant caravans.

Asylum seekers were also affected by Trump's policies. As of February 2017, USCIS announced that asylum officers would look for credible-fear in asylum interviews. Officers should conduct a full analysis of the credibility of the applicant rather than the possibility of the claim's credibility.

Moreover, applicants should prove their identity with evidence instead of a reasonable degree of certainty. These changes reduced the approval rate of asylum seekers. In addition to this update in interviews, Jeff Sessions, then-Attorney General of Trump Administration, limited the ability of the victims of domestic or gang violence to apply for asylum in the USA. It excluded the victims and this affected the people of Central American countries who flee to save their lives, they constitute the majority of people on the caravans heading to the USA (Pierce, 2019).

Also, caravans led Trump Administration to limit the number of asylum seekers who are allowed to enter the USA in each port of the southern border. However, there is no way for people to know how long they need to wait to cross the border. Also, it is not possible to secure their spot among the crowd to cross border and apply for asylum (Pierce, 2019). The waiting process might take weeks even months but people cannot know when they will be accepted. In addition to the hardship of living in ad hoc camps, this waiting process is corrosive psychologically. With regard to asylum seekers, not only ones coming to the USA but also people who are living in the USA for years were influenced by the Trump Administration's immigration policies. The USA has provided TPS for people who escaped from their countries due to violence and natural disasters and cannot return. This status is temporary and status holders are expected to return their countries eventually. However, since the conditions in their homeland donot improve, their status renewed each time when it ends. The administration has ended TPS for nationals of Sudan, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Haiti and Honduras. More than 300.000 status holders will be affected by this decision (Pierce, 2019). With the termination of TPS, people will lose their legal status and since they cannot return to their countries, they will become unauthorized and it will lead to their deportation eventually. This decision was stopped by a federal district court for the time being but people will live with the danger of deportation if the termination is confirmed.

Donald Trump won the hearts of American voters with brave promises and this led to his victory. Pledges related with immigration appealed to voters and the president kept his word and took actions immediately. His decisions influenced the lives of millions of people and created uncertainty in their daily lives. At one point they might need to live under the shadow of the possibility of leaving their friends and families. Some of the actions were stopped by federal courts and relived them for a while but now, they cannot have a clear view of the future. His speech acts during his election period

and the presidency affected people as well as his policies. He set the agenda and guided press and public opinion with discourses. His speech acts on different areas and their effects will be discussed in the following sections.

5.3. Speech Acts Regarding Immigration

Donald Trump was a recognizable table before his run for the presidency. During his campaign, he increased his popularity and influence on the public. Therefore, his speeches started to shape the public opinion. Some of his promises throughout the election time and presidency were directly connected with immigration. As explained in the previous chapters, immigration is a wide concept that fits more than one security sector in accordance with the Copenhagen School's securitization theory. Since 2015, Trump has been influencing the public in the military, societal and economic sectors regarding immigration through speech acts. His discourse might be applicable to different sectors at the same time due to the comprehensiveness of immigration. In the following sections, Trump's speech acts will be examined for each sector.

5.3.1. Speech Acts on Military Sector

The military sector reflects classical security understanding and the referent object is the state. The state should be protected and any threat against the state's integrity should be eliminated. Normally, immigrants and asylum seekers do not have such power to take down governments and seize the state since they are not a terrorist group or an organized army with such a goal.

However, Trump's speech acts on Latin American immigrants and asylum seekers exaggerate them as a threat to the American state and society's security. Regardless of their place, within the state or not, they are dangerous for order and peace according to Trump and he is suggesting to take extreme precautions on the military-level to stop people's crossings in the southern border of the state.

The construction of the wall is of importance to Trump even that it led to the government shutdown and national emergency and this significance of the wall was emphasized by speeches and tweets by Trump. He posted more than a hundred tweets regarding the wall since 2014. In his first tweet, he states that “SECURE THE BORDER! BUILD A WALL!” (Trump, 2014) and emphasizes building a wall on the southern border is necessary to secure the border. In history, many cities had castles and walls around their borders to protect themselves from foreign invaders. The most famous wall is the Great Wall of China which was built in hundreds of years to protect China from foreign invaders who were attacking them continuously from their western borders. Donald Trump suggests the Great Wall of China as a successful example of a wall and uses it as an example to justify the need for a wall in the Mexican border. (Trump, 2017) However, it was a measure for the Middle Age and it was built for foreign armies but with his insistence to build this wall, Trump identifies Latin American people as a foreign army. In his another tweet on January 14th, 2019, he wrote;

...The Steel Barrier or Wall, should have been built by previous administrations long ago. They never got it done – I will. Without it, our Country cannot be safe. Criminals, Gangs, Human traffickers, Drugs & so much other big trouble can easily pour in. It can be stopped cold! (Trump, 2019).

He believes that the wall would stop all criminal activities related with the Mexican border and without it, the country cannot be safe. Trump might be right about criminal activities and wall may help decrease the crime levels related to illegal crossings but with associating every person who wants to cross border for a better life and to escape from criminals, led to the identification of Latin American immigrants and asylum seekers as the threats that need to be confronted by military measures.

Another speech act that led to the securitization of Latin American people is related with the ‘caravan’. A caravan is a general term that is used to describe the people from Central American countries who walked from their

countries to the USA to escape chaos from their countries. In Central American countries which are also called Northern Triangle, the local gangs have such a power that local law enforcement officers cannot cope with gangs. Therefore, with regard to crime and homicide rates they are world leaders and this leaves no chance for local people other than leaving their own countries to save their lives (Labrador & Renwick, 2018). Moreover, because of high inflation and scarcity of vital products in the country, Venezuelans started to leave their countries and some of them became part of the caravan to pursue the American dream.

Caravan's journey to the USA took the attention of both the world press and the region's political actors. They went through Mexico to reach the USA and their number was estimated as 7.000 in October 2018 (Lapin, 2018). It is not possible to know the exact number since throughout their 4.000 km long travel, some leave and others attend to caravan throughout the road. Their journey also became an important part of Donald Trump's agenda and his comments about the caravan contributed to the securitization of Latin American migration. He continued his firm stance against migration on this issue and expressed his views through Twitter and his speeches. He started to post tweets about the caravan in April 2018. He focused on different aspects of caravan including characteristics of people who consist of the caravan, warned to presidents of Northern Triangle countries to stop them. First, he identified all people in the caravan as criminals who want to infiltrate to the USA. He tweeted on October 29th and November 26th, 2018 and referred to these people as 'criminals';

Many Gang Members and some very bad people are mixed into the Caravan heading to our Southern Border. Please go back, you will not be admitted into the United States unless you go through the legal process. This is an invasion of our Country and our Military is waiting for you! (Trump, 2018).

Mexico should move the flag waving Migrants, many of whom are stone cold criminals, back to their countries. Do it by plane, do it

by bus, do it anyway you want, but they are NOT coming into the U.S.A. We will close the Border permanently if need be. Congress, fund the WALL! (Trump, 2018).

And later, he referred to people as ‘fighters’ and their walk to the USA as ‘onslaught’ as if they constitute an army;

The Caravans are made up of some very tough fighters and people. Fought back hard and viciously against Mexico at Northern Border before breaking through. Mexican soldiers hurt, were unable, or unwilling to stop Caravan. Should stop them before they reach our Border, but won’t! (Trump, 2018).

Full efforts are being made to stop the onslaught of illegal aliens from crossing our Southern Border. People have to apply for asylum in Mexico first, and if they fail to do that, the U.S. will turn them away. The courts are asking the U.S. to do things that are not doable! (Trump, 2018).

President Trump answered questions of journalists after his press conference on Illegal Immigration Crisis and Border Security. His answers illustrate how the president sees caravan;

...I hope not. It’s the military — I hope — I hope there won’t be that. But I will tell you this: Anybody throwing stones, rocks — like they did to Mexico and the Mexican military, Mexican police, where they badly hurt police and soldiers of Mexico — we will consider that a firearm. Because there’s not much difference, where you get hit in the face with a rock — which, as you know, it was very violent a few days ago — very, very violent — that break-in. It was a break-in of a country. They broke into Mexico...

...We will consider that the maximum that we can consider that, because they’re throwing rocks viciously and violently. You saw that three days ago. Really hurting the military. We’re not going to put up with that. If they want to throw rocks at our military, our military fights back. We’re going to consider — and I told them, consider it a rifle. When they throw rocks like they did at the Mexico military and police, I say, consider it a rifle. (The White House, 2018).

Trump is exaggerating the power and capacity of these people. The caravan had some clash with the Mexican army once they met on their way. However, their capacity cannot be compared with a regular army and

through considering a rock as a firearm, the President is justifying the usage of excessive force. Moreover, through claiming that there are criminals within the caravan, he ignored the humanitarian aspect of their journey and he twisted the facts to feed fears of US citizens and create biases against these people. Caravan mostly contains women, children and elderly people who want to escape gang violence in their countries (Epatko & Barajas, 2018). Trump chooses to believe otherwise and states “It’s a lot of young people, lot of young men — they are pushing the women up to the front — not good — and the kids right up to the front.”. He sees as a scheme of media and they are just focusing on young women and children but UNICEF estimated that at least 2.300 children are part of this group (Lapin, 2018). With his tweets and speeches, Trump tried to reflect caravan as an army of young criminal men who walk 4.000 km to invade the USA. Thus, he identifies caravan as a security threat to the state.

Secondly, Trump also warned and threatened presidents of Mexico and the Northern Triangle countries regarding the caravan in his several tweets;

The big Caravan of People from Honduras, now coming across Mexico and heading to our “Weak Laws” Border, had better be stopped before it gets there. Cash cow NAFTA is in play, as is foreign aid to Honduras and the countries that allow this to happen. Congress MUST ACT NOW! (Trump, 2018).

The United States has strongly informed the President of Honduras that if the large Caravan of people heading to the U.S. is not stopped and brought back to Honduras, no more money or aid will be given to Honduras, effective immediately! (Trump, 2018).

.....Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador are doing nothing for the United States but taking our money. Word is that a new Caravan is forming in Honduras and they are doing nothing about it. We will be cutting off all aid to these 3 countries - taking advantage of U.S. for years! (Trump, 2018).

I am watching the Democrat Party led (because they want Open Borders and existing weak laws) assault on our country by Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador, whose leaders are doing

little to stop this large flow of people, INCLUDING MANY CRIMINALS, from entering Mexico to U.S..... (Trump, 2018).

....In addition to stopping all payments to these countries, which seem to have almost no control over their population, I must, in the strongest of terms, ask Mexico to stop this onslaught - and if unable to do so I will call up the U.S. Military and CLOSE OUR SOUTHERN BORDER!... (Trump, 2018).

....The assault on our country at our Southern Border, including the Criminal elements and DRUGS pouring in, is far more important to me, as President, than Trade or the USMCA. Hopefully Mexico will stop this onslaught at their Northern Border. All Democrats fault for weak laws! (Trump, 2018).

The USA has been supporting these countries financially since the Cold War as part of the war against communism. Due to current gang violence and governments' fight against crime, these countries are dependent on the USA to maintain the order. Through threatening other countries' president with regard to financial aids, Trump politicizes the issue and creates a crisis between countries. His tweets against states which are not capable to stop their people from this journey, emphasizes the perception of the caravan as invaders. Thus, it reinforces the image of Latin American immigrants as security threats to the state.

Lastly, other aspects of Donald Trump's securitization of the caravan are the necessity of stopping it and the level of measures which are taken. He underlines the need for the military to stop the caravan his tweets on 29th October 2018;

Our military is being mobilized at the Southern Border. Many more troops coming. We will NOT let these Caravans, which are also made up of some very bad thugs and gang members, into the U.S. Our Border is sacred, must come in legally. TURN AROUND! (Trump, 2018).

Tremendous numbers of people are coming up through Mexico in the hopes of flooding our Southern Border. We have sent additional military. We will build a Human Wall if necessary. If we had a real Wall, this would be a non-event! (Trump, 2019)

With his tweets, he considers caravan as a military level threat to the USA and the measure which is taken to stop them is sending troops to the southern border. The state deployed 5.800 active-duty troops and 2.100 National Guard troops to the border to meet the caravan. Also, Trump promised to send additional 15.000 troops in case of a need which makes the number of troops in the border more than three times the population of the caravan (Malloy & Cohen, 2018). It is an extraordinary measure for an armless group of people who contain mostly women and children. Nevertheless, President Trump perceives this group as invaders and through calling and implementing military level measures to stop them present Latin American immigrants as a security threat and contribute to the securitization process. His assessment of caravan as a military threat is also affecting the societal sector which will be discussed in the following section.

5.3.2. Speech Acts on Societal Sector

The societal sector is another security sector of the Copenhagen School which Donald Trump made speech acts to securitize immigrants. Society is the referent object in this sector and any concept that threatens a common collective identity of a society is the threat. This can be a group of people who share different religion, ethnicity or values which do not fit the general fabric of the society. They are seen as threat and measures can be taken to diminish their influence on the community. Generally, immigrants and refugees are seen as outsiders and once they do not fit in the norms of the host community with regard to race, ethnicity or religion, they are seen as a threat to shared values and peace in the society. These concerns are expressed by conservative political leaders and opinion leaders usually. With their speech acts, the securitization process starts and immigrants become scapegoats of all problems that society has. In the USA, Trump's speech acts and tweets on immigrants lead to securitization with regard to the societal sector. In the case of Latin American immigrants, the number of the Hispanic population in the USA is 57.5 million and they constitute 17.8

% of the total population. It makes Hispanics the largest ethnic group of the country (US Census Bureau, 2018). Thus, assessing them as a threat to society's common values would be incorrect which is also not meant by Trump's statements but his views about the people who constitute the caravan, contribute to the securitization process in the societal sector regarding public order. His negative presentation of the people in the caravan is affecting public views accordingly.

As examined in detail in the previous section, people from the Northern Triangle countries flee their countries due to ongoing gang violence and chaos and started to walk to the USA for better living conditions. However, Trump maintained his firm stance on immigration concerning the caravan as well. Trump identified people of the caravan as 'stone cold criminals' and 'tough fighters' in his tweets and defined their travel to the USA as 'invasion' (Barria, 2018). He evaluates this issue on the societal level as well as the military level.

With his statements, the President underlines the threat that caravan may cause in the US society through illegal activities. Trump emphasized criminal incidents which are conducted by irregular immigrants in the USA and he implied that with the arrival of the caravan, they will commit an offense and crime rates will increase. First, along with the characteristics of the group, Trump shared wrong information. As mentioned in the previous section, Trump claims that young men constitute the group but in reality, the group contains mostly women and children.

Besides, during a roundtable discussion on tax reform, President Trump claimed that "where this journey coming up, women are raped at levels that nobody's ever seen before. They don't want to mention that." (Lucey & Lemire, 2018). However, there is no such reporting from journalists who are following the journey and Trump is trying to fuel the fears of people with such claims.

Secondly, when caravan's journey constituted an important part of the US political agenda, President Trump hosted Angel Families organization in the White House on June 22nd, 2018 and their visit was broadcasted live through the official account of the White House. Angel Families is a civil organization which is founded by the families of people who were killed by irregular immigrants and it aims to advocate stricter immigration laws and border regulations (Angel Families, n.d., 'Our Missions is'). In addition to sharing the video of the visit, Trump posted three tweets regarding crimes conducted by irregular immigrants on the same day;

We must maintain a Strong Southern Border. We cannot allow our Country to be overrun by illegal immigrants as the Democrats tell their phony stories of sadness and grief, hoping it will help them in the elections. Obama and others had the same pictures, and did nothing about it! (Trump, 2018).

We are gathered today to hear directly from the AMERICAN VICTIMS of ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION. These are the American Citizens permanently separated from their loved ones b/c they were killed by criminal illegal aliens. These are the families the media ignores... (Trump, 2018).

Our first duty, and our highest loyalty, is to the citizens of the United States. We will not rest until our border is secure, our citizens are safe, and we finally end the immigration crisis once and for all (Trump, 2018).

With the visit of an organization that has such a specific agenda and the reason for the foundation, Trump associates perpetrated crimes in the USA with the caravan and it is an effort to shape public opinion with regard to immigration and border regulation. This connection between two incidents was aimed to consolidate supporters of the Republican Party during the midterm elections in November 2018 and raise the support for the establishment of the wall. With the increased sense of security, electorates might be inclined to the Republican Party in the midterms due to values praised by Donald Trump. In addition to content, his language in tweets was quite offensive. Trump is always using "illegal immigrants" instead of

“irregular immigrants” in his tweets thus, he is emphasizing the illegality of actions and labeling as criminals rather than people who are trying to flee from their countries due to well-founded reasons. Moreover, in the above tweets Trump states ‘criminal illegal aliens’ and ‘American victims of illegal immigration’. He emphasizes immigration and illegality and connects these two concepts. This leads to an induction which is evaluating immigrants as potential criminals and such situation is harmful to both societal peace and social relations among the members of the US society. Moreover, via using capital letters for ‘illegal immigration’ and ‘American victims’ he underlines the ethnic difference between the suspect and the victim. With equalizing being an immigrant to being criminal, every immigrant in society would be a potential suspect and the sense of trust would disappear.

However, statistics refute the fear of the president. According to the Cato Institute report, immigrants are less prone to commit crimes than native-born citizens. Research which focuses on 1980, 1990 and 2000 census demonstrates that incarceration rates of native citizens are from two to five times higher than the rates of immigrants. Also, according to studies which examine the correlation between crime rates and the immigration population in several cities, there is no positive correlation between two and even in high immigrant populated areas, crimes rates are lower than the general rates. Researchers assessed these results and provide two explanations; first, the punishment of a crime conducted by an immigrant is harsher than crime by native-born citizens since it may lead to deportation along with the penalty which is set forth by the laws. Thus, immigrants are less willing to commit a crime. Secondly, a motivated foreigner who is ambitious to work and build a better future is more likely to immigrate thus, they are more motivated to work rather than getting involved in crime-related activities (Nowrasteh, 2015). Thus, immigrants may help and contribute to solving

problems of the community rather than creating or increasing them as suggested by the president.

As discussed in the previous section, the Trump Administration implement family separations on the border. The implementation was defended by Jeff Sessions who is former US Attorney General of the Trump Administration. During an interview in a radio station, Sessions stated that many American children are also taken away from their parents if they are in prison (BBC, 2018). With this speech act, he likens asylum-seeking in the US soil to a crime that causes prison sentence and refers the application process as a committed crime. Trump suggested in his tweet on June 5th, 2018, this separation is the fault of Democrat Party;

Separating families at the Border is the fault of bad legislation passed by the Democrats. Border Security laws should be changed but the Dems can't get their act together! Started the Wall. (Trump, 2018).

However, according to Associated Press News Agency's checking, there is no such law that requires separation of families at the border and this procedure was started to be conducted by the Trump Administration (BBC, 2018). His tweet misleads the electorates about the negative implementations of his administration and he ignores the responsibilities of his policies.

Another aspect of immigration that encourages President Trump to comment on, is the problems other than public order related concerns. During his speech on Illegal Immigration Crisis and Border Security in White House on November 1st, 2018, Trump focused on the burden on existing services;

...Illegal immigration affects the lives of all Americans. Illegal immigration hurts American workers; burdens American taxpayers; and undermines public safety; and places enormous strain on local schools, hospitals, and communities in general, taking precious resources away from the poorest Americans who

need them most. Illegal immigration costs our country billions and billions of dollars each year...

...Once they arrive, the Democrat Party's vision is to offer them free healthcare, free welfare, free education, and even the right to vote. You and the hardworking taxpayers of our country will be asked to pick up the entire tab. And that's what's happening — medical and, in many cases, they've got some big medical problems before they get here... (The White House, 2018).

With his speech, he argues that accepting immigrants into the country would put too much pressure on public services and it would take resources from the people who already need such resources. Admitting large amounts of immigrants and asylum seekers into a country at once can be problematic in the provision of services. For instance; the Republic of Turkey admitted 3.5 million Syrian refugees in a short time and that led to problems of provision of services such as health, education or registration. However, Turkey's population is around 80 million and more than 4.45 % of the population is Syrian asylum seekers. (Mülteciler Derneği, 2019). Meanwhile, the number of asylum seekers who applied to the USA for asylum application was 942.897 in 2017 according to the UNHCR report (UNHCR, n.d., "People of Concern"). The population of the USA is more than 328.6 million as of March 2019 (US Census Bureau, n.d., "U.S. and World Population Clock") and GDP of 2017 is 19 trillion \$. (The World Bank, n.d., "GDP (current US\$)"). Thus, the USA has enough sources to handle the flow of immigrants from the south and economically capable to provide such services for the people in need. Trump is exaggerating the crisis in terms of the burden that has to be borne.

In Trump's speech acts, sanctuary cities constitute an important front. Cities that do not collaborate with federal immigration agencies draw reactions from the president and he took action to cut federal funds to these cities. Despite the implementation was stopped by federal courts, sanctuary cities continue to be part of Trump's agenda. He shared his views through Twitter and the president demonstrates his stance against the sanctuary cities;

California's sanctuary policies are illegal and unconstitutional and put the safety and security of our entire nation at risk. Thousands of dangerous & violent criminal aliens are released as a result of sanctuary policies, set free to prey on innocent Americans. THIS MUST STOP! (Trump, 2018).

Sanctuary Cities released at least 142 Gang Members across the United States, making it easy for them to commit all forms of violent crimes where none would have existed. We are doing a great job of law enforcement, but things such as this make safety in America difficult! (Trump, 2018).

A vote for Claire McCaskill is a vote for Schumer, Pelosi, Waters, and their socialist agenda. Claire voted IN FAVOR of deadly Sanctuary Cities - she would rather protect criminal aliens than American citizens, which is why she needs to be voted out of office. Vote @HawleyMO! (Trump, 2018).

Trump argues that sanctuary cities protect criminals and jeopardize the overall security of the state. His approach is too inductive and he assumes that all undocumented immigrants are potential criminals who are threats to US society. However, creating fear among undocumented immigrants is more dangerous for society because unauthorized immigrants are avoiding to approach police for reporting a crime due to fear of deportation. Therefore, law enforcement forces coverage in cities to obtain denunciation and their ability to solve crimes diminishes. In addition to increasing the sense of security, sanctuary cities collaborate with ICE for violent crimes conducted by immigrants. Thus, they do not protect criminals from deportation as argued by the president. Nevertheless, as one of the first actions of his presidency, Trump signed an executive order that aims to cut federal grant money from sanctuary cities (Kopan & Shoichet, 2017). His harsh attitude towards these cities is creating a dichotomy between cities and influencing people negatively toward sanctuary cities. This causes potential dangers with regard to societal peace throughout the country.

Last but not least, DACA is a topic that President Trump prefers to share his views. Obama Administration enacted the program to provide legal status for youths who do not have legal documentation. Trump rescinded the

program on June 15th, 2017. Federal court prevented the termination, affecting the lives of people negatively. Trump expressed his views through tweets and demonstrated his perception of the program;

The Democrats have been told, and fully understand, that there can be no DACA without the desperately needed WALL at the Southern Border and an END to the horrible Chain Migration & ridiculous Lottery System of Immigration etc. We must protect our Country at all cost! (Trump, 2017).

As I made very clear today, our country needs the security of the Wall on the Southern Border, which must be part of any DACA approval. (Trump, 2018).

Cryin' Chuck Schumer fully understands, especially after his humiliating defeat, that if there is no Wall, there is no DACA. We must have safety and security, together with a strong Military, for our great people! (Trump, 2018).

Any deal on DACA that does not include STRONG border security and the desperately needed WALL is a total waste of time. March 5th is rapidly approaching and the Dems seem not to care about DACA. Make a deal! (Trump, 2018).

DACA is dead because the Democrats didn't care or act, and now everyone wants to get onto the DACA bandwagon... No longer works. Must build Wall and secure our borders with proper Border legislation. Democrats want No Borders, hence drugs and crime! (Trump, 2018).

The reason the DACA for Wall deal didn't get done was that a ridiculous court decision from the 9th Circuit allowed DACA to remain, thereby setting up a Supreme Court case. After ruling, Dems dropped deal - and that's where we are today, Democrat obstruction of the needed Wall. (Trump, 2018).

As illustrated by his tweets, Trump does not consider DACA as a significant act that affects the lives of thousands of people. He sees the issue from the lenses of security and uses DACA as leverage to convince the Congress to make an agreement for the wall in the southern border. This understanding of Trump Administration underestimates the societal effect of DACA and sacrifices it for border security. Also, this discourse associates DACA beneficiaries with irregular immigrants who want to cross the border. It is

hurtful for societal peace since it ignores the contributions of undocumented immigrants to society. Especially, DACA beneficiaries mostly grew up in the USA and they were raised as Americans but this aspect is ignored by Trump. Thus, the speech acts of President Trump regarding DACA ignores a part of American society who were raised as American citizens and emphasizes the sense of security through associating with DACA and the border wall.

Although this thesis mainly focuses on the speech acts of Trump regarding Latin American immigrants, his general attitude towards migration is also worth mentioning especially with regard to Muslim immigrants. During his presidential run, a statement was published in Trump's campaign website on December 7th, 2015 which was calling for a complete shutdown of Muslim immigration to the USA. He mentioned the hatred among Muslims towards to the USA according to research results as the justification of his call (Estepa, 2017). Trump displays the same inductive attitude that he has for Latin American immigrants to all Muslims and he prefers to shut the borders for them. After his inauguration as president, one of his first action was to bring a travel ban to 7 Muslim countries – Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Somalia, Sudan, Libya and Iran – for 90 days and it covered Syrian refugees who were chosen for refugee resettlement in the USA (BBC, 2018). The main reason for this ban was these countries' association with terrorism. However, Syrian refugees were undergoing a serious background and security checks by both UNHCR and the US government and very few of them achieved to pass these procedures. So that, the US government ensures and confirms their disinterest with terrorism. Therefore, this raised concerns about the reason for the ban; along with security concerns, this decision was taken against Muslims. In addition to statements and ban, his views encouraged more radical voices to be raised. Franklin Graham, who is the son of evangelist priest Billy Graham, wrote on his Facebook page on December 9th, 2015 to ban all Muslim immigration to the USA;

For some time I have been saying that Muslim immigration into the United States should be stopped until we can properly vet them or until the war with Islam is over. Donald J. Trump has been criticized by some for saying something similar. The new Speaker of the House Paul Ryan said yesterday that he disagrees—saying that “such views are not what this party stands for and more importantly it’s not what this country stands for.” Politicians in Washington seem to be totally disconnected with reality. (Graham, 2015)

Graham was influenced by Trump’s views and his post was shared 59.000 times. Also, he shared another post suggesting a ban on all Muslim immigrants as it was done to Japanese people during the World War II. It was also shared 55.000 times (Larimer, 2015). He blended global war against terrorism with Islam religion and assumed that all Muslims were terrorists and security threats. Thus, he extravagated to suggest the same racist implementation which was conducted by the US government 70 years ago. Therefore, Trump’s discourses are important for evaluation since even if he did not create important influence on the general audience, he encourages local opinion leaders to express their radical and racist views which may influence people more than Trump might do.

5.3.3. Speech Acts on Economic Sector

As a businessman who is working in various sectors such as construction, tourism and television for more than 40 years, Donald Trump aims to manage the country as a company which is eluded from the restraints of bureaucracy and make profits (Trump, 2017). Therefore, the economy was a crucial part of his election agenda. With regard to economy, he promised to create new jobs for Americans, change trade balance with China for a more advantageous position for the USA and repeal all free trade agreements. His promises regarding economy were welcomed by voters and affected their choice for the presidency. Economic concerns and immigration have a correlational relationship in Donald Trump’s perception. According to the president, the job-stealing, undocumented immigrants are damaging the

American economy and workers meanwhile Mexico is benefiting from the US through unfair agreements. In exchange, Mexico is sending criminals to the border (Magcamit, 2017). In his tweets, he often associates trade partnership with Mexico and events on immigration and he correlates these two areas;

Mexico is doing very little, if not NOTHING, at stopping people from flowing into Mexico through their Southern Border, and then into the U.S. They laugh at our dumb immigration laws. They must stop the big drug and people flows, or I will stop their cash cow, NAFTA. NEED WALL! (Trump, 2018).

We MUST have strong borders and stop illegal immigration. Without that we do not have a country. Also, Mexico is killing U.S. on trade. WIN! (Trump, 2015).

I love the Mexican people, but Mexico is not our friend. They're killing us at the border and they're killing us on jobs and trade. FIGHT! (Trump, 2015).

Ohio is losing jobs to Mexico, now losing Ford (and many others). Kasich is weak on illegal immigration. We need strong borders now! (Trump, 2016).

The Mexican legal system is corrupt, as is much of Mexico. Pay me the money that is owed me now - and stop sending criminals over our border (Trump, 2015).

The president considers Mexico as a contender that is trying to hurt and take advantage of the USA through free trade agreements and encouraging people to emigrate. Thus, he promised voters to make Mexico pay the cost of the wall in the southern border. If they are choosing to send their bad people to the USA while benefiting from agreements, then they have to pay the price for the efforts to stop crossings in accordance with Trump's rhetoric. He even extravagates this 'war' to suggest cancellation of legal visas of Mexican workers and withholding their remittance which is sent to Mexico (Magcamit, 2017). The amount of remittance that was sent to Mexico was around 32 billion \$ in 2017 and almost all of them were sent from the USA. Remittance is an important financial source and cutting this

income would severely damage the Mexican economy (The World Bank, n.d., "Personal remittances, received (current US\$)").

In this discourse, immigrants are seen as pawns of economic war and as people with another agenda to harm the US economy rather than seeking better living conditions. Thus, it changes the perception of Latin American immigrants in American society from 'people in need' to 'people who are coming to steal their jobs'. It fuels the fear of people with regard to their job security and negatively affects their views on immigration.

Generally, Donald Trump focuses on undocumented immigrants and their harm to the US economy and workers in his speeches. However, he is also concerned about the immigrants who legally reside and work in the USA. President Trump favored American workers and called American companies to return their overseas production lines to the USA during the election campaign. In line with his nationalist views, through limiting immigration he aims to increase the employment rate of American citizens. A legislation proposal prepared by two Republican senators suggests to reduce legal immigration to half, introduce a merit-based system rather than family tie connection, diminish refugee quotas and eliminate the diversity visa lottery. Trump expressed his views about the legislation during a White House event;

This legislation will not only restore our competitive edge in the 21st century, but it will restore the sacred bonds of trust between America and its citizens...This legislation demonstrates our compassion for struggling American families who deserve an immigration system that puts their needs first and that puts America first (Baker, 2017).

To support and protect American workers, Trump is supporting this bill but studies show that cutting immigration to the half would damage the US economy instead of contributing. Some sectors in the economy like tourism and agriculture, heavily depend on immigrants' recruitment and limiting immigration would damage these sectors through creating a labor shortage.

Also, it would negatively affect the workforce gap which is forecasted to reach 7.5 million jobs until 2020 (Baker, 2017). Promises and actions to strengthen the US economy would lead to economic loss due to Trump's stance against immigration.

The other aspect that drew the attention of Trump regarding the relation between immigration and the economy is government spending. As well as the discussion on the wall funding, other implementations of the US government in relation to immigration cost a considerable amount of money for American taxpayers. As mentioned in the previous section, the children are separated from their families once they enter the country until their asylum application hearing. With the increasing number of asylum seekers who are approaching the border, the cost of accommodating children in shelters is rising day by day. US government spent 958 million \$ for foster care services for these children in 2017. While arguing illegal immigration costs billion dollars to the USA and suggesting that this expense can be allocated to enhance infrastructure, Trump chooses policies that increase government expenditure (Mendoza & Fenn, 2018).

As discussed previously, separating children from families is harmful to their psychological development and it is damaging their family bonds meanwhile it is also putting more pressure on the government's budget. Therefore, President Trump's negative attitude toward immigrants causes a conflict with his economic promises given to American voters. Voters are misled by speech acts which suggest how immigration costs a significant proportion of their taxes but in fact, Trump administration's implementations and threats regarding immigration might cause more harm for the economy. His discourses blame people who escape from their countries or choose to live in the USA for better conditions and affect society's perception of economic cost regarding reasons and results of the expenditures.

5.4. Audience Acceptance

Donald Trump was a well-known figure in American society but his run for presidency increased his popularity and his discourse started to be heard by every single US citizen. He gave numerous promises with regard to immigration which attracted the attention of voters and helped him to win the run for the presidency. After his inauguration, he took steps to fulfill his promises in this area. Meanwhile, President Trump continued to his speeches to securitize migration that he started with his presidency run. Along with policies, Trump's discourse affected the members of the American society. Numerous surveys present the president's effect on the audience.

A Gallup survey which was conducted in January 2016 with 1,012 adults, ask voters in case of Trump's presidency, what will be the best and most positive feature of his administration. Participants stated that his businessman past and immigration policies will be the best characteristics of Trump Administration. Among Republicans, the rate of people believe his businessman identity is the best characteristic for the presidency increases from 10% to 11% and meanwhile with regard to immigration policies, it rises from 9% to 13%. Almost one year before the election, Trump managed to feature his businessman characteristics and immigration stance to the audience (see table 10) (Newport, 2019).

Table 10 People's Views on Trump's Characteristic

Suppose Donald Trump is elected president in 2016. In your view, what would be the best or more positive thing about a Donald Trump presidency?		
	Republicans/Leaners %	Democrats/Leaners %
PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS		
Honest/Says what he feels	12	5
Good business person/Follows through	11	8
Confident/Strong/Does not back down	11	2

Table 10 (cont'd)

Would not last long/Irritates people/Politically incorrect	2	3
Entertaining	2	3
Not a career politician	2	2
ISSUES		
Immigration policies/Border control/Build a wall	13	5
Would improve the economy	9	3
Would fight terrorism/strengthen defense, military	5	2
Financial management/Less spending/Control the budget	3	2
More balanced trade/Bring jobs back to U.S.	2	1
POLITICAL		
Could turn things around/make changes (non-specific)	10	1
Better than we have	2	-

After his election, another survey was carried out to seek the effect of Trump's win on different groups. According to interviews, conducted between June 1st, 2016 to November 8th, 2016 and November 9th, 2016 to June 30th, 2017 general levels of worry and stress increased in all groups as a result of Trump's election. General level of stress augmented among Hispanic as 2.9% (26.6% to 29.9), among whites as 2.5% (31.6% to 34.1%) and among blacks as 2.4% (22.1% to 24.5%). The stress level was increased in similar 2.5%, 0.4% and 1.1% respectively in all ethnic groups (see table 11).

Table 11 U.S. Worry and Stress Level on the Election

U.S. Worry and Stress Before and After the 2016 Election		
	%Worry	%Stress

Table 11 (cont'd)

	Hispanic	White	Black	Hispanic	White	Black
June 1-Nov.8.2016	26.6	31.6	22.1	32.9	45.2	30.8
Nov.9.2016-June 30.2017	29.5	34.1	24.5	35.4	45.6	31.9
Difference (pct. pts.)	+2.9	+2.5	+2.4	+2.5	+0.4	+1.1

Despite Trump caused an increment in worry and stress in all groups, the biggest change is seen among Hispanics since they are the targets of the immigration policies. The level of worry and stress demonstrates the difference between Spanish speaking and English speaking Hispanics. The level of worry increased 5.8% (23.8% to 29.6%) among Spanish speaking meanwhile it was only 1.0% (28.3% to 29.3%) among English speaking. Stress level rose 6.6% in Spanish speaking Hispanics meanwhile it decreased 0.6% among English speaking Hispanics (see table 12).

Table 12 Hispanics' Worry and Stress Level on the Election

Hispanics' Worry and Stress Before and After the 2016 Election				
	%Worry		%Stress	
	Hispanics interviewed in Spanish	Hispanics interviewed in English	Hispanics interviewed in Spanish	Hispanics interviewed in English
June 1-Nov.8.2016	23.8	28.3	22.4	38.8
Nov.9.2016-June 30.2017	29.6	29.3	29	38.2
Difference (pct. pts.)	+5.8	+1	+6.6	-0.6

Spanish speaking participants have a lesser educational level and earn less money than English speakers. Also, 92.7% of them were born in another country and 96.2% of the participants' one or both parents were born outside of the USA. These rates are 17.2% and 42.1% respectively for English speaking respondents (see table 13). Spanish speaking respondents or their parents are more likely to be an unauthorized immigrant and direct target of Trump's policies. Thus, their worry and stress increased more than others. However, the general level of stress was higher among English speakers both before and after the election (38.8% and 38.2% in comparison with 22.4% and 29.0%). Both worry and stress levels remained higher eight months after the election than before the election and the most dramatic change is seen among Hispanics (Ritter & Tsabutashvili, 2018, "Hispanics' Emotional Well-Being During the Trump Era").

Table 13 Demographic Profile of Hispanic Interviewees

Demographic Profile of Hispanics Interviewed in Spanish and Hispanics Interviewed in English		
	Interviewed in Spanish %	Interviewed in English %
Education		
High school or less	87.5	45.2
Some college and vocational	9.1	32.9
College grad and above	3.4	21.9
Income		
Less than \$36K	86.5	42.8
\$36K to \$90K	12.7	38.7
\$90K and above	0.8	18.5
Born in another country		
Born in U.S.	6.7	82.8
Born in another country	92.7	17.2
Either parent born in another country		
One or both born outside of U.S.	96.2	42.1
Both born in the U.S.	3.8	55.8

Surveys were also conducted to examine the effect of Trump’s policies on the audience. The border wall is a quite controversial issue in American politics and Trump gave importance and dedicated himself for the construction of the wall. Therefore, several polls were conducted at different times to measure public opinion about the wall. According to Gallup, 33% of respondents were favor of the wall while 66% of them were against. People who were in favor were divided as 18% for strongly favor and 15% for favor (see table 14).

Table 14 Views on a Wall Along the Entire U.S. – Mexico Border

Building a wall along the entire U.S.-Mexico border.					
	Strongly favor %	Favor %	Oppose %	Strongly oppose %	No opinion %
National adults					
2016 Jun 7- Jul 1	18	15	25	41	1
Non-Hispanic whites					
2016 Jun 7- Jul 1	23	18	21	38	1
Blacks					
2016 Jun 7- Jul 1	8	10	27	55	1
Hispanics					
2016 Jun 7- Jul 1	7	9	42	40	1

Other surveys were conducted in June 2018 and January 2019 and these rates increased. In 2018, 41% of participants were favor of the wall and 40% in 2019. The ones who were strongly favor increased to 24% to 26%, the ones that were favor rose to 17% and 14% respectively. Surveys show that people who are in favor of the wall increased to 8% and the change mostly derives from the respondents who are strongly favored. This also demonstrates the polarization among respondents (Gallup, Inc, n.d., "Immigration").

Pew Research Center also examined the issue to reflect citizens' views about the wall. According to surveys that were conducted every year since 2016, the respondents who believe that the wall should be constructed increased steadily. The rate was 34% in 2016, 35% in 2017, 37% in 2018 and 40% in 2019 (see figure 3). The surveys also asked about the respondents' political leaning. The rates of Republicans who are favor of the wall were 63%, 74%, 72% and 82% in those four years. Meanwhile, the rates for Democrats were 13%, 8%, 13% and 6% in the same years (see figure 4). The shows divergence among the people with different political leanings and deepens the differentiation of two party system of the country. Belonging to a party affects preference on the issue.

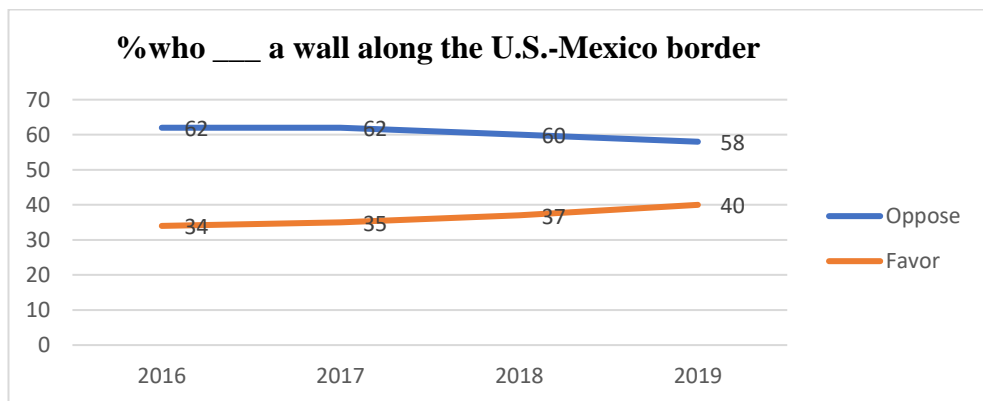


Figure 3 Views on a Wall along the Entire U.S – Mexico Border

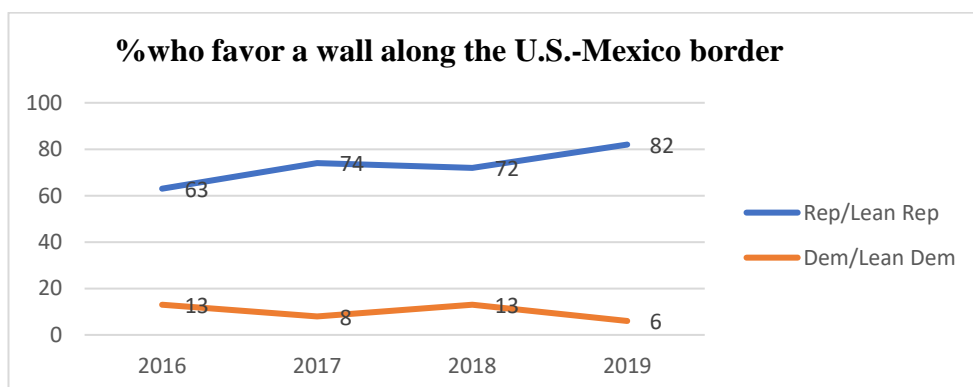


Figure 4 Views on a Wall along the Entire U.S – Mexico Border with Political Leaning

These results illustrate that there is a strong polarization between the members of the two parties with regard to the issue. Moreover, the surveys of both research centers demonstrate that there is divergence among ethnic groups. While Hispanics and blacks opposed wall 75% to 82% respectively, the rate among white respondents reflects the general level of opposition (Pew Research Center, 2019, "Most Border Wall Opponents, Supporters Say Shutdown Concessions Are Unacceptable"). Thus, Trump's discourse led to different influence on people and cause polarization in society. This is a dangerous trend for US society while feeding polarization it damages US values that connects the people from different nationalities and cultures. As a melting pot, this diversity is a core value that establishes the USA and what creates the American Dream and way of life.

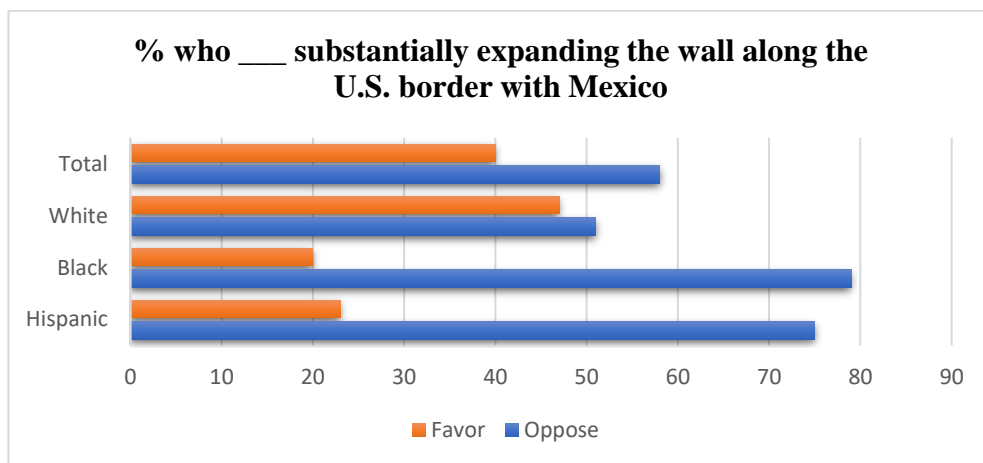


Figure 5 Views on a Wall along the Entire U.S – Mexico Border with Ethnicity

Discussions on the border wall also target Mexico since it is the neighbor of the USA that is sharing the southern border. Throughout the election time, Trump suggested that the cost of the border wall will be covered by the Mexican government and US taxpayers will not pay anything. In a liberal economy like the USA, this promise increased popularity of the wall. As also discussed in the previous section, Trump targeted Mexico for wall

construction, illegal crossings and caravans’ journey through using harsh language. Moreover, Trump believes that Mexico gains benefits from NAFTA while the USA is losing billions from this agreement and publicly criticizes Mexico due to economic reasons. His continuous criticisms against Mexico and insistence on the wall influenced the perspective of the US citizens towards the neighbor in the south. According to Gallup research in 2018, the rate of participants who considers Mexico as ally or friendly is 72% which is the lowest rate since 2000. The rate was 88% in 2000 and 2001 and 78% in 2013 (see figure 6). This deterioration on the Mexico’s perception as a friend/ally to unfriendly/enemy is hurting external relations with Mexico in regard to economy and region politics. Meanwhile, damaged relations with Mexico also harms the Mexican descended immigrants and US citizens’ belonging to the USA. With negative perception, the values that they brought to the USA are ignored and they are started to be seen as collaborator of an enemy.

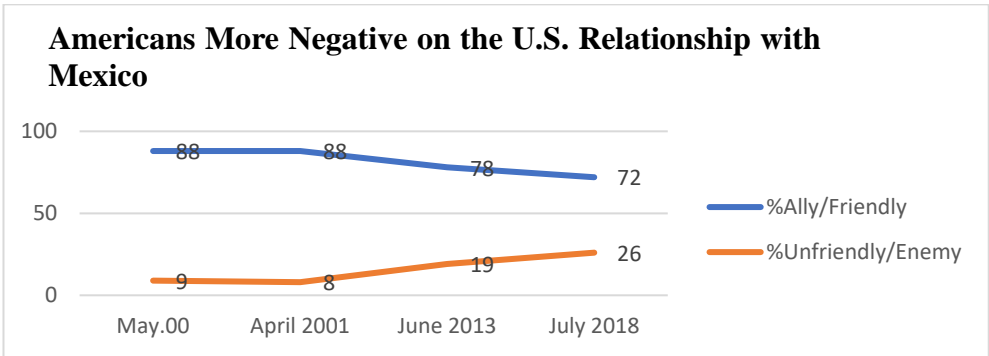


Figure 6 The Perception on Mexico’s relationship with the U.S.

Meanwhile, the people who see Mexico as an enemy of unfriendly increased from 8% to 26% in 17 years. Similar to other surveys, Trump’s speech acts influenced Republican participants and the rate of considering Mexico as ally or friendly decreased from 73% in 2013 to 66% in 2018 (see table 15) (Reinhart, 2018). Along with being a neighbor, Mexico is also one of the

biggest trading partners of the USA and Trump's actions are influencing the regional politics negatively as well as the American society.

Table 15 Americans' Views on U.S.-Mexico Relations

Americans' Views on U.S.-Mexico Relations, by Political Affiliation				
	Ally %	Friendly, but not an ally %	Unfriendly %	Enemy %
July 2018				
Republican	17	49	25	9
Democrat	38	40	15	6
June 2013				
Republican	28	45	18	6
Democrat	35	48	10	3
April 2001				
Republican	36	54	5	1
Democrat	31	54	6	4

The views of American society were also examined for the different aspects of immigration along with border wall. Trump's focus on immigration influenced the citizens and individuals started to consider immigration as one of the major issues in the US politics. Immigration was not a major concern until 2017 and regular Gallup surveys show that the average percentage of the people who believe that immigration is the most important problem of the USA was 5%.

However, with Trump's presidency, immigration gained importance in the US politics and people started to see as a major problem. As of April 2017, the percentage started to exceed double digits and it became the second most important problem of the USA on April 2019. 21% of participants believe in this way while 23% of them sees the government as a more important problem of the country. They are surpassing other significant issues of the country like economy, unemployment, inequality of income, healthcare and environment (see figure 7).

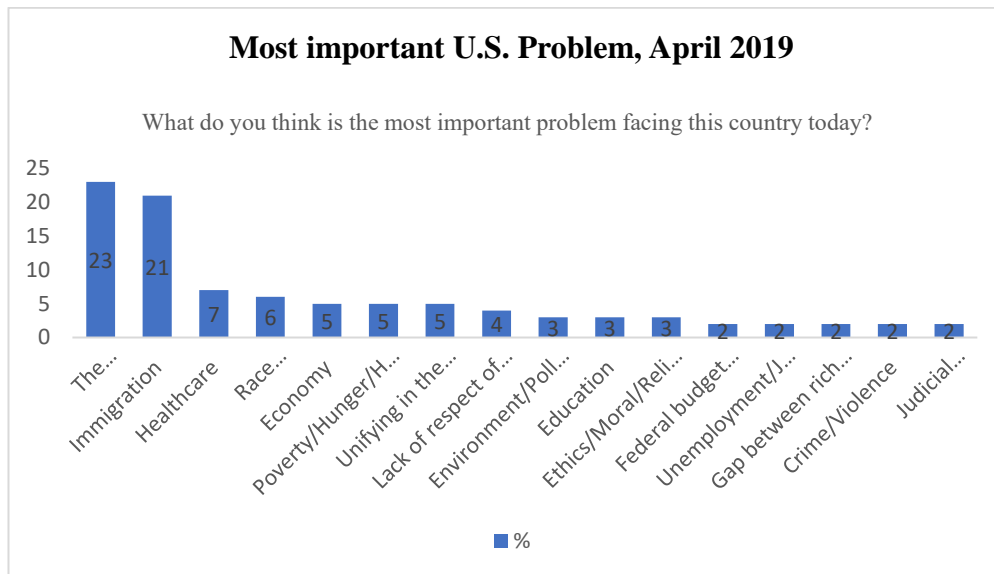


Figure 7 The Views on the Most Important U.S. Problem

Partisan division continues in this regard and 41% of Republicans see immigration as the most significant concern, while only 5% of Democrats agree with them. In contrast, for Democrats the government is number one problem of the country (32%) but only 19% of Republicans believe in that way (Saad, 2019, "Americans Say Government, Immigration Are Lead U.S. Woes").

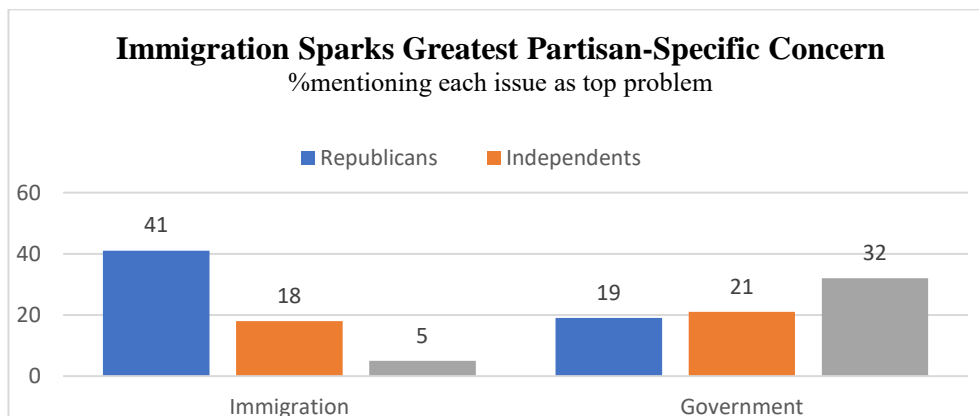


Figure 8 The Views on the Most Important Problem of the Country by Political Affiliation

When it was asked to respondents what should be the USA’s priority in 2019, 51% of them stated that reducing illegal immigration should be the top priority. While 68% of Republicans believe accordingly, only 40% of Democrats agree with the suggestion (see figure 9) (Pew Research Center, 2019, "Public's 2019 Priorities: Economy, Health Care, Education and Security All Near Top of List"). Trump’s firm stance on immigration and unusual style of presidency deepen partisan polarization in the country’s key policies.

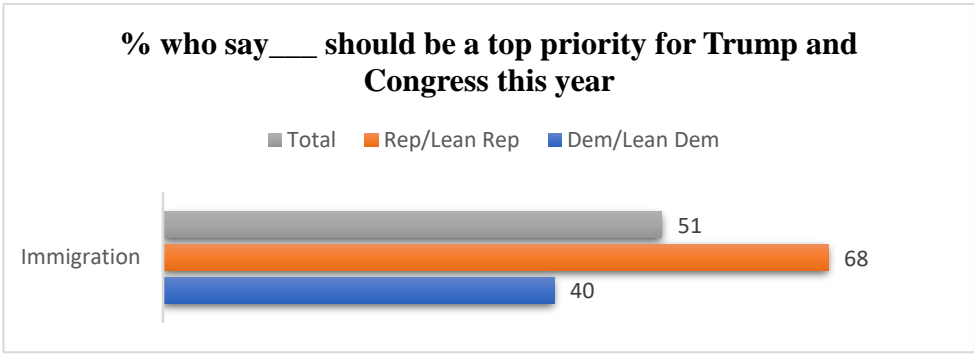


Figure 9 People Believe That Immigration Should be Top Priority for Trump and Congress

Partisan division continues on the perception of immigrants. Pew Research Center reveals the views of US society on immigration and the division. With regard to undocumented immigrants, 69% of participants were sympathetic towards them. Nevertheless, this rate decreases to 48% among Republicans while it is 86% for Democrats (see table 16).

Table 16 The Level of Sympathy on Undocumented Immigrants

% who say they feel___toward undocumented immigrants in the U.S.				
	Sympathetic		Unsympathetic	
	Very %	Somewhat %	Very	Somewhat
Total	27	42	14	15

Table 16 (cont'd)

Rep/Lean Rep	12	36	26	23
Dem/Lean Dem	39	47	5	8

Moreover, 27% of the respondents believe that providing a legal status for undocumented immigrants is rewarding them for doing something wrong. Among Republicans, this rate increases to 47% but declines to 10% for Democrats (see figure 10) (Pew Research Center, 2018 "Shifting Public Views on Legal Immigration Into the U.S.").

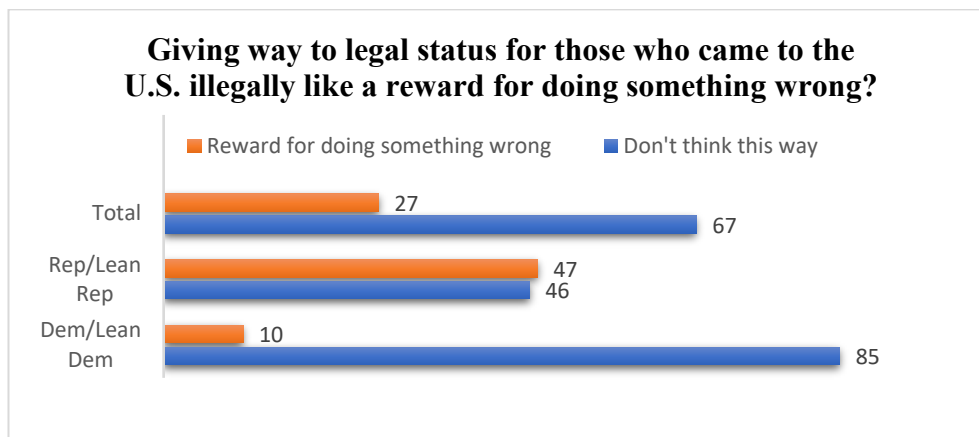


Figure 10 The Views on Providing Legal Status for Who Came to the U.S. Illegally

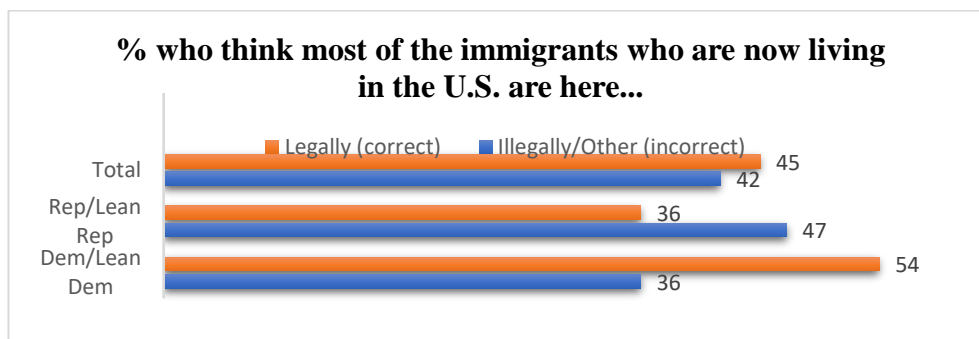


Figure 11 The Views on Immigrants' Legal Status

In another research in 2018, 42% of respondents believe that most of the immigrants are residing in the USA illegally despite the truth is the opposite. This rate increases to 47% in Republicans and reduces to 36% among Democrat respondents (see figure 11).

Division continues in employment and serious crime issues. 71% of participants stated that undocumented immigrants fill the jobs that the US citizens do not want. However, this rate decreases to 57% for Republican-leaning participants while increases to 82% for Democrat-leaning respondents (see figure 12).

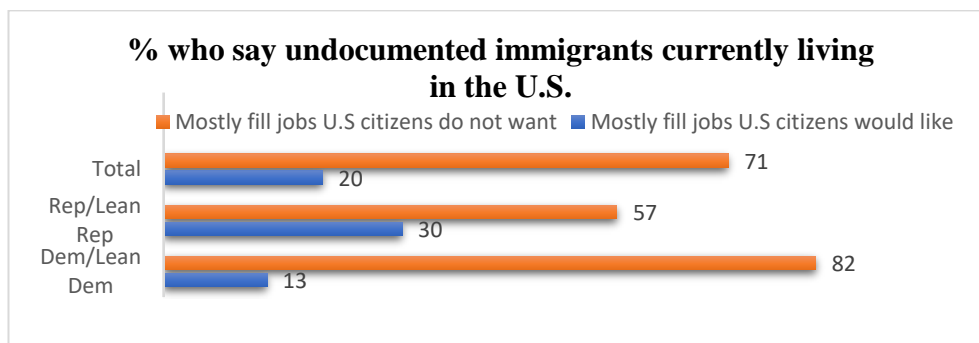


Figure 12 The Views on Immigrants' Position in the Economy

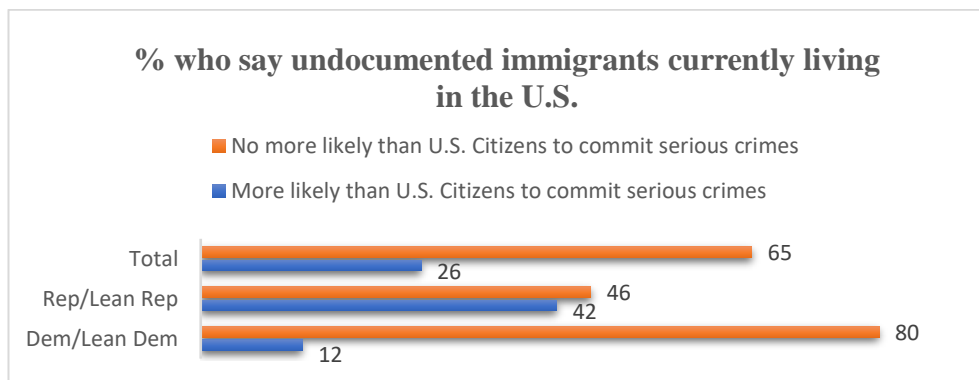


Figure 13 The Views on Immigrants' Effect on Crimes

Similarly, 65% of respondents believe that undocumented immigrants are not likely to commit serious crimes more than US citizens. The rate is 46% for Republican-leaning participants meanwhile it increases to 80% among Democrat-leaning respondents (see figure 13).

Another research asked their participants whether today's immigrants are more like to adopt the American way of life more than the immigrants of the early 1900s or not. There is a balanced distribution among the respondents; 26% of them stated that today's immigrants are more willing, 32% of them indicated that they are about as willing and 36% of them believe that they are less willing. 'Less willing' option increases to 62% among Republican inclined respondents while it decreases to 17% among Democrat-leaning participants (Pew Research Center, 2018 "Shifting Public Views on Legal Immigration Into the U.S.").

The general view of the US citizens on different immigration implementation was also discovered by a Gallup survey. A survey which was conducted in 2016 and 2019, demonstrates the change in people's views on the deportation of illegal immigrants to their country. In 2016, 32% of participants stated that illegal immigrants should be sent to their country and this rate increases to 37% in 2019. The option of 'strongly favor' increased as 3% and people gained more hard stance on deportation (see table 31).

Table 17 The Views on Deporting All Immigrants

Deporting all immigrants who are living in the U.S. illegally back to their home country.					
	Strongly favor %	Favor %	Oppose %	Strongly oppose %	No Opinion %
2019 Jan 21-27	17	20	31	30	2
2016 Jun 7-July 1	14	18	35	31	1

Same survey also asked respondents whether illegal immigrants should be given a chance to become US citizens if they meet some requirements. The rate of strongly favoring respondents decreased from 40% to 34% in three years and total rate for favoring respondents dropped from 84% to 81% (see table 18).

Table 18 The Views on Providing a Chance to Become U.S Citizen

Allowing immigrants living in the U.S. illegally the chance to become U.S. citizens if they meet certain requirement over a period of time.					
	Strongly favor %	Favor %	Oppose %	Strongly oppose %	No Opinion %
2019 Jan 21-27	34	47	9	9	Less than 0.5
2016 Jun 7-July 1	40	44	8	7	Less than 0.5

Correlatively, undocumented immigrants started to be seen as a more important problem in 2019 than in 2018. In 2018, 39% of respondents stated that the entry of large numbers of undocumented immigrants to the USA is a critical threat while 31% considered the issue as an important problem. The total rate rose from 70% to 77% in 2019 and people who believe it is a critical threat increased from 39% to 47% (see table 19) (Gallup, Inc, n.d., "Immigration"). Although these changes are not massive, they illustrate that people started to embrace a harder stance towards undocumented immigrants.

Table 19 The Threat Perception on Undocumented Immigrants

Do you see as a critical threat of large numbers of undocumented immigrants entering the U.S.?				
	Critical %	Important %	Not important %	No Opinion %
2019 Feb 1-10	47	30	22	2
2018 Jun 1-10	39	31	29	1

In conjunction with negative changes on immigrants and immigration, the level of hate crimes demonstrates a rise over the years in accordance with FBI data. In 2015, there were 4,216 hate crime incidents and 9.3% of them had the characteristics of anti-Hispanic/Latino (FBI, 2016). One year later the number of crimes rose to 4,426 and 10.9% of them were against Hispanics (FBI, 2017). In 2017, hate crimes were increased to 4,832 and the share of anti-Hispanic/Latino crimes remained at 10.9% (FBI, 2018). Trump's discriminative speech acts led to an increase in negative views towards immigrants and correlatively, it causes a rise in hate crimes towards them.

Trump is a powerful figure and he influences voters in other issues besides immigration policies. The midterm election which was held in November 2018, changed the structure of the House of Representatives and resulted with the takeover of the Democrats. This was a defeat for Trump. According to research, Trump might have a share in the defeat. 60% of registered voters expressed that they voted to send either a positive or negative message to Trump. This rate is the highest in Gallup's history since the same question asked for Obama and Bush eras, the rates were 34% and 31%. It demonstrates that even though you love or hate Trump, he manages to reach and affect you. Secondly, the displeasure with the Trump Administration influenced the defeat. Research shows that once the president's approval rate is below 50%, the president's party loses House seats in midterms. Trump's approval rate was 41% before elections and he shared the same destiny with the previous presidents who had low approval rate during the midterm elections (Newport, Saad, & Jones, 2018). Since the start of his presidency, Trump could not pass 50% threshold and he has 37% average. Similar to support his policies, a significant division among Republicans and Democrats, can be seen regarding his approval rate. Republicans who support for his presidency has 80% average while almost all Democrats and Democrat leaners disapprove his performance by 96%. This demonstrates

that Trump has the biggest partisan gap in more than any presidents in 60 years (Pew Research Center, 2019). Another indicator for displeasure with Trump is the Gallup's historic the most admired man survey. The survey has been conducted for more than 70 years and respondents are asked about the name of the man they admire the most. Almost every year, the current US president has been chosen as the most admired man. However, Trump comes in second in every year since the beginning of his presidency and his predecessor Barack Obama continues to be chosen as the most admired man even after the end of his term (Gallup, Inc, 2019).

Trump is an active user of Twitter and he continued to use his Twitter account even after his inauguration. He expresses his views without the boundaries of political correctness and shares his thoughts with his followers immediately. His popularity increased massively after his presidency and once he sends a tweet 40 million people learn his views immediately. Users can share his tweets with the 'retweet' button or express their consensus or like about the tweet through the 'favorite' button. In this thesis, his 32 tweets were examined and 27 of them were shared after his presidency and they were shared or favorited thousands of times. Retweet may mean sharing the tweet to express opposition thus, the number of favorited tweets after his presidency will be discussed. Trump's 27 tweets were favorited 2.953.700 times by Twitter users. Each tweet was favorited 109.300 times averagely.

Since he is one of the most popular figures in the world, it is normal for him to receive this much interaction for his tweets. Thus, the ranking of selected used tweets in this thesis was examined among the other tweets which were sent on the same day. Ten tweets out of 27 were the highest favorited tweets among others that were sent on the same day, five of them were second-highest and six of them were the third highest. The tweets that come in second and third were outstripped mostly by other tweets related to

immigration or the tweets contain criticisms towards the press due to making fake news. It is also understandable since the US society considers the fake news as one of the biggest problems of the USA (Mitchell, Gottfried, Fedeli, Stocking, & Walker, 2019, "Many Americans Say Made-Up News Is a Critical Problem That Needs To Be Fixed"). Thus, it demonstrates that Trump's tweets related to immigration attract the audience's attention and they express their support through pressing the favorite button. To be able to see the attention of the audience on immigration rather than other issues in which Trump sends tweets, three random days were chosen from April, October and December 2018 to check how many favorites were taken from that day's tweets. Since multiple tweets were taken from these months to demonstrate speech acts of Trump, random days were chosen from these months. On April 11th, 2018, President Trump posted nine tweets and these tweets were favorited 77.200 times averagely. Tweets were mostly about the relations with Russia and Syria Crisis. On October 17th, 2018, Trump posted ten tweets and tweets received 72.200 favorites on an average. Tweets were about Congress. Lastly, Trump sent nine tweets on December 14th, 2018 and these tweets received 85.500 favorites averagely. Tweets were targeted to China and Obamacare. Meanwhile, tweets focusing on immigration received 109.300 averagely. Therefore, Trump's audience shows an interest for Trump's immigration tweets more than other issues and expressing their views through pressing for favorite button greater than they are doing for different issues such as economic war with China or worsened relations with Russia.

5.5. Conclusion

Donald Trump became an eccentric figure for the US society with his accomplishments in the construction and television sectors. His run for presidency folded his popularity and he started to be recognized by the world. Promises to boost the economy, build a border wall, stop illegal immigration and make America great again attracted to voters and Trump

became the 45th President of the USA by many. After his inauguration on January 20th, 2017, he took brave steps to fulfill his promises regarding immigration. With his executive orders, he strengthened border security and enforcement, reduced refugee admission, stopped DACA, DAPA and CAM programs, cut federal funds to sanctuary cities and brought a travel ban for several countries. Despite some of these actions were stopped by federal courts, his actions influenced the millions of the people in the other parts of the world as well as within the borders of the USA.

While ordering bold executive actions, Trump also used speech acts to suggest or defend his immigration policies. He used a language which polarizes the society and securitizes undocumented immigrants within the USA and the other asylum seekers who are trying to enter the country to save their lives from the chaotic environment in their home countries. Trump identifies them as a security threat to the US society and the state. His speech acts and actions deepen two parties' system of the country and while almost all voters with Republican leanings are supporting on most issue, Democrat leanings disapprove all his government's policies. His securitized perception penetrated the society and views of people have changed since the beginning of Trump's presidency. Surveys conducted by Gallup and Pew Research Center, reveal the deteriorated perception of people with regard to immigrants and immigration policies since 2016. Moreover, the interaction created by Trump's tweets presents how on the average audience shows interest in immigration issues since those tweets receive 20.000 more likes than the tweets which are related to other issues. With the Trump Administration, the society is undergoing a transformation and immigration becomes the country's one of the top issues. Along with this transformation, immigrants are labeled as security threats and measures to combat with them started to be seen as applicable. Therefore, Donald Trump contributed to the securitization process of migration in the USA through his actions and speech acts.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Migration is the reality of our age. Wars and natural disasters caused 70 million people to leave their houses. More than 30 million people escaped to another country to save their lives (UNHCR, n.d., "Figures at a Glance"). It is a global problem that occurs in every part of the world and this creates a responsibility for the actors of international politics to provide an honorable life to every individual. The USA is dominating world politics since the end of the Cold War and as the pioneer of human rights, it brings the main responsibility to serve as a model for the rest of the world. However, rather than taking responsibility and leading the way, the perception in this country towards immigrants is deteriorating day by day.

The USA was founded by immigrants and it is a melting pot for the people who flowed to the North America from every culture and nation. Since the first pilgrims, immigrants continued to come to the young continent for centuries. Although US governments welcomed newcomers for a long time, with the 19th century, the state started to limit immigration to the USA. With enacted laws, people from specific areas were banned and a quota system was brought to keep immigrant population demographic as European. This system which was also referred as racist was abandoned with 1965 Amendments. This change focused on family reunification and skilled immigration from all parts of the world and provided a base for the current system.

Latin American immigration to the USA started with the USA's acquirement of half of Mexico in the 19th century. Although borders were changed, it did not change the social and economic relations and people started to cross the border to see their relatives and find a job. This became a driving force for Latin American immigration to the north. This trend continued in the following years and Bracero Programs in the first quarter of the 20th century and between the 1940s to 1960s accelerated Latin American immigration. However, the workers who were part of the programs became undocumented once the programs were ended and this inaugurated Latin American undocumented immigrant problem in the USA which continues in today. Despite some steps taken to combat this problem, the last two presidents of the USA had to focus on this issue in the 21st century.

Barack Obama became the 44th President of the USA and he made history as the first African American President of the state. During his campaign, he promised hope and change after eight years of Bush presidency and managed to keep his promises in some areas. During his presidency, the economy was recovered and the US presence in Iraq ended. Due to this intense agenda, he could not focus on immigration until the end of his first term. Although he failed to pass the DREAM Act for a comprehensive system of immigration, with his executive power he enacted DACA and DAPA programs to provide a legal shield for undocumented immigrants who were living under immediate danger of deportation. DAPA could not be implemented due to court decision but DACA changed the lives hundred thousands of youths. Meanwhile, the focus on removable aliens changed from every unauthorized alien to undocumented aliens who had criminal records. So that people who live a life respecting laws and regulations could feel safe and they stopped to fear about deportation. Moreover, the border security was strengthened to combat irregular immigration and along with the focus on criminals, irregular immigrants who just crossed the border were targeted for removal. As part of reinforced border policy and

prevention of irregular immigration, Obama Administration initiated the CAM refugee program to provide a chance for Central American minors who had parents in the USA to apply for asylum while they were still in their home countries. This was an important step to prevent both irregular immigration flow in the southern border and save children from a dangerous road of thousands of kilometers. Thus, Obama enacted immigration policies to solve existing problems of the US immigration system and prohibited irregular immigration from the southern border through tough but humane policies.

Along with policies, Obama's discourse on immigration was influential to shape American society's perception of immigration positively. After 9/11 and the war on terrorism, the perception of immigrants was deteriorated in American society and almost every foreigner was seen as a threat to the society. However, in his speeches regarding immigration Obama always emphasized the importance of immigrants to the USA and how they were an essential part of the state. He demonstrated that undocumented immigrants were not security threats for society and they were just ordinary people who lived in accordance with the rules as Americans did. They were working to fulfill the American dream as everyone else and their contribution to the state was essential.

According to numerous surveys conducted during and after Obama's presidency illustrate that both his policies and discourse influenced members of society and the perception of immigrants improved. People supported Obama's policies on immigration and the rate of people increased who believed that immigrants are making the USA better in different areas such as music, art, economy, social and moral values (Gallup, Inc, n.d., "Immigration"). Furthermore, the rate of people dropped who considered that immigrants are hurting the economy and immigration rate should be decreased. Deteriorated views on immigrants during the Bush

Administration, especially after 9/11, improved and immigrants' condition in the society became better during Obama's presidency.

Obama's era ended in 2016 due to two terms limit on the presidency. Despite he was underestimated by many, Donald Trump managed to appeal to voters with his brave promises on economy and immigration to make America great again. He pledged to voters to bring American companies to the USA to create new jobs and build across the southern border of the state to prevent irregular immigration and decrease legal immigration and refugee admissions. He defeated Hillary Clinton in the presidency run and became the 45th President of the USA after Barack Obama. After his inauguration as president, he took action to fulfill his promises on immigration. His executive order on January 25th, 2017, brought many changes regarding immigration. First, a travel ban to specific countries' citizens was imposed and it affected the lives of thousands of people initially. Even people who are legal residents of the USA could not return to their homes for a while. A federal court stopped implementation but with revisions, the order implemented currently. Secondly, as one of the promises, he cut federal funds from sanctuary cities that do not cooperate with federal agencies concerning removable aliens. As part of his immigration policies, federal agencies started to focus on every removable alien rather than targeting criminals, unlike the Obama era. Federal courts ruled that cutting funds from sanctuary cities is unconstitutional and prevented the implementation.

Thirdly, DACA, DAPA and CAM programs were rescinded in 2017 and 2018. Despite DAPA was never implemented, it was officially terminated by Trump. With regard to DACA, the federal court stopped the execution of the order, the program is going on currently. However, its fate will be decided by the Supreme Court. Similarly, due to a complaint against the executive order, USCIS still processing existing applications although new applicants are not accepted. Fourthly, refugee admission quotas were

decreased to the lowest level since the 1980 Refugee Act. As the biggest resettlement country in the world, this condition was received with disappointment by both refugees from all parts of the world and international organizations that are working in the area. Also, additional layers were brought for the legal immigration and asylum-seeking application process. Through these implementations, obtaining legal status from the USA became more difficult and it decreased both legal immigration level and people were directed to use illegal ways since the legal processes are not promising. Last but not least, border security was strengthened through an increase in enforcement forces and the establishment of the border wall. The number of troops that are patrolling on the border to prevent illegal crossing was increased massively. As his most crucial promise regarding immigration, the construction of the wall across the southern border was started. Despite its cost, Trump is determined to construct the wall, even its cost led to a partisan divide between Democrats and Republicans during budget discussions and the government was shut down for 35 days.

Trump might be one of the most eccentric presidents of US history. As well as his policies, he has brave speech acts regarding immigration. President Trump is an active Twitter user and he prefers to express his opinions through tweets immediately and outside of official means. In his tweets, generally, he reflects his securitized world view. He identifies people who constitute caravan as stone cold criminals, fighters and gang members rather than mostly women and children who have to escape from their countries. Furthermore, Trump justifies the need for a border wall through stating that it is crucial to stop the flow of bad people. According to Trump, the wall is a necessity to ensure the security of the state but meanwhile, he defines unauthorized immigrants who are in the USA already as criminals too and he is criticizing sanctuary cities because they set these criminals free. In addition to his views, the language he is using in the tweets contributes to

the securitization process. The words chosen by Trump is out of diplomatic language and exaggerates immigrants' potential harm to American society. He refers to irregular immigration as illegal immigration and labels every undocumented immigrant as criminal. Thus, it affects the public's perception about immigrants negatively who are undocumented.

As an influential figure, Trump's policies and discourse have an impact on the members of American society. According to surveys some of which were conducted both before and after the election, Trump affected the perception of public on immigration negatively. After the election, the stress and worry level among Hispanics were increased. Correlatively with Trump's focus, the importance of the immigration area increased among US society and American citizens started to believe that immigration should be one of the top priorities of the government. The rate of people who considered Mexico as ally decreased and almost in every important issue, members of the society started to split up in accordance with their party preference. While Republicans supported Trump increasingly in every area, Democrat's confidence in the president is decreasing day by day. Therefore, Trump's actions feed polarization in the USA based on partisan differences. Along with the survey, statistics regarding his tweets also illustrated people's interest in Trump's views about immigration. Tweets regarding immigration were favorited 100.000 averagely and it is 20% higher than other tweets' statistics. Most of the immigration tweets were the most favorited tweets of that day and received more interaction. Twitter enables Trump to express his views and they can be reached by his followers in a short span of time. Interactions and sharing his tweets convey his views to more people than his followers.

Both presidents' eras reflect different perceptions and policies. During Obama's presidency, immigration policies targeted to solve the problems of a broken immigration system and his discourse supported these policies. He

emphasized immigrants' importance for the US state, society and economy and presented them as part of life rather than security threats. The perception of immigrants changed positively at the end of his second term. His successor Donald Trump has a different approach than him and his immigration policies almost undo everything was established during Obama's presidency. Some of these actions were prevented by federal courts but Trump expressed his discomfort with federal courts in these issues along with his other views that feed securitization of immigration. His policies and discourse affected the members of American society and perception of immigration has deteriorated when compared to the Obama era. Trump still has one and a half years until the end of his term and he may serve for another term thus, another evaluation for his legacy after the end of his presidency would give a more concrete result. However, Trump has already left a mark in the US and international politics so far and he contributed to the securitization of immigration in the USA greatly.

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Trump, D. J. [realDonaldTrump]. (2018, October 18). I am watching the Democrat Party led (because they want Open Borders and existing weak laws) assault on our country by Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador, whose leaders are doing little to stop this large flow of people, INCLUDING MANY CRIMINALS, from entering Mexico to U.S..... Retrieved April 9, 2019, from <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1052883467430694912>

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rest until our border is secure, our citizens are safe, and we finally end the immigration crisis once and for all. [pic.twitter.com/7YfZ9kB23](https://twitter.com/7YfZ9kB23). Retrieved April 9, 2019, from <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1010257002478620673>

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Trump, D. J. [realDonaldTrump]. (2018, March 13). California's sanctuary policies are illegal and unconstitutional and put the safety and security of our entire nation at risk. Thousands of dangerous & violent criminal aliens are released as a result of sanctuary policies, set free to prey on innocent Americans. THIS MUST STOP! Retrieved April 9, 2019, from <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/973581274215473153>

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our "Weak Laws" Border, had better be stopped before it gets there. Cash cow NAFTA is in play, as is foreign aid to Honduras and the countries that allow this to happen. Congress MUST ACT NOW! Retrieved April 9, 2019, from <https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/981121409807155200>

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Trump, D. J. [realDonaldTrump]. (2019, February 05). Tremendous numbers of people are coming up through Mexico in the hopes of flooding our Southern Border. We have sent additional military. We will build a Human Wall if necessary. If we had a real Wall, this would be a non-event! Retrieved April 9, 2019, from <https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/1092787440560078849>

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APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TRKE ZET

G insanlıęın genlerine kodlanmıřtır nk daima daha iyi kořullar ararız ve kendimizi potansiyel tehlikelerden koruruz. Bu sre, tarihin bařlangıcından nce bařladı ve gelecekte, insanlıęın bařka bir gezegende yařamı srdrmek iin dnyayı terk ettięi bir zamanda bile devam edecek. Sınırların ve egemen devletlerin kurulmasıyla g, devlet politikalarına uygun olarak ynetmeliklere tabi tutulmaya bařlandı. II. Dnya Savařı'ndan sonra uluslararası politik sistemle birlikte g algısı da deęiřti. Avrupa'da milyonlarca insan lmden ve yıkımlardan kamak iin yer deęiřtirdi ve sığınmacı, mlteci ve yerinden edilmiř kiři gibi yeni kavramlar ortaya ıktı. Greceli olarak, bu dnemde g, zerinde durulacak akademik alanlardan biri olarak dikkat ekti ve akademisyenler bu alanda alıřmaya bařlandı. Bununla birlikte, 20. yzyılın ikinci yarısında barıř dnyaya egemen olmadıęından ve zellikle Soęuk Savař'ın sona ermesinden sonra insanlar g etmeye devam ederken, dnya kmekte olan devletler ve g mcadeleleri nedeniyle daha fazla sığınmacı ve mlteciye tanıklık etmeye bařladı.

Amerika Birleřik Devletleri (ABD), g konusundaki tartıřmaların odaęında yer almaktadır. Amerikan Ryası imajıyla beraber gmenleri ve mltecileri ekmekte ve aynı zamanda uluslararası politikaların baskın figr olmasıyla ABD hkmeti dnyanın her yerindeki politik krizlerde kritik bir rol oynamaktadır. Bunun yanı sıra ABD, Avrupa'dan yeni bir kıtaya g eden insanlar tarafından kurulan bir gmenler lkesidir. ABD' de 44 milyondan fazla gmen bulunmaktadır ve ABD'de yařayan her yedi

kişiden biri göçmendir (Zong, Batalova & Burrows, 2019, "Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde Göçmenler ve Göçmenlikle İlgili Sıkça Sorulan İstatistikler"). Göçmen olmak Amerikan kimliğinin önemli bir parçası olmasına rağmen, bu durum özellikle 11 Eylül saldırıları sonrasında değişmeye başladı. Bu terörist saldırı ile ABD vatandaşlarının yabancılara yönelik algıları olumsuz yönde değişmeye başladı ve Bush Hükümeti politikaları insanları korku duymaya teşvik etti. Göçmenler ve yabancılar Amerikan kültürünün bir parçası yerine potansiyel güvenlik tehdidi olarak görülmeye başlandı. 11 Eylül saldırılarına farklı bir etnik kökene sahip olsalar da, Latin Amerikalı göçmenler de göçmenlerin bu yıkıcı imajından paylarını aldılar. ABD'deki göçmenler arasında Latin Amerikalı göçmenler önemli yer tutmaktadır ve toplam göçmen nüfusun %44' ünden fazlasını oluşturmaktadır (Zong, Batalova & Burrows, 2019, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde Göçmenler ve Göçmenlikle İlgili Sıkça Sorulan İstatistikler"). ABD, yakın tarihsel sınırlar ve ekonomik fırsatlar nedeniyle, Latin Amerikalı göçmenleri kendine çekti ve bugün ABD'de 19 milyondan fazla Hispanik göçmen bulunmaktadır (Zong, Batalova & Burrows, 2019, "Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde Göçmenler ve Göçmenlikle İlgili Sıkça Sorulan İstatistikler"). Latin Amerikalı göçmenler değişen göç algılarından olumsuz yönde etkilendiler ancak Barack Obama' nın başkanlığı döneminde sekiz yıl boyunca bu kötüleşen imajları düzeldi. 2016'da Donald Trump' ın seçilmesiyle, göçmenleri güvenlik tehdidi olarak görme eğilimi güçlendi. Algıda gerçekleşen bu değişiklik bize bu tezin araştırma sorusunu sunuyor: Latin Amerikalı göçmenler Obama Hükümeti'ne kıyasla Trump Hükümeti tarafından ne kadar güvenlikleştirildi? Trump, önceki ABD başkanlarına benzemeyen eksantrik bir figür ve hem başkanlıktan önce hem de başkanlığı sırasında, alışılmadık eylemlerde bulunmaktadır. Kendisinin bu süreçteki etkisini ölçmek için önceki hükümetle benzer şartlar ve sorumluluklar ile karşılaştığı için Obama Hükümeti karşılaştırmalı çalışma için seçildi.

Bu tez beş bölümden oluşmaktadır. Birinci bölümde, teorik arka plan tartışılacak ve Kopenhag Okulu'nun güvenlik, güvenlikleştirme süreci ve güvenlik sektörlerine yaklaşımı ele alınacaktır. Bölümün ikinci kısmında, Okul'un göç kavramına yaklaşımının nasıl uygulandığı incelenecek ve Kopenhag Okulu'nun toplum içindeki güvenlik algısı konusundaki yaklaşımının potansiyel kısıtları sunulacaktır. İkinci bölümde, ABD'ye göçün kökleri 16. yüzyıldan günümüze kadar incelenecektir. ABD göçmenler tarafından kurulduğu için, göçmenlik sürecini araştırmak, Amerikalı kimliğini anlamak için gereklidir. Ayrıca, 20. yüzyılın göç politikaları ve yaklaşımlardaki değişimi göstermek ve 21. yüzyılın politikaları ile karşılaştırmak için bir temel sağlamak amacıyla sunulmaktadır. Üçüncü olarak, Latin Amerika göçmenliğinin tarihi, göçmenliğe sebep olan nedenlerle gösterilecektir. 20. yüzyılın farklı politikalarının, sınırın güneyinden gelen göç eğilimlerini nasıl etkilediği de bu bölümde tartışılacaktır.

Üçüncü ve dördüncü bölümde, göç politikaları ve Obama ve Trump yönetimindeki algılar üzerinde durulacaktır. İlk olarak, hem başkanların başkanlık yarışı hem de kampanya sırasındaki sözleri sunulacak ve başkanlıklarına genel bir bakış sağlanacaktır. Bölümlerin ikinci kısımlarında, Obama ve Trump'ın göç politikaları ayrıntılı bir şekilde açıklanacak ve göçmenlerin yaşamlarında nasıl bir değişiklik getirdikleri gösterilecektir. Bölümlerin üçüncü kısımlarında, her iki başkanın da göç politikaları ile ilgili konuşmalarının farklı güvenlik sektörlerinde analizi yapılacak ve göçmenlerle ilgili görüşleri açıklanacaktır. Son bölümlerde, düzenli olarak yapılan kamuoyu anketleri sayesinde söylemlerinin hedef kitle üzerindeki etkisi aranacaktır. Son olarak, tez, Obama dönemine kıyasla Trump Hükümeti'nin göçmenleri güvenlikleştirmesi tartışan bir sonuç bölümü ile sona erecektir.

Bu arařtırmada, Obama ve Trump ynetimleri karřılařtırmalı vaka rnekleri olarak seilmiřtir. Her iki bařkan da seim kampanyalarındaki gle ilgili vaatlerinden, bařkanlıkları boyunca uygulanan gmenlik politikalarına kadar g konusunda faaliyetleri incelenecektir. nemli g politikaları ve onlar tarafından Amerikan toplumuna getirilen deęiřiklikler ve gmenlerin yařamları vaka alıřmasının bir parası olarak sunulmuřtur. Kopenhag Okulu'nun gvenlikleřtirme teorisine gre, hem Obama hem de Trump'ın sylemleri analiz edilmiřtir. Her iki bařkanın da gle ilgili algılarını gstermek iin sylem analizi yapılmıřtır. Grřlerini ifade etmek iin kullandıkları dil, izleyicilere nasıl hitap ettiklerini analiz etmek iin sunulmakta ve tartıřılmaktadır. Obama'nın sylemi, ynetiminin g politikalarıyla ilgili konuřmalarını gzden geirilerek incelenmiřtir. Benzer řekilde, Trump'ın sylemi, gmenlik uygulaması konusundaki konuřmaları incelenerek analiz edilmekte ve konuřmalara ek olarak, Trump'ın attıęı tweet'ler g konusundaki algısını aıklamak iin sunulmuřtur. Tweet'lerde kullandıęı dil, hedef kitleye nasıl hitap ettięi, dięer tweet'ler ile kıyaslandığında gle ilgili tweet'lerinin sıralanması, favorilenme sayıları ve Trump'ın dięer konulardaki tweet'leriyle karřılařtırması analiz edilmiřtir.

Kopenhag Okulu'nun gvenlikleřtirme teorisi, arařtırma sorusunu cevaplamak iin kullanılacaktır. Okul 25 yıldan uzun bir sre nce Ole Waever ve Barry Buzan'ın yazılarıyla ortaya ıktı. Gvenlik alıřmalarında gvenlikleřtirme ve beř gvenlik sektr gibi yeni kavramları tanıttı. Dahası ve en nemlisi, gvenlik tanımını geniřletti ve Kopenhag Okulu'nun gvenlik anlayıřı g, azınlık hakları, terrizm ve kalkınma gibi farklı alanlarda uygulanmakta ve farklı arařtırmacılar tarafından alıřılmaktadır (Huysmans, 1998, s.227). Okul'a gre, politikalar siyaset dıřı alandan, politikleřtirmeye ve gvenleřtirmeye kadar geniř bir yelpazede sınıflandırılabilir. Politik olmayan meseleler halkın ilgisini ekmemektedir, devlet bu meseleyle ilgilenmek iin aktif bir rol stlenmemektedir. Politik

bir mesele ise halkın ilgisini çekmekte ve devlet kaynaklarını halkın ihtiyacını karşılamak için kullanmaktadır. Güvenlikleştirilen bir konuda, kamuoyu endişesi çok yüksektir ve mesele hayati bir tehdit olarak görülmektedir ve ortadan kaldırılması gerekmektedir. Devletin aktif bir rol alması ve tehditle mücadele etmek için olağanüstü önlemler alması gerekmektedir. Bu olağanüstü önlemler, tehdidin ortadan kaldırılmasının en yüksek önceliğe sahip olması nedeniyle demokratik karar alma sürecinin dışında alınabilir (Buzan, Wæver ve De Wilde, 1998, s. 23-24).

Güvenlikleştirme süreci konuşma eylemi ile ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bir güvenlik aktörü, konuşmaları veya eylemleriyle bir konuyu tehdit olarak etiketlediğinde, sorun halkın ilgisini çekerek gündeme gelmeye başlar ve siyasallaştırılmış alandan güvenlikleştirilen alana geçer. Bu güvenlik aktörleri politikacılar, hükümetler, medya ve sivil toplum kuruluşları olabilir (Buzan ve diğerleri, 1998, s.24). Kopenhag Okulu tarafından tanıtılan bir diğer kavram güvenlik sektörleridir. Güvenlikleştirme şu beş sektörde uygulanmaktadır: askeri, çevresel, politik, ekonomik ve toplumsal sektörler. Askeri sektörde referans nesnesi devlettir ve en geleneksel ve kurumsal güvenlik sektörüdür. Devlet bütünlüğü ve varlığı bu sektör için çok önemlidir ve devlete yönelik herhangi bir tehdidin tanımlanması ve ortadan kaldırılması gerekir (Buzan ve diğerleri, 1998). Bu tehditler, devleti ve mevcut düzeni ortadan kaldırmak isteyen yabancı bir ordu veya terörist grup olabilir. Tehdidi ortadan kaldırmak için askeri yollar uygulanabilir ve devletin iyiliği için ortadan kaldırılmalıdır. Bu sektör Kopenhag Okulu tarafından değiştirilen klasik güvenlik anlayışını yansıtmaktadır.

İkincisi, çevre sektörü, nesli tükenmekte olan türler, habitat tipleri (yağmur ormanları, göller vb.) ve gezegen iklimi ve biyosfer gibi çevrenin tüm bileşenlerini ifade eder (Buzan ve diğerleri, 1998). Bu güvenlik sektöründeki tehditler, insan faaliyetlerini, endüstriyel ürünleri ve çevreye zarar verebilecek politikaları içermektedir. Tüm yaşamları korumak için

doğa ile insan kaynaklı faaliyetler arasında sürdürülebilir bir ilişki olmalıdır. Bu sektör klasik güvenlik anlayışı ufkunu genişletiyor ve kapsamı bir devletin refahından dünyadaki tüm canlıları kapsayacak hale getiriliyor. Ağır sanayileşme ile insanlık, doğayı tarihin herhangi bir seviyesinden daha fazla etkileme şansı buldu ve 20. yüzyılın ikinci yarısı boyunca, bu bozucu etkiler geri dönüşümsüz olmaya başladı. Geçtiğimiz on yıllar boyunca iklim değişikliğinin orman yangını, kuraklık ve sel gibi yok edici etkilerini görmeye başladık. Çevresel güvenlik olmadan, bir devletin güvenliği anlamsız olacaktır. Devletler çevresel bozulmanın ciddiyetini anlamaya başladı ve 190'dan fazla ülke karbon salınımlarını azaltmak ve iklim değişikliğinin etkilerini sınırlamak için 2015'te Paris Anlaşması'nı imzaladı. Çevre güvenliği dünyadaki tüm canlıların sürdürülebilirliği için çok önemlidir ve çevre sektörü de Kopenhag Okulu'nun anlayışı için önemlidir, çünkü değişen güvenlik çalışmalarının bir örneğidir ve bir savaştan ziyade bir olgunun, devleti güvenlik sağlamak için uluslararası işbirliği yapmaya zorladığını göstermektedir. Çevresel tehditlerin ortadan kaldırılması, klasik güvenlik anlayışıyla mümkün olmazdı.

Üçüncü sektör olan politik sektör, askeri sektöre benzer. Devlet referans nesnesidir ve devlet otoritesini ve yönetişimini tehdit eden askeri olmayan tehditler bu sektörün kaygılarıdır. Tehditler, devletin tüm vatandaşlara yetki vermek ve uygulamak için genel işlevini hedeflemelidir (Buzan ve diğ., 1998). Devleti yıkmak için yabancı bir ordu tehdidine ve fiziksek bir yıkıma gerek yoktur. Devletin işlevlerine zarar veren ve hukukun üstünlüğünü ve yönetişimini bozan faktörler politik sektör için tehdit oluşturuyor. Örneğin; Arap Baharı Tunus'ta doğdu, kaosa neden oldu ve hükümeti değiştirdi. Bölgedeki diğer ülkelere yayıldı, kitlesel protestoları ateşledi ve mevcut hükümetlerin çöküşüne yol açtı. Libya gibi bazı ülkeler hala düzen ve huzuru tesis edememiş ve istikrarlı bir hükümet kurmayı başaramamıştır. Dolayısıyla, yabancı bir istiladan başka unsurlar da devletin politik düzenini tahrip edebilir.

Dördüncü sektör ise ekonomik sektördür. Devletin iflas tehlikesi, firmalar, bireyler ve ekonomik kriz bu sektörün bir parçası olabilir. Firmaların ve bireylerin iflası devlet için tehdit olarak görülmeyebilir, ancak bazı firmaların ve bireylerin ölçeği devlet ekonomisini büyük ölçüde etkileyebilir (Buzan ve ark. 1998). Küreselleşme, dünyanın her bölgesi birbirine o kadar sıkı bağlandı ki, bir firmanın çöküşü, dünyanın öbür tarafında büyük bir krize neden olabilir. Dolayısıyla iflas, sadece firmanın kendisi için bir problem değildir. Örneğin, 2008 Mortgage Krizi sırasında insanlar kredi kredilerini bankalara ödeyemediler ve bu da Lehman Brothers gibi büyük yatırım bankalarını etkiledi. Bu, önce ABD ekonomisine, sonra da küresel ekonomiye çarpan bir tsunami dalgası yarattı. Tsunami etkisi o kadar etki o kadar büyüktü ki, Amerikan liberalizmi ve serbest piyasa ilkeleri ile çelişse de, ABD hükümetinin iflaslarını önlemek için bazı firmaları kurtarmak zorunda kaldı. Çünkü bu firmalar iflas ederse, domino etkisiyle diğer firmaları ve nihayetinde devleti etkilediler. Dolayısıyla ekonomik güvenlik, güvenlik kavramı ve devletin varlığı ile bağlantılıdır.

Sonuncusu toplumsal sektördür. Devletler halkın içindeki ortak paydalara dayanmaktadır ve onları ortak bir birim olarak hareket etmeleri için birleştirmektedir. Bu ortak payda, devletin kuruluşuna yol açan bir din, paylaşılan değer veya ulusal kimlik olabilir. Bir grup bu ortak payda ile uyuşmaz, barışın ve toplumun varlığına karşı bir tehdit haline gelir (Buzan ve diğerleri, 1998). Örneğin, Basklar ve Katalanlar, İspanyol kimliğine ait hissetmiyor ve İspanya'dan ayrılmak istiyorlar. Böylece devlet ve toplum birliği için bir tehdit oluşturmaktalar. Başka bir örnekte, Almanya'daki Türk göçmenler toplumun dışından biri olarak görülmektedir ve Alman toplumunun geri kalanıyla uyumlu değildir. Varlıkları, mevcut değerleri tehdit ettiği için bazı haklı siyasi partiler tarafından tehdit olarak kabul edilir. Aynı şekilde, Türk göçmenler Alman ve Avrupa değerlerini kendi kültürleri ve dinleri için bir tehdit olarak görmekte ve çocuklarını büyütürken değerlerini herhangi bir dış değerden korumak istemektedir

(Wæver, Buzan, Kelstrup ve Lemaitre, 1993). Bu, gettolaşmaya ve küçük topluluklar olarak yaşamaya neden oldu ve varlıkları politik liderler gibi etkili figürlerle güvence altına alındı. Dolayısıyla, son on yılda ülkeye göç eden bir azınlık grubu veya bir grup, toplumsal sektör için bir tehdit olabilir ve devletin birliği için önemli olan değerleri tehdit edebilir (Buzan ve diğerleri, 1998, s. 23).

Kopenhag Okulu'na göre meselelerin siyasi alanda ele alınması gerekir. Güvenlikleştirilen sorunlar, demokratik karar alma süreci olmadan alınan acil durum önlemlerine maruz kalabilirler. Bu nedenle, kavramlar güvenlikleştirilen alandan çıkarılmalı ve yeniden siyasallaştırılmalıdır. Bu sürece “güvenlik dışılaştırma” denir (Buzan ve diğerleri, 1998, s. 4). Okul'a göre, güvenlikleştirici adımlar tercih edilmemeli ve politikanın günlük uygulamaları içinde sorunlar çözülmelidir.

Bugün göç, toplumsal, ekonomik ve askeri sektörler için bir tehdit olabilir. Toplumsal alanda göçmenler ülke dışından gelmeleri nedeniyle içinde yaşadıkları toplumun homojen kültürünü ve değerlerini tehdit etmektedirler, bu nedenle bir güvenlik sorunu oluşturmaktadırlar (Huysmans, 2000, s. 753-762). Yerliler kimliklerini kaybedecekleri ve göçmenlerin değerlerinin kendi yerel değerlerinin yerine geçeceğinden korku duymaktadırlar. İkincisi, göç ekonomik sektörde bir tehdit olarak görülmektedir. Özellikle, işsizlik oranı yüksek olan ülkelerde, göçmenler iş bulmakta zorlanıyorlar ve bulduklarında da yerel halk tarafından işlerini çalmakla suçlanıyorlar (Faist, 2002, s.7). Güvenlikleştirme çabaları nedeniyle, ekonomideki herhangi bir başarısızlığın günah keçisi olarak göçmenler görülmektedir. Üçüncüsü, göçmenlerin bir ordusu yoktur, ancak yine de devletin otoritesi için bir tehdit oluşturabilirler bu nedenle askeri sektörde bir tehdit olarak değerlendirilebilirler. Mevcut göçmen akınlarıyla, devleti hedef alma planı olan insanlar, olması gerektiği gibi tespit edilemeyebilir ve içinde bulundukları ülkelerdeki terörist saldırılara karışabilirler. Sonuç olarak,

sığınmacılar ve göçmenler ülkede kötü giden her şeyin sorumlusu olarak görülebilir ve mevcut siyasi ortam, Kopenhag Okulu tarafından gösterildiği gibi göçün güvenlikleştirilmesine yol açmaktadır.

Bazı araştırmacılar, Kopenhag Okulu'nun yeni yaklaşımını ve güvenlikleştirme teorisini kabul ediyorlar ancak Okul'un anlayışının güvenlikleştirme sürecini açıklamada yetersiz olduğunu öne sürerek Okul'u ve sürecin kilit unsurlarını eleştirmektedirler. En büyük eleştiri, bir konuyu güvenlikleştirilmesi için konuşma eyleminin yeterli görülmesidir. Konuşma eyleminin gücü yadsınamaz; ancak anlaşmalar, görüntüler, politikalar, yasalar, vb. diğer unsurlar tarafından desteklenmesi gerekmektedir (Bigo, 2002, s. 65.) İkincisi, Kopenhag Okulu, hedef kitlenin güvenlikleştirme hamlelerini kabul etmesinin başarılı bir güvenlikleştirme süreci için gerekli olduğunu öne sürmektedir. Kabul etme olmadan, güvenlikleştirme, sadece güvenlikleştirme teşebbüsü olarak kalacaktır. Bununla birlikte, sosyolojik yaklaşımı savunan akademisyenler, hedef kitlenin tanımı ve güvenlikleştirme süreci üzerindeki rolü muğlak olduğu için Okul'u eleştirmektedir. Üçüncüsü, hedef kitlenin kabul seviyesini ölçmek de zordur. Güvenlikleştirici harekete maruz kalan birden fazla hedef kitle olabilir veya hedef kitlenin içerisindeki farklı gruplar farklı şekilde etkilenebilir. Kopenhag Okulu'na yapılan son eleştiri, insanlar arasındaki sosyal etkileşimin gücünün görmezden gelinmesidir. Okul, hedef kitlenin güvenlikleştirme teşebbüslerine maruz kaldığını ve etkilerinden dolayı bu sorunu bir güvenlik tehdidi olarak görmeye başladığını öne sürüyor. Bununla birlikte, sosyal etkileşime ve bunun bir konuda insanların görüşlerini nasıl etkilediğine değinmiyorlar. İnsanlar sosyal varlıklar oldukları ve topluluklar halinde sosyal bir yaşam sürdükleri için görüşleri birbirlerini etkilemekte ve bu nedenle güvenlikleştirme teşebbüslerini güçlendirebilmekte veya zayıflatabilmektedir.

Kopenhag Okulu'na yönelik eleştirilerin geçerli noktaları vardır ve bu tez okulun yaklaşımını benimsemesine rağmen, olası sınırlamaları kabul etmektedir. Bir tehdit tanımlaması olmadan uygulanan güvenlikleştirme politikaları gereksiz ve yersiz olacaktır. Aktörlerin konuşma eylemleri olmadan hedef kitleyi etkiler ve onları tehdit edildiklerine ikna eder. Bu da, çeşitli araçların güvenlikleştirme için kullanılmasına yol açmaktadır. Bu nedenle, bu tez, Barack Obama ve Donald J. Trump'un konuşmalarına ve söylemlerinin başkanlıkları sırasında insanların göç algısını nasıl etkilediğine odaklanacaktır.

ABD, dini baskı ve kıtanın feodal yapısı nedeniyle Avrupa'dan kaçanlar tarafından kuruldu. Sıfırdan başladılar ve hayatlarını kendi elleriyle kurmak zorunda kaldılar. Maceracı ve cesur özellikleri onları başarılı yaptı ve genç kıta dünyanın her yerinden insanları çekmeye devam etti. İnsanların ABD'ye gelme eğilimi değişmedi, ancak 19. yüzyılda göçmenlere yönelik tutum değişti ve ABD hükümetleri devlete göçü sınırlandırmaya başladı. Bu yaklaşım ırkçı uygulamalara bile yol açtı; ancak 20. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren ABD, aile birleşmesini ve çeşitliliği artırarak daha olumlu ve kapsayıcı bir yaklaşım benimsedi.

Latin Amerika göçü ise ABD'nin göç tarihinde önemli bir yere sahiptir. 19. yüzyılda değişen sınırlar, hala süren sosyal ve ekonomik bağlar yarattı. Latin Amerikalı göçmenler yasal göçmenlerin ve kayıtsız göçmenlerin çoğunun yarısını oluşturmaktadır. Bu nedenle bunlar ABD göç politikalarının çok önemli bir parçasını oluşturmaktadırlar. Onlarla ilgili herhangi bir politika veya değişiklik, aynı zamanda sistemi ve göç algısını da etkiler. Obama ve Trump yönetimlerinin politikalarının göç ve Latin Amerika göçmenleri üzerindeki etkisi de takip eden bölümlerde ele alınacaktır.

Barack Hussein Obama, seçim kampanyası sırasında seçmenlere umut ve değişim sözü verdi. ABD'nin 44. Başkanı seçildikten sonra Obama,

dezavantajlı gruplara mensup insanlara ABD'nin ilk Afro-Amerikan Başkanı olarak ümit verdi. Görevi devralışının ardından Obama, tarihin en büyük ekonomik krizinde olan bir ekonomi ve Irak ve Afganistan'da devam eden iki savaşıyla uğraşmak zorunda kaldı. Bu nedenle, ilk döneminde göçmenlikle ilgili somut politikalarını yürürlüğe koyamadı. Başkanlıktaki ikinci döneminde ise Obama, göçmenlerin sorunlarına odaklanma fırsatı buldu ve önemli düzenlemeler kabul edildi. İlk olarak, kayıtsız göçmenlere yasal statü kazandırmak için DREAM Act isimli yasayı Kongre'den geçirmeye çalıştı ama başaramadı. İkincisi, düzensiz göçmenlerin sınır dışı edilmelerini önleme konusunda yasal bir temel oluşturmak için DACA ve DAPA programlarını uygulamaya koydu. DAPA uygulanamamasına rağmen, 600.000 genç DACA'dan faydalandı ve sınır dışı edilme korkusu olmadan yaşamaya başladı. Üçüncüsü, Orta Amerikalı gençleri ABD'ye ulaşan tehlikeli bir yolculuktan korumak için CAM programı uygulamaya kondu ve kendi ülkelerindeyken mülteci statüsü için başvuru yapma fırsatı verildi. Son olarak, sınır güvenliği güçlendirildi ve sınır dışı edilmek üzere öncelik, bütün yabancılardan sabıka kaydı olan kayıtsız göçmenlere verildi.

Önceki bölümde tartışıldığı gibi, göçün farklı yönlerine odaklanan tüm araştırmalar, Obama'nın Beyaz Saray'daki hizmeti sırasında toplum arasındaki göç algısının değiştiğini göstermektedir. Kuşkusuz, yabancı müttefiklerle ilişkilerin geliştirilmesi ve küresel ekonomik krizin üstesinden gelmek gibi diğer etkiler de bu değişime katkıda bulunmaktadır. Bununla birlikte, Obama'nın göçle ilgili politikaları ve konuşmaları bu değişimde önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Başkan, bu araçları her zaman kayıtsız göçmenleri güvenlik dışılaştırma için kullandı ve Amerikan toplumunun ve Amerikan yaşam tarzının bir parçası olduklarını göstermeyi amaçladı. ABD'nin köklerini ve göçmenlerin o ülkeyi nasıl inşa ettiğini hatırlattı. Bu nedenle, konuşma eylemleri birleştirici ve toplumda barışı sağlamak anlamına geliyordu. Anket sonuçlarına göre, Obama'nın çabaları hedef kitle tarafından kabul edildi ve hem yasal hem de kayıtsız göçmenlerle ilgili

genel algı iyileştirildi. Göç yeniden siyasetin bir parçası oldu ve düzensiz göç, politikalar yoluyla çözülmesi gereken bir konu haline geldi. Başka bir deyişle, Kopenhag Okulu'nun önerdiği gibi konu “siyasallaştırıldı”. Mümkün olan her yolla mücadele edilmesi gereken toplum için bir güvenlik tehdidi olmaktan çıktı. Bir sonraki bölümde; ABD’de göçün güvenlikleştirme sürecinin değerlendirilebilmesi için Barack Obama’nın halefi olan Donald Trump’ın politikaları ve söylemleri ele alınacaktır.

Donald Trump, inşaat ve televizyon sektöründeki başarılarıyla ABD toplumu için eksantrik bir figür oldu. Başkanlık adaylığı popülerliğini katladı ve dünya tarafından tanınmaya başladı. Ekonomiyi güçlendirme, bir sınır duvarı inşa etme, düzensiz göçü durdurma ve Amerika'yı yeniden harika yapmayı vaat eden sözlerle Trump, ABD'nin 45. Başkanı oldu. 20 Ocak 2017'de görevi devralmasının ardından, göç konusundaki vaatlerini yerine getirmek için cesur adımlar attı. Başkanlık kararnameleriyle sınır güvenliğini ve denetimini güçlendirdi, mülteci kabulünü azalttı, DACA, DAPA ve CAM programlarını durdurdu, sığınak şehirlere federal fonları kesti ve bazı ülkeler için seyahat yasağı getirdi. Bu eylemlerin bazılarının federal mahkemeler tarafından durdurulmasına rağmen, eylemleri dünyanın diğer bölgeleri ve ABD sınırları dahilinde milyonlarca insanı etkiledi.

Cesur kararnameleri onaylarken, Trump ayrıca göç politikalarını sunmak veya savunmak için söyleminin gücünü kullandı. Toplumu kutuplaştıran ve ABD'deki kayıtsız göçmenleri ve kendi ülkelerindeki kaotik ortamdan kaçarak hayatlarını kurtarmak için ABD'ye gelmeye çalışan diğer sığınmacıları güvenlikleştiren bir dil kullandı. Trump, onları ABD toplumu ve devlet için güvenlik tehdidi olarak tanımlamaktadır. Konuşması, iki partili olan ülke sistemindeki ayrılıkları derinleştiriyor ve Cumhuriyetçi eğilimleri olan neredeyse bütün seçmenler çoğu konuda ona destek veriyorken, Demokrat eğilimli olan seçmenler hemen hemen tüm hükümet politikalarını onaylamıyor. Güvenlikleştirilmiş göçmen algısı topluma nüfuz

etti ve Trump'ın başkanlığının başlangıcından bu yana insanların görüşleri olumsuz yönde değişti. Gallup ve Pew Araştırma Merkezi tarafından yapılan araştırmalar, 2016'dan beri göçmenler ve göç politikaları ile ilgili insanların algılarının kötüleştiğini ortaya koyuyor. Ayrıca, Trump'ın göçle ilgili tweet'lerinin yarattığı etkileşim ve diğer konularla alakalı tweet'lerinden ortalama 20.000 kez daha fazla beğenilmesiyle hedef kitlenin Trump'ın göç konusundaki görüşlerine ilgi gösterdiğini ortaya koyuyor. Trump Hükümeti ile, toplum bir dönüşüm geçirmekte ve göç, ülkenin en önemli sorunlarından biri haline gelmektedir. Bu dönüşümün yanı sıra, göçmenler güvenlik tehditleri olarak etiketlenmiş ve onlarla mücadele için aşırı tedbirler uygulanabilir olarak görülmeye başlanmıştır. Bu nedenle, Donald Trump, uygulamaları ve söylemleri ile ABD'deki göçün güvenlileştirilmesine katkıda bulunmaktadır.

Her iki başkanın yönetimleri farklı algı ve politikaları yansıtıyor. Obama'nın başkanlığı sırasında, göçmenlik politikaları bozuk bir göçmenlik sisteminin sorunlarını çözmeyi hedeflendi ve Obama'nın söylemleri bu politikaları destekledi. Göçmenlerin ABD devleti, toplumu ve ekonomisi için önemi vurgulandı ve güvenlik tehditleri yerine yaşamın bir parçası olarak sunuldu. Göçmenlerin algısı ikinci döneminin sonunda olumlu yönde değişti. Halefi Donald Trump'ın kendisinden farklı bir yaklaşımı var ve göç politikaları Obama'nın başkanlığında atılan adımları tersine çeviriyor. Bu eylemlerin bir kısmı federal mahkemeler tarafından durdurulmuş olsa da Trump, bu konularda federal mahkemelerle olan rahatsızlığını, göçün güvenliğini artırma konusundaki görüşlerini ifade etmiştir. Trump'ın politikaları ve söylemleri Amerikan toplumunun üyelerini etkiledi ve göçmenlik algısı Obama dönemine kıyasla kötüleşti. Trump, görev süresinin sonuna kadar hala bir buçuk yıla sahip ve bu nedenle başka bir dönem için daha hizmet verebilir, bu nedenle başkanlığının sona ermesinden sonra yapılacak değerlendirme mirası açısından daha doğru bir değerlendirme olacaktır. Bununla birlikte, Trump şu ana kadar ABD'de ve uluslararası

politikada bir iz bıraktı ve ABD'deki göçün güvenlikleştirilmesine büyük katkı sağladı.

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