

Guarini Institute for Government and Leadership
Saint Peter's University

White Paper Series
2016-2017



Preface

The Guarini Institute for Government and Leadership White Paper Series (GWPS) is designed to stimulate timely and relevant discussion around key public policy topics germane to New Jersey. The series will provide contributors a unique opportunity to share their opinions related to critical public policy issues. This is the seventh paper in a series of white papers sponsored by the Guarini Institute. On behalf of the institute, we thank Dr. Anna Brown for her contribution.

The position/argument reflects that of the author and not Saint Peter's University or the Guarini Institute. Additionally, this paper cannot be reprinted without the consent of the Institute's Executive Director.

Leila Sadeghi, Ph.D.
Executive Director
[Guarini Institute for Government and Leadership](#)
Saint Peter's University

Abstract

Even though comprehensive immigration reform is a necessity of great urgency, continuous presidential and congressional efforts have managed to produce only piecemeal and unsatisfactory reform measures. These measures have left eleven million undocumented persons either in a socially invisible state or faced with the threat of deportation. This paper revisits recent policy reform efforts and gives an overview of the recent immigration executive orders of President Donald Trump. The paper argues that we must first de-mystify the notion that the United States is a “land of immigrants.” More specifically, we must first take into account our nation’s settler colonial past in which a choice was made to subject its native peoples to genocide for the land to be available and in which primarily African peoples were enslaved to develop its economy. Also, attention must be given to how our domestic political economy and actions within a global political economy make it structurally impossible to come to terms with immigration much less generate a comprehensive and humane policy. The paper concludes by suggesting a turn to the activist and advocacy communities for a better sense of what we need to do now and of what the right principles are for any just and humane immigration policy.

Introduction

Along with climate change and inequality, immigration is one of the most urgent public policy questions and ethical matters of our time. The United Nations International Migration Report (2015) estimates “the number of international migrants worldwide has continued to grow rapidly over the past fifteen years reaching 244 million in 2015.”¹ Despite the potential for social upheaval generated by the sheer scale of popular movement, the United Nations Report suggests “When supported by appropriate policies, migration can contribute to inclusive and sustainable economic growth in both home and host communities.”²

Immigration matters, however, tend to incite a bitter, often partisan, divide in American politics. The dividing line hinges on two key areas: national security and jobs. Immigration activists add that there is also an often unacknowledged racialized reality to the bitterness of the immigration debate – the fear of shifting demographics and the day soon to come in which white Americans will no longer be the majority of the population.³ Is fear at the root of what has passed for immigration reform here of late? If not, what would explain the excessively harsh and punitive measures of Operation Gatekeeper (1993) which militarized the border and mostly encouraged immigrants to seek relief, though often at the cost of their lives or their well-being, through smugglers

1

<http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/docs/MigrationReport2015.pdf>

² ibid

³ (<https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/05/donald-trump-and-the-twilight-of-white-america/482655/>).

and criminal operations?⁴ What would explain the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act which, among other things, greatly increased Border Patrol personnel and detention facilities, allowed federal public funds for citizens only, and increased penalties for unlawful entry into the United States.⁵ The fact that U.S. economic and foreign policies, such as its support for dictatorships, brutal civil wars, oligarchic capitalism abroad, and fossil fuel based climate change creates the push factors for increased numbers of immigrants never seems to enter into the public conversation about immigration. It is unethical both to create the circumstances that push people from their home countries and to punish and destroy the life chances of people who are trying to survive by migrating to this country.

A Recent History of Failed Comprehensive Immigration Reform Efforts

Aviva Chomsky, an immigration scholar, asserts that “immigration rights are human rights. Immigration simply should not be illegal. No politician or talk-show commentator is going to risk saying this, but we [in the activist and academic community] have to.”⁶ In the United States, policies that would recognize that “immigrant rights are human rights” do not exist for the most part. Further, there is an increasing and virulent hostility directed towards so-called “illegal” immigrants or, as President Trump recently referred to them, “removable aliens.”⁷ Chomsky, in her book *Undocumented: How Immigration Became Illegal*, argues that “illegality,” as it pertains to immigrants today is a social construct that came into existence after the abolishment of the Bracero program (1964) and into the early 1970’s.⁸ Illegal people were necessary for an emerging global world order that relied upon the exploitation of cheap labor.⁹

In 1986, President Ronald Reagan signed the *Immigration and Reform Act* into law. Through this law, three million undocumented citizens already living in the United States were granted amnesty and legalized. ¹⁰ Agricultural workers were legalized for temporary work, and increased sanctions were imposed on those employers who were to now verify the immigration status of their workers.¹¹ Though border security was tightened, critics of the law argued that illegal crossings were actually increasing rather than slowed or stopped altogether. Also, the law did not offer a framework to deal with those undocumented persons who would come to the country after the law was passed. *The Washington Post* cites former Arizona Governor and Homeland Security Secretary

⁴ Aviva Chomsky, *They Take Our Jobs and Twenty Other Myths* (190)

⁵ Ibid, 190

⁶ Aviva Chomsky, *Undocumented*, ix

⁷

http://www.slate.com/blogs/the_slatest/2017/01/25/the_scariest_portions_of_trump_s_big_immigration_executive_orders.html

⁸ Chomsky, *Undocumented*, 2

⁹ Ibid, 2 - 22

¹⁰ https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2013/01/30/how-immigration-reform-failed-over-and-over/?utm_term=.acf0599

¹¹ Chomsky, *They Take Our Jobs and Twenty Other Myths*, 206

Janet Reno who said, twenty years after the 1986 law was passed, “For twenty years our country has done basically nothing to enforce the 1986 legislation against either the employers who hired illegal immigrants or those who cross the borders illegally.”¹² Reno captures the frustration about immigration legislation echoed by many lawmakers: comprehensive immigration reform has not worked; the federal government has failed to take responsibility for immigration policy as it must; and, the federal government’s failure to act on immigration policy means that states and local municipalities must take the lead. In so doing, what results is a hodgepodge of efforts and an untenable situation for the 3.5 % of the American population who are not documented.

Along with healthcare reform, immigration reform was to have been the hallmark of the Obama presidency. Reliance, for many years, on immigration policies that focused on deterrence were not working. As Rebecca Hamlin, an immigration scholar at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst notes, “It’s a realistic recognition that actually deterrence policies don’t work,” Hamlin said. “They might work when someone’s only motivation to migrate is economic, but they really don’t work—and this is consistently found all over the world—when it comes to people who are fleeing what they believe to be potentially a life-or-death situation.”¹³ The Obama administration, derailed by Republican obstructionist efforts and the Democrats’ lack of political will and insight, failed in its efforts to formulate and enact a comprehensive immigration reform policy. This failure left the estimated eleven million undocumented persons in the United States in a vulnerable position. The Council on Foreign Relations notes that President Obama did not adequately address the matter of immigration until his second term in office.¹⁴ In immigration activist circles, President Obama was referred to as the “Deporter-in-Chief” because he deported over two million undocumented immigrants who were a number greater than that deported in the two terms of former President George W. Bush.¹⁵ In January of 2013, a bi-partisan committee of eight Senators colloquially referred to as the “Gang of Eight,” crafted what was eventually called the *Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act of 2013*.¹⁶ While the Senate passed this measure in June of 2013, the bill was never brought to the House floor. Since then, piecemeal immigration proposed legislation include efforts to increase the number of visas issued to high-tech workers; creating special visas for entrepreneurs and STEM specialists; and, increased border security measures including punishment for those Homeland Security officials whose departments failed to slow border crossings.¹⁷

President Obama, hoping to salvage his campaign promises to reform immigration policy, passed a series of executive orders in 2012 and 2104. The measures were meant to by-pass the continued congressional stalemate on the matter. His actions infuriated Republican lawmakers who claimed -- though they do not make the same claim about

¹² https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2013/01/30/how-immigration-reform-failed-over-and-over/?utm_term=.acf0599

¹³ <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/08/immigration-reform-central-american-refugees/494948/>

¹⁴ <http://www.cfr.org/immigration/us-immigration-debate/p11149>

¹⁵ *ibid*

¹⁶ <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/special/politics/senators-immigration-legislation-provisions/>

¹⁷ <http://www.cfr.org/immigration/us-immigration-debate/p11149>

President Trump's recent executive orders on immigration-- that he stepped beyond the proper bounds of his authority. They also argued that a failed federal effort to enforce the law placed an undue burden on the states.¹⁸ The Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) resulted from President Obama's 2012 executive order. About 1.7 million persons were covered, were protected from deportation, and could renew an application for such protection every two years.¹⁹ In 2014, President Obama issued the *Immigration Accountability Executive Action* which is also known as the Deferred Action for Parents of Americans (DAPA).²⁰ The key elements of this executive action offered protection for upward of five million people and included those who were undocumented parents of U.S. citizens, ended the Secure Communities program, and increased efforts to secure the border using over 20,000 U.S. Border Patrol Agents.²¹ In June of 2016, the Supreme Court ruled on an injunction on DAPA filed by the state of Texas. The Court issued a tied ruling which kept the injunction against DAPA in place. At this point, DAPA will not be implemented.²²

The Trump Administration's Executive Orders on Immigration

Presidential candidate Donald Trump promised to enact an immigration policy that would "Make America Great Again."²³ His plan pivots on three core principles: a nation must have borders; a nation must enforce its laws; and, a nation must serve its citizens first.²⁴

Within a week of his inauguration, President Trump signed into effect three executive orders about immigrants and refugees.²⁵ *The Border Security and Immigration Enforcement Improvements* executive order places emphasis on expanded detention and enforcement efforts; building a 2,000- mile long wall along the U.S. – Mexican border; and, further restrictions on petitions for asylum.²⁶

The Enhancing Public Safety in the Interior of the United States executive order will greatly increase Immigration Customs and Enforcement personnel, punish Sanctuary Cities by threatening to remove federal grants (except those that fund immigration enforcement); revitalize the Secure Communities program; and, push for increased participation in the Section 287 (g) agreement programs.²⁷

The Protecting the Nation from Terrorist Attacks by Foreign Nationals executive order disallows the issuance of visas from nationals of seven nations; stops the U.S. refugee program from functioning for 120 days, drops the number of refugees to be resettled in

¹⁸ *ibid*

¹⁹ <http://www.cfr.org/immigration/us-immigration-debate/p11149>

²⁰ *ibid*

²¹ *ibid*

²² <http://www.urban.org/2016-analysis/dapa-stalled-protecting-children-immigrants-hands-next-president>

²³ <https://assets.donaldjtrump.com/Immigration-Reform-Trump.pdf>

²⁴ *ibid*

²⁵ <http://cmsny.org/trumps-executive-orders-immigration-refugees/>

²⁶ *Ibid*, 2

²⁷ *Ibid*, 6

the United States by 60,000 persons; suspends the resettlement of Syrian refugees indefinitely; and, expands screening and tracking systems.²⁸

The chaos swirling around the start of the most publically discussed of the three executive orders, *Protecting the Nation from Terrorist Attacks by Foreign Nationals*, has not abated. As of February 9th, 2017, the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit in San Francisco unanimously upheld the February 3rd, 2017 ruling of a Republican-appointed federal district Judge James L. Robart's ban on the order because it did not advance public safety nor could it demonstrate that nationals from the seven nations specified in the executive order – Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Syria, and Yemen – had ever committed an act of terror in the United States.²⁹ These judicial rulings suggest that the Trump administration is acting in a manner contrary to the “nation built on laws” mandate in his “Make America Great” immigration plan. Though thousands of Americans participated in airport-based protests against the executive order's ban on refugees and seven-nation nationals (including those who have U.S. green cards), President Trump's foray into the maelstrom of immigration reform also enjoys relatively stable support from many Americans. The *New York Times* reports that there is a “plurality of support for some type of suspension of immigration” and that 48% of voters were for “suspending immigration from terror prone regions, even if it means turning away refugees from those nations.”³⁰

A Harbinger of What's to Come: The Example of Guadalupe Garcia de Reyos

Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agents arrested 600 undocumented persons during the week of February 5th.³¹ One of those persons, Guadalupe Garcia de Reyos, who was deported to Mexico on February 9th, 2017, is most likely the first person deported from the United States to fulfill President Trump's promise to increase deportation efforts.³² Garcia de Reyos, the mother of two children born in the United States, had lived in the United States for twenty-one years and had previously been considered a “low priority” for deportation. However, when she showed up for her six-month check-in with the Phoenix, Arizona-based office of Immigration Control and Enforcement, she was detained and then deported the next morning.³³ Garcia de Reyos was first arrested in a 2008 workplace raid for using a fake Social Security number. She was not on the job when the raid took place, but Sheriff Joseph Arpaio and County prosecutor William Montgomery demanded to see the paperwork on all employees.³⁴ Even though a deportation order had been issued against her in 2013, she was considered to be a “low priority” case during the Obama administration. However, under the provisions of the *Enhancing Public Safety in the Interior of the United States*,

²⁸ *Ibid*, 10

²⁹ <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/09/us/politics/appeals-court-trump-travel-ban.html? r=0>

³⁰ <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/30/us/migrants-ban-trump-supporters.html>

³¹ <https://www.thenation.com/article/ice-has-arrested-600-undocumented-immigrants-in-the-last-week/>

³² <http://thehill.com/homenews/administration/318757-guadalupe-garcia-de-rayos-deported-by-ice>

³³ *ibid*

³⁴ https://www.democracynow.org/2017/2/10/ice_raids_speed_into_overdrive_advocates

Garcia de Reyos was now a priority for removal because of the criminal offense of using a fake Social Security number.³⁵

Though we are but a few weeks into the Trump administration's tenure, it is clear that the promotion of an America First and a national security agenda are to be the basis of an immigration policy that is set to deport millions of people, detain millions of people, and to keep millions of would-be immigrants and refugees out of the country. The *Los Angeles Times* estimates that eight million undocumented persons have become a Trump administration priority for arrest, detention, and deportation.³⁶ Immigration experts suggest that President Trump's *Enhancing Public Safety in the Interior of the United States* allows for the arrest of just about anyone who is living in the United States without documentation. They also note that under the Obama administration about 1.4 million people were considered to be a top priority for deportation. An eleven-page memo was circulated recently by the Department of Homeland Security suggests that deportations could be expedited by using a process set to bypass immigration courts. Immigration policy analysts indicate that under the Trump administration, deportations are set to rise by 75% or by about 400,000 people. The Obama administration deported this same number of people in 2012.³⁷

Fear of Immigration While Ignoring Serious Threats to Security and Well-Being

It is striking to see the national fixation on immigration and the manic speed with which the Trump administration is acting to derail entry into the United States and to detain and deport those who are living in the country without documentation. While the Trump administration claims it is acting in the interest of national security and for the preservation of American jobs³⁸, it ignores the dire national security threat of climate change, the structural injustice of inequality which is what has impoverished so many Americans, and the estimates that about 45% of jobs now held by Americans may be wiped out by technology in the next twenty years.³⁹ What do the American people gain then by keeping out and sending out millions of people, those same people the country relies on for low-paid service work, financial contributions to Social Security monies the undocumented will never receive, tax monies paid for consumer items, etc.? Why are the American people asked to ignore the extreme vetting process already in place for refugees and the fact that the numbers of undocumented peoples entering the country has stabilized and, according to the Pew Research Center, has declined since its recent peak in 2012? When the nation's bridges and roads are crumbling, why would they agree

³⁵ <http://thehill.com/homenews/administration/318757-guadalupe-garcia-de-rayos-deported-by-ice>

³⁶ <http://www.latimes.com/politics/la-na-pol-trump-deportations-20170204-story.html>

³⁷ ibid

³⁸ Aviva Chomsky, *They Take Our Jobs and Twenty Other Myths*, 29

³⁹ <https://www.technologyreview.com/s/519241/report-suggests-nearly-half-of-us-jobs-are-vulnerable-to-computerization/>

to pay for a wall between the United States and Mexico that will cost upwards of twenty billion dollars?⁴⁰

It may well be that by fixating on immigration and by creating a national hysteria about it, the Trump administration will lessen the nation's attention on its championing of the fossil fuel industry to the detriment of the environment, corporate globalization and its major beneficiary, the top 1%, white supremacy and the targeting of non-white peoples; suppression of the media, increased militarization and enhanced policing, criminalization of the impoverished, the creation of Muslim scapegoats, and an appropriation of Christian fundamentalism, etc., to name just a few of the administration's recent efforts. Further, as columnist Nicholas Kristoff points out, if the Trump Administration hopes to keep Americans safe, he should tighten restrictions on gun ownership since, during the past four decades, guns have killed 1.34 million Americans. He should also focus on domestic violence since for American women their husbands are a far more deadly threat than the Muslims from the seven banned nations are.⁴¹

Genocide and Enslavement Must Be Recognized

For a nation that typically prides itself on being a land of immigrants, the Trump administration's effort to deport up to eight million people seems to be at odds with this aspect of our national identity. Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, the author of *An Indigenous People's History of the United States*, offers a compelling counterpoint. She goes as far as to say that it is a "convenient myth" to refer to the United States as a "nation of immigrants."⁴² The United States is a settler colonial state based on white supremacy. A settler colonial state is a unique form of colonialism as it intends not merely to control but also to wipe out an indigenous population for the sake of the land. The invading force then considers itself to be sovereign and creates the appropriate laws and institution as well as a narrative designed to cement its own story in place.⁴³

For immigrants to come to what was eventually to become the United States, the genocide of its native people first had to take place. Further, the enslavement of the African people was needed for the sake of capital accumulation. The indigenous were not the nation's first immigrants. Dunbar-Ortiz cites scholarly research which marks their presence on the land as far back as 50,000 years if not earlier.⁴⁴ She points out that "only beginning in the 1840's, with the influx of millions of Irish Catholics pushed out of Ireland by British policies, did what might be called 'immigration' begin."⁴⁵ The current canards of "Mexican immigrants who are stealing American jobs" or a "Muslim terrorist on every corner" are used to distract the American people from seeing how the patterns of settler colonialism operate in the current day. The fossil fuel industry, which now has

⁴⁰ <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trump-immigration-wall-exclusive-idUSKBN15O2ZN>

⁴¹ <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/11/opinion/sunday/husbands-are-deadlier-than-terrorists.html?>

⁴² <http://www.counterpunch.org/2006/05/31/stop-saying-this-is-a-nation-of-immigrants/>).

⁴³ <https://globalsocialtheory.org/concepts/settler-colonialism/>

⁴⁴ <http://www.counterpunch.org/2006/05/31/stop-saying-this-is-a-nation-of-immigrants/>

⁴⁵ ibid

one of their own, Secretary of State Rex Tillerson, the former CEO of Exxon-Mobile, in the top ranks, will continue to rape the land and subject all of us to the reality of ecocide in order to continue making a profit. It is not the immigrants we must fear, it is those at the helm of a corporate-government nexus bought and paid for by the fossil fuel industry. About forty-percent of Americans blame immigrants for the loss of jobs and are supportive of restrictive immigration measures.⁴⁶ Their blame for the loss of their jobs would be better placed on a structurally unjust capitalist system and its political and economic elites who work together to maintain it.

Policy Recommendations

According to the Council on Foreign Relations, there are more than forty-one million immigrants living in the United States.⁴⁷ They cite a 2013 Gallup poll which finds that “the majority of Americans support various elements that would comprise comprehensive immigration reform, including creating a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants (88 percent), requiring employers to check the immigration status of workers (84 percent), tightening border security (83 percent), and expanding short-term visas for skilled workers (76 percent).”⁴⁸ Though the lives of millions of undocumented people hang in the balance, it is unlikely that comprehensive immigration reform legislation will be passed. It is incumbent upon those who believe in justice to engage our communities and legislators work to end the suffering imposed upon the undocumented peoples in our country and to work for a more humane immigration policy.

The Past Must Be Prelude

The scholarship of Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz and Aviva Chomsky must be considered before any policy discussion of immigration reform takes place. It is imperative that the United States comes to terms with the fact that its land was acquired through genocide, and that any effort to preserve a Judeo-Christian, white European nation must contend with the fact that this layer was imposed by extreme violence and massive bloodshed. To call the United States an immigrant nation is an erasure of its genocidal founding. The first act of immigration reform must be to offer recognition and reparations to the indigenous people of this land. An offer of recognition and reparations must also be made to the ancestors of those whom the United States enslaved for the sake of cheap labor, capital accumulation, and to build an agricultural and industrial base. Chomsky’s groundbreaking work on immigration invited its reader to consider the regime of political and economic power that is heavily invested in keeping some people illegal. “Illegality” is a social construct, as she so often reminds her reader. Those who are

⁴⁶ <http://www.vdare.com/posts/forty-percent-of-americans-blame-illegal-immigration-for-job-loss>

⁴⁷ <http://www.cfr.org/immigration/us-immigration-debate/p111149>

⁴⁸ *ibid*

interested in a just and humane immigration policy must first identify the reasons why some people are allowed to be mobile and others not. As she states succinctly, “freedom to travel is still a privilege for those in control.”⁴⁹ Further, we must come to terms with the fact that “illegality is a way to enforce a dual labor market and keep some labor cheap, in a supposedly post-racial era. Illegality uses the lack of citizenship -- that is being born in the wrong place – to make workers more exploitable.”⁵⁰

Immigration Organizing Must Be Taken Seriously

On May 1st, 2017, the Movimiento Cosecha,⁵¹ a nonviolent movement dedicated to winning permanent protection and dignity for undocumented persons in the United States, will launch a national strike aimed at getting the American people to see how much it depends upon the labor and services of its undocumented people. “Now more than ever, it is important for the immigrant rights movement to have an offensive strategy,” said Maria Fernanda Cabello, a spokesperson for Movimiento Cosecha. “While it is important to focus on protecting undocumented families like mine from deportation and protecting our victories such as DACA, our movement cannot win unless we show the American public that this country depends on immigrant labor to function. We are switching the conversation from, 'Are immigrants wanted?' to 'Are immigrants needed?' We cannot live like this anymore and the immigrant community is ready to show this country what would happen without us.”⁵² As is suggested by Cabello, Dunbar-Ortiz, and Chomsky, we can’t begin to speak about immigration reform unless we are willing to admit to the political and economic structural realities that make certain people illegal, keep people impoverished, perpetuate the myth of white supremacy, ignore the history of genocide and enslavement, etc. Such analysis as well as actions of nonviolent civil disobedience, national strikes, etc. are also recommended as steps that must be taken to right the wrongs of failed immigration policy.

Principles to Guide Policymakers

Finally, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), a Quaker social justice organization founded nearly 100 years ago, offers seven principles upon which a humane policy of immigration must be founded. Immigration is a key area of analysis and intervention for AFSC. They argue for the protection of all immigrants and refugees in the United States while advocating for immigration reform based on the following:

- Globally just economic policies will help to reduce the flow of impoverished migrants
- Global labor protections must be consistently enforced

⁴⁹ Chomsky Undocumented 45

⁵⁰ Ibid 39

⁵¹ <http://www.lahuelga.com/>

⁵² <http://www.alternet.org/activism/resistance-movement-developing-powerful-new-weapon-fight-trumps-authoritarianism>

- A clear and expedited path to citizenship must be offered
- The civil and human rights of immigrants must be respected
- The U.S. – Mexican border must be demilitarized
- Family reunification must be a central component of immigration policy
- Social services must be available for immigrants and refugees⁵³

A just and humane immigration policy is of benefit to all peoples with the exception of those who benefit by keeping certain segments of the population in an “illegal” status. Father Pedro Arrupe, S.J. made it quite clear in his talk, “Men [and Women] for Others,” that Jesuit educated students are never to use other people as a means to an end; never to accept privileges from a position of power; and, to counterattack structures of injustice so that the oppressed, marginalized, and impoverished may be set free. ⁵⁴ Current U.S. immigration policy is based upon structural injustice and exploitation. A radically humane overhaul of immigration policy and its structural causes must be a priority for the American people.

⁵³ <https://www.afsc.org/resource/new-path>

⁵⁴ <http://onlineministries.creighton.edu/CollaborativeMinistry/men-for-others.html>

Works Cited

<http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/docs/MigrationReport2015.pdf>

Author: Department of Economic and Social Affairs Population Division, United Nations

“International Migration Report 2015”

Website: www.un.org

URL: www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/docs/MigrationReport2015.pdf

Publish date: September 2016

Date accessed: February 14, 2017

<https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/05/donald-trump-and-the-twilight-of-white-america/482655/>

Author: **DEREK THOMPSON**

“Donald Trump and the Twilight of White America”

Website: www.theatlantic.com

The Atlantic Magazine is an American magazine founded in 1857 that provides literary and cultural commentary. The magazine publishes articles on American and global politics, business and technology, health topics, education, and much more.

Published: May 13, 2016

URL: www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/05/donald-trump-and-the-twilight-of-white-america/482655/

Date accessed: February 13, 2017

http://www.slate.com/blogs/the_slatest/2017/01/25/the_scariest_portions_of_trump_s_big_immigration_executive_orders.html

Author: **Jeremy Stahl**

“The Scariest Portions of Trump’s Big Immigration Executive Orders”

Website: www.slate.com

Slate Magazine, a Graham Holdings Company, is an online liberal / progressive magazine that covers current affairs, politics and culture in the United States.

Published: JAN. 25 2017 4:46 PM

URL: www.slate.com/blogs/the_slatest/2017/01/25/the_scariest_portions_of_trump_s_big_immigration_executive_orders.html

Date accessed: February 13, 2017

https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2013/01/30/how-immigration-reform-failed-over-and-over/?utm_term=.acf0599

Author: Rachel Weiner

“How immigration reform failed, over and over”

Website: www.washingtonpost.com

The Washington Post is an American daily newspaper. It is the most widely circulated newspaper published in Washington, D.C., and was founded on December 6, 1877, making it the area's oldest extant newspaper.

Published: January 30, 2013

URL: www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2013/01/30/how-immigration-reform-failed-over-and-over/?utm_term=.acf0599

Date accessed: February 13, 2017

<https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/08/immigration-reform-central-american-refugees/494948/>

Author: Priscilla Alvarez

"Obama's Last Attempt at Immigration Reform"

Website: *www.theatlantic.com*

Published: August 8, 2016

URL: www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/08/immigration-reform-central-american-refugees/494948/

Date accessed: February 13, 2017

<http://www.cfr.org/immigration/us-immigration-debate/p11149>

Authors: Danielle Renwick, and Brianna Lee

"The U.S. Immigration Debate"

Website: *www.cfr.org*

The Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) is an independent, nonpartisan membership organization, think tank, and publisher.

Updated: February 26, 2015

URL: www.cfr.org/immigration/us-immigration-debate/p11149

Date accessed: February 13, 2017

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/special/politics/senators-immigration-legislation-provisions/>

Author: David Nakamura

"Key provisions in 'Gang of Eight' Senate proposal"

Website: *washingtonpost.com (The Washington Post)*

Published: April 15, 2013

URL: www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/special/politics/senators-immigration-legislation-provisions/

Date accessed: February 13, 2017

<http://www.urban.org/2016-analysis/dapa-stalled-protecting-children-immigrants-hands-next-president>

Authors: Heather Koball and Julia Gelatt

"With DAPA stalled, protecting children of immigrants is in the hands of the next president"

Website: *www.urban.org*

The Urban Institute, established in 1968 by the [Lyndon B. Johnson](#) administration, has been described as a "leading [liberal](#) think tank" by the [Los Angeles Times](#). It carries out economic and social policy research to "open minds, shape decisions, and offer solutions."

Published: June 23, 2016

URL: www.urban.org/2016-analysis/dapa-stalled-protecting-children-immigrants-hands-next-president

Date accessed: February 13, 2017

<https://assets.donaldjtrump.com/Immigration-Reform-Trump.pdf>

Author: No author (Trump Make American Great Again)

"IMMIGRATION REFORM THAT WILL MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN"

Website: *No given website*

No publish date

URL: assets.donaldjtrump.com/Immigration-Reform-Trump.pdf

Date accessed: February 13, 2017

<http://cmsny.org/trumps-executive-orders-immigration-refugees/>

No author given

"President Trump's Executive Orders on Immigration and Refugees"

Website: cmsny.org

The Center for Migration Studies of New York (CMS) is a think tank and an educational institute devoted to the study of international migration, to the promotion of understanding between immigrants and receiving communities, and to public policies that safeguard the dignity and rights of migrants, refugees and newcomers.

No publish date

URL: cmsny.org/trumps-executive-orders-immigration-refugees/

Date accessed: February 13, 2017

https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/09/us/politics/appeals-court-trump-travel-ban.html?_r=0

Author: Adam Liptak

" Court Refuses to Reinstate Travel Ban, Dealing Trump Another Legal Loss"

Website: www.nytimes.com

The New York Times is an American daily newspaper, founded and continuously published in New York City since September 18, 1851, by The New York Times Company.

Publish date: February 9, 2017

URL: www.nytimes.com/2017/02/09/us/politics/appeals-court-trump-travel-ban.html?_r=0

February 13, 2017

<http://thehill.com/homenews/administration/318757-guadalupe-garcia-de-rayos-deported-by-ice>

Author: Rebecca Savransky

"Mexican woman may be first person deported under new Trump order"

Website: *the hill.com*

The Hill is an American political journalism newspaper and website published in Washington, D.C. since 1994. It is published by Capitol Hill Publishing, which is owned by News Communications, Inc.

Publish date: February 9, 2017

URL: thehill.com/homenews/administration/318757-guadalupe-garcia-de-rayos-deported-by-ice

Date accessed: February 13, 2017

https://www.democracynow.org/2017/2/10/ice_raids_speed_into_overdrive_advocates

Author: Amy Goodman

"ICE Raids Speed into Overdrive: Advocates Say Obama's Deportations Reaching "100 MPH" Under Trump"

Website: *www.democracynow.org*

Democracy Now! is an hour-long American TV, radio and internet news program hosted by journalists Amy Goodman and Juan Gonzalez; a global newscast that has "people speaking for themselves."

Publish date: February 10, 2017

URL: www.democracynow.org/2017/2/10/ice_raids_speed_into_overdrive_advocates

Date accessed: February 13, 2017

<http://www.latimes.com/politics/la-na-pol-trump-deportations-20170204-story.html>

Author: Brian Bennett

"Not just 'bad hombres': Trump is targeting up to 8 million people for deportation"

Website: *www.latimes.com*

The Los Angeles Times is a leading source of breaking news, entertainment, sports, politics, and more for Southern California and the world.

Publish date: February 4, 2017

URL: www.latimes.com/politics/la-na-pol-trump-deportations-20170204-story.html

Date accessed: February 13, 2017

<https://www.technologyreview.com/s/519241/report-suggests-nearly-half-of-us-jobs-are-vulnerable-to-computerization/>

Author: Aviva Hope Rutkin

"Report Suggests Nearly Half of U.S. jobs are Vulnerable to Computerization"

Website: www.technologyreview.com

MIT Technology Review was founded at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1899. It is an innovative, digitally oriented global media company whose mission is to equip audiences with the intelligence to understand and contribute to a world shaped by technology.

Publish date: September 12, 2013

URL: www.technologyreview.com/s/519241/report-suggests-nearly-half-of-us-jobs-are-vulnerable-to-computerization/

Date accessed: February 14, 2017

<http://www.counterpunch.org/2006/05/31/stop-saying-this-is-a-nation-of-immigrants/>

Author: ROXANNE DUNBAR-ORTIZ

"Stop Saying This is a Nation of Immigrants!"

Website: www.counterpunch.org

The CounterPunch website is reader supported and offered at no charge to the general public over the world wide web.

Publish Date: May 31, 2006

URL: www.counterpunch.org/2006/05/31/stop-saying-this-is-a-nation-of-immigrants/

Date accessed: February 14, 2017

<https://globalsocialtheory.org/concepts/settler-colonialism/>

Authors: *Adam Barker and Emma Battell Lowman*

"Settler Colonialism"

Website: globalsocialtheory.org

This site is intended as a free resource for students, teachers, academics, and others interested in social theory and wishing to understand it in global perspective.

Publish date not given

URL: globalsocialtheory.org/concepts/settler-colonialism/

Date accessed: February 14, 2017

<http://www.lahuelga.com/>

<http://www.alternet.org/activism/resistance-movement-developing-powerful-new-weapon-fight-trumps-authoritarianism>

Author: Sarah Lazare

"Momentum Grows for a General Strike: Will Various Groups Come Together?"

Website: www.alternet.org

AlterNet is an award-winning news magazine and online community that creates original journalism and amplifies the best of hundreds of other independent media sources. AlterNet's aim is to inspire action and advocacy on the environment, human rights and civil liberties, social justice, media, health care issues, and more.

Publish date: February 10, 2017

URL: www.alternet.org/activism/resistance-movement-developing-powerful-new-weapon-fight-trumps-authoritarianism

Date accessed: February 14, 2017

<https://www.afsc.org/resource/new-path>

"A New Path"

Website: www.afsc.org

The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) envisions a world in which lasting peace with justice is achieved through active nonviolence and the transforming power of love. A New Path lays out AFSC's seven principles for a new path toward a humane immigration policy.

URL: www.afsc.org/resource/new-path

Date accessed: February 14, 2017

<https://www.thenation.com/article/ice-has-arrested-600-undocumented-immigrants-in-the-last-week/>
<https://www.thenation.com/article/ice-has-arrested-600-undocumented-immigrants-in-the-last-week/>

Author: Julianne Hing

"ICE Has Arrested 600 Undocumented Immigrants in the Last Week"

Website: www.thenation.com

The Nation is the oldest continuously published weekly magazine in the United States, and the most widely read weekly journal of progressive political and cultural news, opinion and analysis.

Publish date: February 13, 2017

URL:

www.thenation.com/article/ice-has-arrested-600-undocumented-immigrants-in-the-last-week/
<https://www.thenation.com/article/ice-has-arrested-600-undocumented-immigrants-in-the-last-week/>

Date accessed: February 14, 2017

<http://www.vdare.com/posts/forty-percent-of-americans-blame-illegal-immigration-for-job-loss>

Author: Brenda Walker

"Forty Percent of Americans Blame Illegal Immigration for Job Loss"

Website: www.vdare.com

VDARE is an American website that publishes socio-political commentary pieces, particularly focusing on advocating for a moratorium on immigration into the United States as well as arguments related to race and American politics.

Publish date: February 10, 2013

URL: www.vdare.com/posts/forty-percent-of-americans-blame-illegal-immigration-for-job-loss

Date accessed: February 14, 2017

<http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trump-immigration-wall-exclusive-idUSKBN15O2ZN>

Author: Julia Edwards Ainsley

"Exclusive - Trump border 'wall' to cost \$21.6 billion, take 3.5 years to build: internal report"

Website: www.reuters.com

Reuters is the news and media division of Thomson Reuters. Thomson Reuters is the world's largest international multimedia news agency, providing investing news, world news, business news, technology news, headline news, small business news, news alerts, personal finance, stock market, and mutual funds information.

Publish date: February 9, 2017

URL: www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trump-immigration-wall-exclusive-idUSKBN15O2ZN

Date accessed: February 14, 2017

Author: Chomsky, Aviva

"UNDOCUMENTED How Immigration Became Illegal"

Publisher: Beacon Press

Publication date: 2014

Author: Chomsky, Aviva
"They Take Our Jobs!"
Publisher: Beacon Press
Publication date: 2007

Authors: McChesney, Robert W. and Nichols, John
"People Get Ready"
Publisher : Nation Books
Publication date: 2016