# Trump's Immigration Policy At The US-Mexico Border And The Impact On Human Security

**Angel Damayanti[1], Calvin Ericke Zrada[2]**

*Universitas Kristen Indonesia[1,2]*
*angel.damayanti@uki.ac.id[1]*
*calvingama21@gmail.com[2]*

## Abstract

The issue of illegal immigrants in the United States had become a concern for Donald Trump, who was elected as the 45th US President in 2017. He made a policy to maintain US national security from threats mainly posed by illegal immigrants at the US-Mexico border. This article elaborates on the implementation and the impact of such policy on the US and illegal immigrants' security. This study uses descriptive qualitative research methods to answer the research problems in a case study approach. The authors use two theories - securitization and foreign policy– supported by national and human security concepts to describe the rationale behind the policy's implementation and explain the impact. This study finds that the issuance of Trump's immigration policy brings no significant change in the number of crimes, such as drugs and people smuggling in border areas. On the contrary, the policy adversely affects Mexican immigrants with an increase in the arrest and deportation of illegal immigrants, coupled with verbal, physical, and psychological violence, including separation of illegal immigrant families, sexual harassment, and even deaths.

**Keywords:** Illegal immigrants, US-Mexico border, US security, immigration policy, Trump's policy.

## Introduction

The history of migration on the US-Mexico border has been influenced by rapid migration flows for decades. The US has become one of the leading destinations for immigrants, especially Mexicans. Many factors motivate Mexicans to migrate to the US, some of which are the immigrants' socio-economic condition in their country and the rapid economic growth of the US. (Nelson, 2011) Such conditions and the needs of the individual trigger the decision to migrate.

However, in 2017 new challenges came as the US elected President Trump stated, "We will build a big beautiful impenetrable wall to divide Mexico and the United States, one that will be paid for by Mexico." The Mexican President, Enrique Peña Nieto, responded to Trump's statement by saying that they would not pay for the wall's construction. (Deeds & Whiteford, 2017) With this statement, Trump deeply offended the Mexican President and most people. They perceived it was a drawback of the longstanding US-Mexico relationship.

To follow up on Trump's statement, the White House officially announced the making of executive policies restricting illegal immigrants and the construction of a wall on the US-Mexico border in 2017. It is called Border Security and Immigration Enforcement Improvements, which contained an order to build a giant wall along the border. (White House, 2017) The US-Mexico border has been built with a massive barrier stretching 2,000 miles, and in some places, the wall is high and stretches over hills and deserts.

Patrolling personnel monitored and guarded the wall rigorously against the entry of illegal immigrants, coupled with drugs and people smuggling and other crimes at the border area.

Trump perceived that constructing a giant wall on the US-Mexico border would be an excellent strategy to avoid problems in the US due to the presence of illegal immigrants. (CNN Indonesia, 2018) Trump's administration accuses unlawful immigrants of the source of US security problems. This wall completely separates the US from Mexico so that no Mexicans carelessly enter the US territory without complete documents. Such an immigration policy is also expected to stop gangs and cartels running illegal operations that might harm US citizens.

Trump's immigration policy provoked criticism from various parties. Some perceived it as a form of racism. (BBC Indonesia, 2017) Immigrants find it challenging to cross the border in search of a better life. Even though his policy reaps pros and cons on various sides, Trump insisted on realizing the wall construction on the US-Mexico border.

The authors conducted this research to understand why Trump insisted on publishing the immigration policy and how it impacted the US people and Mexican immigrants' security. The authors use a qualitative research design with a case study model supported by foreign policy and securitization theories, including national and human security. This article will be divided into sections starting with Trump's campaign and the rationale for constructing US-Mexico borders. Further, this article will elaborate on the securitization process and the impact on US national security and Mexican immigrants' security.

## Literature Review

Amadu Jacky Kaba (2019), in his work "United States Immigration Policies in the Trump Era," examines Trump's immigration policy and compares it with the previous presidents' policies.

Kaba focuses on the US immigration statistics from Obama's to Trump's presidency and the problems they had to deal with, including the visa category, migrants and non-migrants, refugee rates, permanent residents, and naturalization. He concludes that Trump's immigration policy declined the US economy and innovation due to the loss of skilled immigrants.

Looking at the US immigration policy's impact, Karina Utami Dewi and Desti Putri Cahyani (2020), in their article "The United States' Zero Tolerance Immigration Policy: An Analysis of Structural Violence," discuss the zero-tolerance policy from the view of Johan Galtung's structural violence. They elaborate on the issue through two core impacts: the physical and the psychological. The physical impacts on the children in the shelter are inadequate facilities, various diseases, and even death. They also experienced physical violence from the government staff, which left them bruised, injured, and in pain. The psychological impact was the separation of the family when the children and their families were placed in different shelters, not knowing each other's identities. It also triggers their psychological emotions for not being able to find their family.

Tiya Andani (2019), in her unpublished thesis, "Alasan Pemerintah Amerika Serikat Donald Trump Menerapkan Kebijakan Kontroversial Terhadap Meksiko Melalui Pembangunan Tembok Dan Pembatasan Imigran Ilegal (2016 - 2020)," examines the reasons causing Trump to make controversial policies that are widely opposed by various countries and parties through William D. Coplin's theory of foreign policy making. She analyzes the issue by examining multiple domestic political, economic, and military factors. According to Andani, Trump made this policy as he wanted to keep his promise during the campaign. So, Trump executed the approach based on the support of his voters and his party, the Republicans. Another reason was that Trump viewed the illegal immigrants from

Mexico as negatively impacting the country's economy; the longer the immigrants stay, the more comfortable they feel and get a better life and facilities such as education and health.

Further, in the article "The Impact of Migration Securitization on The Increase of Islamophobia-Based Attacks in The United States In 2015-2019," Victoria Melati (2020) describes how the US under Trump's presidency has made the securitization measurements of migration by placing restrictions on immigrants, mainly Muslim immigrants, with the Travel Ban policy. Melati said that Trump's securitization efforts were carried out to frame the issue of immigrants as a threat that could damage US security by carrying out terrorism, such as in the 9/11 incident. During his campaign, Trump stigmatized immigrants negatively to politicize Americans' fear of terrorism so Americans could vote for him in the 2016 presidential election. When Trump won the election, he finally released the Travel Ban policy to the seven Muslim-majority countries.

Overall, the difference between this research and previous research lies in the issues raised. In this study, the authors elaborate on the rationale of Trump's immigration policy and how it impacts the US people's and illegal immigrants' security. Based on the literature review, no authors have discussed the impact of Donald Trump's immigration policy on national security, mainly the people and human security. Therefore, this research provides a new reading on Trump's immigration policy.

## Methodology

To explain Trump's immigration policy, this research uses a qualitative method which is essential to create descriptive data in the form of expressions and writings. Such a method observes individuals' behavior in groups and organizations. Qualitative research design is expected to produce in-depth explanations, so this research is conducted from a complete and comprehensive point of view. (Abdi, 2012) Through qualitative research design, the authors reveal facts, situations, conditions, and phenomena related to Trump's immigration policy which gives an understanding of the events and intentions behind the policy.

For extensive policy analysis, the authors utilize the case study model as it allows the authors to conduct descriptive and analytical research. The descriptive and analytical research enables the authors to collect, classify, and arrange data systematically according to the framework so that all verified and analyzed data show the relationship and evidence related to the research problem.

Sources of data in this study originated in primary and secondary data from various written sources such as journals, articles, books, reports, and news from reliable and trusted online sources. For the primary data, the authors use all official documents related to immigration policy and documents issued by the Trump administration through the White House website. While for secondary data, the authors collect all evidence from online media such as CNN, BBC, and New York Times.

The authors also utilize works of literature from online sources, such as publications of Google Scholar, JSTOR, the genesis library, and other online libraries. Finally, the authors validate the data by source triangulation techniques and analyze the data through data reduction and verification. This method helps the authors to collect, study and validate data related to the elaborated issue.

## Concepts and Theories

## Securitization Theory

The Copenhagen Peace Research Institute, known as the Copenhagen School, initiated and developed securitization as a concept involving security experts Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, and Jaap de Wilde. The idea starts from the debates

between experts who considered security threats should be objective and those who claimed that security threats were subjective. Uneasy with the discussion, the Copenhagen School mediated the debate by saying that security is a statement or speech act and then accepted by the public or the audience. (Hadiwinata, 2017)

Through their research, Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde (1998) conclude that the securitization process is a step that takes politics outside the established rules of the game and frames an issue either within the specific political sphere or beyond. They also explain that security is not only in the realm of the state and the military. Security also materializes in other domains, such as the economy, society, environment, and politics.

In theory, the securitization process occurs when a securitizing actor conveys a speech act regarding a threat that initially was not considered threatening and dangerous to the audience. The securitizing actors have an essential role in making an issue and applying securitization to turn it into a security issue. Therefore, the actor needs to perform a speech act to go through the securitization process. The speech act aims to get approval while simultaneously convincing the audience that the issue he brings threatens them so that the actor can further take the securitization process to overcome the threat. The speech act contains a message indicating the existential threat that can endanger the referent object, which is considered essential for the audience. Therefore, to save the referent object, they must conduct an emergency action to retain it. (Buzan, Waever, de Wilde, 1998)

Such action will change the audience's perspective in viewing a discourse or issue that is initially considered to have no threat. It can be understood if securitization was then seen as a process of dramatizing a problem initially regarded as usual and not dangerous. Suddenly, it becomes a priority to follow up on the threat beyond normalcy quickly. (Hadiwinata, 2017)

The success of securitization is determined by the prowess of the securitizing actor in delivering a speech act to the audience that the referent object is facing a severe threat that, if not followed up, will have dire consequences. Therefore, it needs a fast and appropriate way of handling it.

There are three main elements in the securitization analysis process. First is the referent object, a natural or abstract thing whose sustainability is threatened and needs to be maintained. Secondly is the securitizing actor, usually people or groups who express speech acts and perform an action on the issue at hand, threatening the existence of the referent object. They can be political leaders, government, bureaucracy, and pressure groups. The last is functional actors, which means the actors who have the skill to influence the process of what is conveyed through speech acts which are then accepted by the audience. (Buzan, Waever, de Wilde, 1998)

**Foreign Policy Making Theory**

Foreign policy, in general, is a series of decisions related to a problem between nations. Therefore, the theory of foreign policy making explains why a problem occurs and why making a foreign policy is vital in determining a country's foreign policy direction. The theory explains how a policy is made and the factors influencing decision-making. This concept answers the logic and strategy behind Trump's immigration policy.

William D. Coplin (1992), in Introduction to International Politics, says that foreign policy is a decision that begins with a process in which there is a demand from domestic politics by looking at the capabilities and strengths of the economy and the military. There are at least three influencing factors in foreign policy-making, namely:

1. The domestic political condition involves actors' interactions who influence policy-making, commonly called policy influencers. They consist of bureaucrats,

2. The economic and military conditions as the indicators of a country's ability. Historically, economic development has played an essential role in foreign monetary policy. The spending of a state's budget for its military facilities is used as a determinant of its strength in protecting its security and national interests. Therefore, the better a country's economic capability and military defense level, the more it enforces its foreign policy.

3. The international context influences a country's policy-making. The nature of the global system and the relationship between countries determine how a government behaves in policy-making.

Understanding that most states' leaders make a foreign policy for national security is essential. What is most emphasized is the ability to deal with various threats, so national security can be interpreted as the ability to maintain the state's existence through politics, military, economics, and diplomacy. (Darmono, 2010) In line with the securitization theory, Buzan (1991) concluded that every country might face threats from the military, environment, economy, politics, and society, as national security is always associated with potential hazards. Such a threat relates to any act or series of events that (1) threatens drastically and in a relatively short time to reduce the quality of life of the population of a country, or (2) threatens significantly to narrow the range of policy options available to the government— State or private, non-governmental entity (person, group, company) in the state.

Once Trump was elected, he adopted a new national security strategy to protect the US from various threats. The system contained four pillars, namely: (1) protecting the homeland, American society, and the way of life of the American people, (2) improving the welfare of the American people, (3) maintaining peace through its power, and (4) advancing America's influence on the world stage. (US Embassy Jakarta, 2017) On the issue of the US-Mexico border, Trump emphasized maintaining US national security against the arrival of illegal immigrants who might disturb the country. Through his campaign, Trump concluded that the existence of illegal immigrants in the US harms the US economy, environment, state facilities, and security by bringing various problems such as drug and human smuggling and criminal acts.

## Human Security Concept
Various new concepts have developed in security studies to understand international and national security. One of which was the concept of human security. This concept focuses on individual safety and perceives humans as equal to other actors in the study of international relations. The human security concept shifted the security objects originating from the traditional paradigm focusing on the state or national security to individuals. The image also extends from survival to the protection of human dignity. To conclude, the new paradigm has changed the perspective on the source of the threat and the object to be secured. (Sudiar, 2019)

The concept of human security has developed since the UNDP report on human development in 1994. Mahbub Ul-Haq, Pakistani's former minister of finance and economy and the author of the Human Development Report, initially introduced the idea of human security. In this report, UNDP briefly defines human security as protection from the constant threat of hunger, disease, crime, and oppression. It also protects from sudden and painful daily life disturbances at home and work. UNDP (1994) divides human security into seven areas: food security, economic security, health security, community or social security,

environmental security, political security, and personal security.

From the above definition, we can conclude that human security focuses on protecting each individual and is protected from various threats from crime, disease, hunger, and the military. In this study, the human security concept during Trump's era is evident by looking at the impact of immigration policy-making on the US people's and illegal immigrants' security.

## Analysis

### The Rationale for Trump's Immigration Policy

During the 2016 US Presidential campaign, Trump brought various controversial issues regarding the economy, terrorism, and illegal immigrants, which got public attention with more than 70% of the Pew Research Center survey (2016). Trump perceived that campaigning on this issue would increase the numbers of his voters. He benefited by good protection for the US people from various crimes, including terrorism and smuggling, and maintaining job stability for native Americans, since most medium and small jobs are filled with illegal immigrants. (Yuliantoro, 2017)

Through his campaign, "American First and Make America Great Again," Trump's policies seem more domestic issues-oriented. (Taufik & Pratiwi, 2021) Within five days of taking office, Trump published various executive orders to overhaul the US immigration system. He made significant changes to the border wall in the southern US with Border Security and Immigration Enforcement Improvements. The policy focused on building a wall across the US-Mexico border, banning illegal immigrants, and increasing the number of security personnel and stringent checks on incoming immigrants. (Pierce & Selee, 2017)

Trump also made a zero-tolerance policy for illegal immigrants. It was unofficially implemented in 2017, aiming to separate children and youth from their parents. This policy has many physical and non-physical impacts, from stress, anxiety, fear, and discomfort to injuries, sexual abuse, and death. This policy has generated tremendous controversy not only domestically but also internationally. Accordingly, in 2018 this policy was stopped. (Dewi & Cahyani, 2020)

Referring to Coplin's theory of foreign policy-making (1992), the rationales for Trump's immigration policy can be seen from domestic political and economic conditions. The issue of building a border wall during Trump's campaign has become one of his main promises to overcome security problems in the United States. After the election, Trump continued to intensify the issue. Therefore, the main reason Trump made his immigration policy was domestic factors, where he wanted to keep his promise during the campaign, which the Republicans fully supported. (Andani, 2019)

On January 27, 2017, Trump issued Executive Order No. 13767, titled "Border Security and Immigration Enforcement Improvements." The primary purpose of this policy is to maintain and protect US national security from various threats. According to Trump, such threats mainly come from the arrival of illegal immigrants that might harm the security of US citizens through drug and human smuggling, terrorism, and other crimes.

Picture 1. The United States and Mexico Border Wall Map

Source: Giles, 2021.

Trump planned to build a giant wall that spanned four states, California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas, costing Mexico $25 billion. However, Mexico rejected the plan as it made no sense to them. (Franedya, 2018) Following this refusal, Trump threatened Mexico, one of which was to increase tariffs on products from Mexico. Quoted from CNN Indonesia, in 2019, Trump proposed a budget of $5.7 billion for the wall to Congress, but Congress rejected it. Trump then declared a national emergency so that his administration may use other budgets, such as military funds, to build the wall. (CNN Indonesia, 2019) Trump insisted on the wall construction as it is crucial. He used security issues, such as terrorism and smuggling from illegal immigrants, to gain public support.
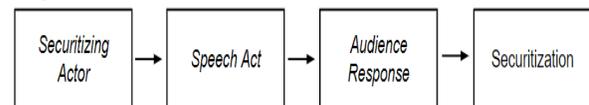
Another reason is the economic conditions. Trump noticed that illegal immigrants had taken the job vacancies for Americans. He also accused immigrants of getting sufficient facilities from the US government, including education and health services. Trump was determined to build a wall on the US-Mexico border as he believed illegal immigrants burden the US economy. Trump stated in his campaign in 2015, "When do we beat Mexico at the border? They are laughing at us, at our stupidity. And now they are beating us economically. They are not our friends, believe me. However, they're killing us economically. The US has become a dumping ground for everybody else's problems." (Reilly, 2016)

It is also evident that most illegal immigrants receive their salaries in cash, so they are not subject to federal taxes. Their wages are also so low that their contribution is less significant. (Andani, 2019) Therefore, many think these immigrants only burden the government with the money they get and the government facilities in education, health, food assistance, and other welfare. An illegal immigrant who comes and has a child born in the US will then become a US citizen and have the right to government services. (Wallace, Kretman & Strotgatz, 2008)

## Securitization Process on the US-Mexico Border Wall

Buzan, Waever, and Wilde (1998) confirmed the three elements in the securitization process; the securitizing actor, referent object, and functional actors. The securitizing actor is someone who considers an issue as a threat. In this case, President Donald Trump thinks immigrants threaten the country. The referent object is something that is threatened with its existence. In this study, the referent object is the US, including its national identity, territory, and people. The functional actors are involved in the process, and in this case, are the Republican party and its supporters, while the audience is the US.

Figure 1. Securitization Process



Source: Buzan, et al. 1998.

Trump started his securitization during his campaigns until he was elected as the US President. He decisively influenced the public by bringing up sensitive issues in society; illegal immigrants and terrorism. Through his speeches using various print media platforms and online media, he asserted to improve the immigration system by banning illegal immigrants.

Trump and the Republicans who supported him perceived the need to improve the US immigration system due to the increasing terrorist acts from Muslim immigrants and criminality from illegal immigrants, most of whom come from Latin America. Therefore, during his campaign, Trump promised to overcome these problems by creating policies that would suppress illegal immigrants. Such a policy was considered effective in maintaining US security as they needed a more assertive approach in handling the issue of immigrants at the border.

Moreover, with the slogan "Make America Great Again," Trump wanted to improve the US national identity that was perceived as threatened by immigrants. In one of his speeches, Trump stated, "They are not sending you. They are sending people that have lots of problems, and they are bringing those problems with us. They are bringing drugs. They are bringing crime. They are rapists. And some, I assume, are good people." (Gabbat, 2015) In his statement, Trump accused Mexican immigrants bring negative images as only a few immigrants are excellent and valuable to the US.
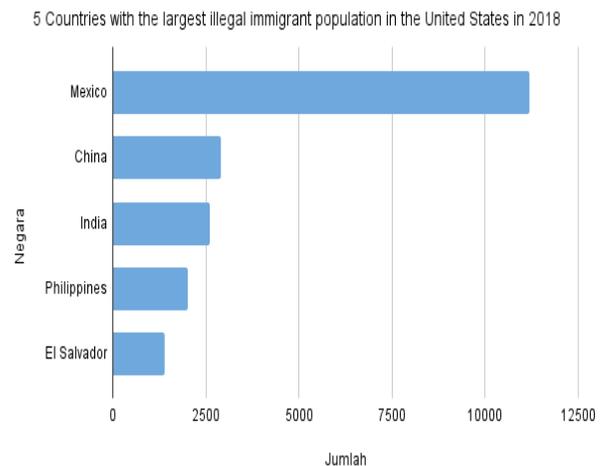
The main point of Trump's speech acts was transferring non-security issues into security issues. During his campaign, Trump received support from the audience, the public, and state government ranks, who believed that non-security had become a security issue. Trump won the 2016 election by obtaining 304 electoral votes from a candidate's minimum of 270 electoral votes. (Sudagung and Amanda 2017)

By this, we can say that Trump had succeeded in securitizing the issue of illegal immigrants at the US-Mexico border even before he was elected as the 45th US President. As a securitizing actor, Trump convinced the audience through his speech act that illegal immigrants threatened US security. With public and Republican support, Trump immediately realized his promises by making policies to stop illegal immigrants from entering the US.

## The Impacts on the US Security

Over the past two decades, global immigrants have increased by almost 50 percent to 258 million. In response to this, many countries that host immigrants have improved their border security and control systems for migration. (Abman and Hisham, 2020) In 2017, approximately 29 million immigrants came to the US in search of work, and nearly 7.6 million working immigrants were illegal. This concerned Trump as he perceived that the more immigrants arrived, the worse the US was impacted.

Graph 1. Number of Illegal Immigrant Populations in the United States 2018



Source: Budiman, 2020.

The above data shows that the most significant immigrants coming to the US are Mexicans, with 11.2 million immigrants. It accounted for 25% of all immigrants in the US and was followed by immigrants from China, India, the Philippines, and El Salvador. More than one million immigrants arrive in the US every year. In 2018, the origin country of immigrants entering the US was China, with 149,000 people, followed by India (129,000), Mexico (120,000), and the Philippines (46,000).

Understanding how many Mexicans come to the US for a better life is common knowledge. The term "American Dream" has influenced the majority of immigrants. The slogan provides new

hope for immigrants to start a new life in a new place. However, due to limited permits and difficulties in managing the administration to cross the border, many choose illegal ways to cross the border. This resulted in a growing number of illegal immigrant populations in the US who give birth to their children in the US and even work and live unnoticed for years. Therefore, in the following part, we will discuss the impact of illegal immigrants on US security.

### a. Crime

Concern over illegal immigrants has been the top priority for the Trump administration. Trump claimed tens of thousands of crimes were committed by illegal immigrants. The remarks he made to link immigrants to crime were one of his attempts to gain support for his border wall proposal. (Haslett, 2019)

Trump claimed that the crime rate due to illegal immigrants has increased during his tenure. The Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) reported that they had arrested 266,000 foreigners with criminal records who were charged or convicted of 100,000 assaults, 30,000 sexual crimes, and 4,000 violent murders. According to the data, serious drug offenses and drunken accidents make up the largest group of penalties, followed by immigration and traffic offenses. Trump's 266,000 arrests of illegal immigrants with criminal records over the past two years is a number that primarily includes immigrants convicted of past crimes and possibly serving prison terms before they are released into ICE custody. (Haslett, 2019) Looking at this data, Trump stated that thousands of Americans had been brutally murdered by illegal immigrants over the years. Therefore, the government needs to take decisive action against it.

The US border with Mexico stretches nearly 2,000 miles with the various criminal threats looming over the Trump administration. The vast area is known to harbor multiple threats of crimes coming from drug cartels, street gangs, and other crimes such as rape, kidnapping, murder, and drug and human smuggling. These crimes have resulted in a multi-billion-dollar industry threatening communities on both sides' borders and US national security.

Texas is an ideal state to study criminality based on immigration status. As Texas shares a border with Mexico, it has a large illegal immigrant population, and Texas is a politically conservative state governed by the Republican Party. However, native Americans mostly took the increase in crime, followed by illegal and legal immigrants. Various crime cases include sexual offenses, theft, and murder.

In 2019, about 286,248 native Americans, 14,010 illegal immigrants, and 15,692 legal immigrants were convicted of crimes in Texas. Therefore, 1,190 natives are punished for every 100,000 natives, 749 illegal immigrants for every 100,000 illegal immigrants, and 510 legal immigrants for every 100,000 legal immigrants proportionately. As a percentage of their respective populations, illegal immigrants are more than 37.1 percent less likely to be convicted of a crime than native Americans. Legal immigrants are about 57.2 percent less likely to be convicted of a crime than native Americans.

Then there were 829 people convicted of murder in Texas in 2019. Of that number, 746 were native Americans, 42 were illegal immigrants, and 41 were legal immigrants. Cases of sexual assault and theft also attract attention since illegal immigrants are known to be second contributors to crime in Texas after native Americans. Overall, for all crimes in Texas in 2019, illegal immigrants had a criminal penalty rate of 37.1 percent below that of Native Americans. (Nowrasteh. 2019) Although illicit immigrants did not produce the most significant criminal cases in the US, Trump insisted that the presence of illegal immigrants hurt US national security.

In the end, it was found that the number of crimes in the US after the inauguration of the

immigration policy, according to Trump and Customs and Border Protection (CBP), has increased every year. However, the number is considered a decrease compared to the previous administration. It is also evident in several states that crime remains dominated by native Americans compared to crimes committed by illegal immigrants from Mexico.

## b. Drugs and Immigrant Smuggling

The southern border is a drug smuggling route, including methamphetamine, heroin, cocaine, and fentanyl. It is said that every week 300 Americans are killed due to heroin from the border. More Americans will die from drugs than from the Vietnam war. (Lopez, 2019) Based on data from Customs and Border Protection cases in San Diego in 2016, border patrol agents confiscated nearly 83,000 kgs of marijuana, cocaine, methamphetamine, and heroin from the entrance to the area. In 2018, Customs and Border Protection also recorded smuggling arrests at specific points. They seized 90% heroin, 88% cocaine, 87% cocaine, and 80% fentanyl along the border. (Gomez, 2019) In these cases, agents use various methods, such as suspecting uneven tires, nervous drivers, and checking entire luggage.

The tunnel in San Diego is known to carry 35-tonne drug packages with rails between Mexico's Tijuana and San Diego. It is said that this tunnel cost more than a million dollars to build. However, these costs can be covered if the drug smuggling proceeds make a profit after two successful shipments. (Solis, 2021) There is not only one tunnel in the San Diego area. According to Jeff Stephenson, a patrol agent, there have been approximately 70 tunnels since 1993. (Vigdor, 2020) Cartels have long used the tunnels to smuggle drugs and people.

In 2020, a new, more sophisticated tunnel was rediscovered in the San Diego area. The tunnel is known to have a rail and ventilation system with high-voltage electrical wires. There is a drainage system and an elevator at the entrance to Tijuana, Mexico. It is known that the tunnel is owned by a cartel named Joaquín Guzmán Loera, known as El Chapo, but Guzman has been arrested and sentenced to life in prison. (Peltier, 2020)

Although there have been many cases along the southern border, the cartels prefer to smuggle drugs through the ports. Gil Kerlikowske, head of CBP and the Office of National Drug Control Policy in the Obama era, said smugglers prefer to move their drugs through ports. They get higher profits, especially since the ports are always busy. (Gomez, 2019) For example, they use the port of entry of San Ysidro, southern California, as this is one of the busiest ports, with 100,000 people crossing through the port daily. A cartel member Joaquin El Chapo Guzman, arrested in 2016, testified that most of them smuggled the drugs through US ports of entry using cars, trucks, and trains.

Based on the above data, we can see that the number of drug smugglers in the US after implementing the immigration policy at the US-Mexico border is still increasing. The reason is that this policy does not break the chain of distribution and smuggling of drugs into the US. The cartels and drug smuggling agents still have alternative ways to smuggle illegal goods. These smugglers continue to build other underground passages to smuggle illicit goods. Drug smuggling is a way for Mexican cartels to make extraordinary income. Therefore, reducing drug smuggling will be challenging to deal with quickly.

In an interview with a smuggler, González & Solis found that he smuggled thousands of migrants in 20 years. The smuggler, Alexis, admitted that he guides migrants through border fences under patrol control. He revealed his strategies for smuggling migrants by using himself as a diversion or waiting for border patrol agents to leave unguarded areas. Then he sent the immigrants through the fence using various

means such as throwing ropes, ladders, or holes he had prepared. When migrants have escaped through the border gate, they evade border patrols by blending in with residents in Calexico, California, where most of the population is Latino. (Gonzalez and Solis, 2021)

According to UNODC (2022), there are many ways to smuggle immigrants, ranging from easy to complex, safe to dangerous, and cheap to expensive. Most migrants are smuggled in by trucks or, in rare cases, on foot or through special tunnels. To achieve the goal with a good level of security, the fees must be higher, and vice versa. If the migrant chooses a lower price, the level of protection is not guaranteed.

Usually, things happen to those who pay cheaply. They could be stranded and experience sexual harassment. While those who spend a higher fee are likely to arrive faster, safer, and have a higher guarantee of success. Smugglers' routes can be affected by long detours and last-minute changes to plans by looking at specific border policies or the weaknesses of border guarding. The two routes commonly used to smuggle immigrants are the routes from South and Central America, including Mexico, to North America, Africa, and Europe.

The number of migrants who have been smuggled is unknown, but it is estimated that Latin Americans contribute about 3 million illegal immigrants to the US yearly. This also generates about $6.6 billion in revenue for criminals. Based on the facts, it is reasonable that Trump continues to build a border wall and increase the number of security guards to monitor and avoid smuggling.

## Impact on Illegal Mexican Immigrants

Donald Trump often brought the Mexican immigration issue to call for war with illegal migrants openly. He enacted policies on the border wall to make it more challenging for immigrants to enter the US. Such immigration policies and strategies have impacted the

humanitarian crisis on immigrants. Instead of enforcing immigrant rights, or providing safe and legal means to migrate, US immigration and border control strategies deliberately force immigrants to risk their lives, causing untold suffering and deaths and the disappearance of hundreds of migrants each year at the US-Mexico border. The complexity comes with children and teenagers being forced to be separated from their families as they cross the border illegally.

The concept of human security confirms that an individual must be free from fear and flaws. It is generally defined as protection from the constant threat of hunger, disease, crime, and oppression. Such a concept applies to Mexican immigrants and US citizens who experienced negative impacts from the presence of immigrants in the US, as many immigrants commit crimes.

However, the repercussions faced by Mexican immigrants are severe, ranging from violence, harassment, and family separation to deportation and death. This makes immigrants vulnerable and afraid of the terror following Trump's immigration policy. The policy has deliberately forced immigrants to leave and continue to live in the shadow of fear. They experienced physical and psychological, and mental abuse damaging their lives as human beings.

### a. Arrest and Deportation

Immediately after Trump was elected President of the US and created a new immigration policy, he said that his administration would arrest and deport as many as three million illegal immigrants with criminal records living in the US. The US Department of Homeland Security (DHS) quickly launched a crackdown on the arrest and deportation of thousands of illegal immigrants at the border. It prosecuted nearly all those caught entering the country illegally. (Rotella, 2019) The following graphic presents
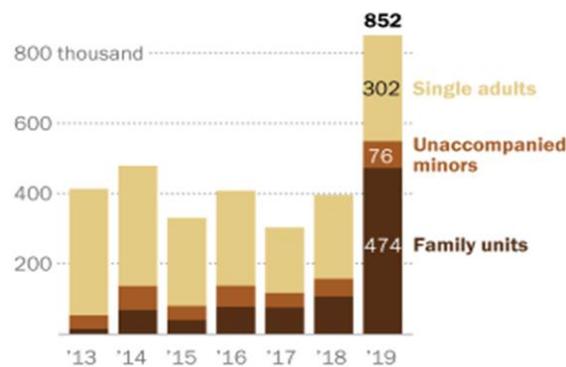
data on illegal immigrants arrested and deported during Trump's tenure.

Since Trump's immigration policy was enacted, the US has detained any migrants caught crossing the US-Mexico border undocumented or illegally. In 2017, shortly after the enactment of the policy, border patrol officers arrested 310,531 illegal immigrants. The arrests decreased by 25 percent from the previous year. (Gramlich, 2020) Trump ordered immigration agencies to prioritize illicit immigrants who recently entered the United States and those who committed severe crimes through this policy.

However, in 2018 there has been an increase of 396,579 arrests of illegal immigrants. Then, in 2019 the arrest of immigrants at the US-Mexico border reached the highest number in the last six years. At that time, there were 851,508 arrests of immigrants who were about to cross the border. This number doubled from the previous year. (Gramlich, 2020) US immigration agency ICE is known to make arrests of more than 52,500 immigrants per day in more than 200 detention centers across the country. That is an increase of about 34,000 under the Obama administration. (Rappleye and Sevile, 2019) The number has increased since 2018, which resulted in them being tried and deported to their home countries.

Graph 2. Arrests of Illegal Immigrants at the US-Mexico Border 2017-2019



Source: Budiman 2020.

The below table shows that Trump's immigration crackdown reduced the number of immigrants arrested at the southern border. However, the impact of these arrests left a lasting impression on the immigrants as they had to endure forced arrests, beatings, and torture until they were returned to their home countries.

Table 1. Number of Deportations of Illegal Immigrants in the United States 2001-2018

| Year | Criminal (Thousand) | Non-Criminal (Thousand) | Total (Thousand) |
|------|------|------|------|
| 2001 | 73 | 116 | 189 |
| 2002 | 73 | 92 | 165 |
| 2003 | 84 | 127 | 211 |
| 2004 | 92 | 148 | 240 |
| 2005 | 92 | 154 | 246 |
| 2006 | 98 | 182 | 280 |
| 2007 | 102 | 217 | 319 |
| 2008 | 105 | 255 | 360 |
| 2009 | 132 | 260 | 392 |
| 2010 | 170 | 212 | 382 |
| 2011 | 189 | 197 | 386 |
| 2012 | 200 | 217 | 417 |
| 2013 | 199 | 237 | 436 |
| 2014 | 168 | 247 | 415 |
| 2015 | 140 | 193 | 333 |
| 2016 | 136 | 204 | 340 |
| 2017 | 121 | 174 | 295 |
| 2018 | 149 | 188 | 337 |

Source: Budiman 2020.

Illegal immigrants who are caught at the border or within the country usually face deportation or what is officially known as "removal." Both arrests and transfers of immigrants are carried out by US immigration agencies, namely Customs and Border Protection (CBP) and Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). (Gramlich, 2020) The above table shows the results of the US deportations of illegal immigrants from 2001 to 2018. About 337,000 immigrants were deported from the US in 2018, an increase since 2017. Overall, the Obama administration deported approximately three million immigrants between 2009 and 2016,

significantly higher than the 2 million immigrants deported by the Bush administration between 2001 and 2008. In 2017, the Trump administration deported 295,000 immigrants, the lowest number since 2006. Less than half of the 337,000 immigrants deported were convicted of crimes. The data report that about 44% of the immigrants received criminal penalties, and 56% were not convicted of a crime. From the above figure, we can see that from 2001 to 2018, about 60% of deported immigrants were not convicted of a crime.

## b. Child Detention, Family Separation, and Deaths

Since 2017 the Trump administration has separated more than 2,300 children from their families at the US-Mexico border through his zero-tolerance policy. (Elis, Hicken and Ortega, 2018) Such a policy prosecutes 100% of parents caught crossing the border with their children. During arresting the parents, the children will be held in separate facilities for months and separated from their families; even worse, they will live in confinement with poor conditions while their parents will face prosecution and deportation. (Hildreth, 2019) Detained children will be placed under the Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) supervision.

Many immigrants experienced physical and non-physical impacts. Physically, they experience sickness, sexual abuse, injuries, and even death. As for the non-physical impact, the immigrants feel a tremendous psychological shock due to separation from their children. Fear, anxiety, and trauma are the most significant impacts on immigrants due to the zero-tolerance immigration policy. (Dewi and Cahyani, 2020)
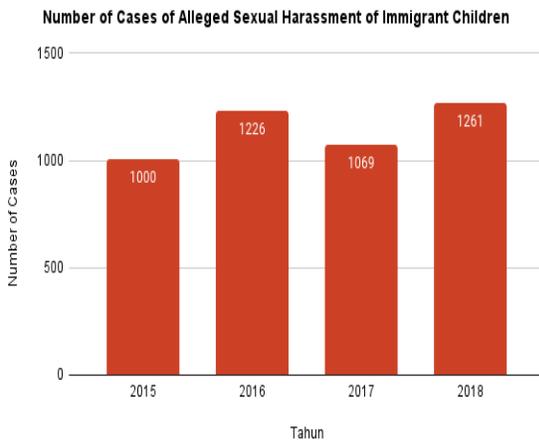
Picture 2. Shelter Facilities for Immigrant Children



Source: Damonoske & Gonzales, 2018.

When children are taken from their parents by the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), the law requires them to be transferred to care at the Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) within 72 hours. DHHS has only 11,200 beds to care for children. Accordingly, many children are left in an unsettled state for a long time, which disrupts their mental state. In some cases, it was found that children were locked up and placed in what they called the "ice box" due to the cold. (Hildreth, 2019) In other cases, toddlers are even separated from their parents until the government deports them to prevent them reunite with their children.

Graph 3. Number of Allegations of Sexual Harassment Against Immigrant Children 2016-2019

**Number of Cases of Alleged Sexual Harassment of Immigrant Children**



Source: Gomez, 2019.

Apart from violence, sexual abuse and death also happen to these illegal immigrants. It was found that 4,556 children received acts of sexual abuse when they were treated at the Health and Human Services' Office of Refugee Resettlement which takes care of these children when they are separated from their families. (Gomez, 2019) Since 1998, at least 7,000 migrants are believed to have died along the US-Mexico border and possibly more due to uneven recording.

On the Arizona border alone, there were 144 deaths in 2019 and 128 cases in 2018. The number of cases in Arizona has experienced a higher spike than the previous year. (Gilbert, 2021) A vast desert surrounds the Arizona border. In many cases, the immigrants' journeys are not adequately prepared. They only used sandals and the wrong shoes to cross the desert on the Arizona border. Many brought insufficient water for the trip, which caused them to die due to dehydration.

The implementation of this policy has drawn controversy in the international community as it violates human rights. Due to domestic and international pressure, the policy officially ended in June 2018. However, unofficially the policy continued until October 2019. (Narea, 2019)
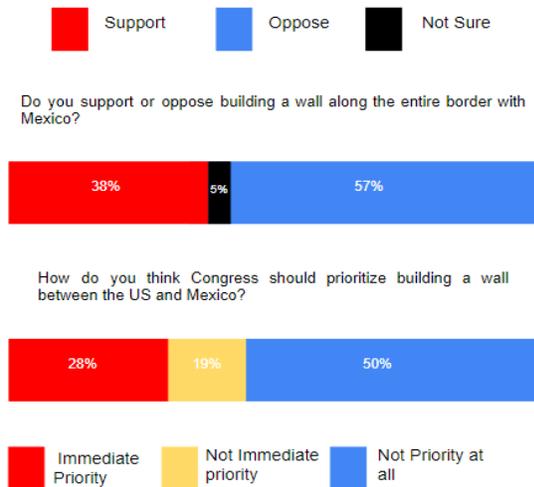
**Response to Trump's Immigration Policy**
Since the declaration of the executive order regarding Border Security and Immigration Enforcement Improvements, the order has received a rejection, especially from the Mexican-blooded community. The Mexican President and people were angry as it is considered unreasonable to bear the cost of building the wall. Mexico's finance minister Luis Videgaray firmly stated that Mexico would not pay for Trump's wall under any circumstances. He also mentioned that building a wall between Mexico and the US was ignorant and unrealistic. (The Guardian, 2016) Until then, Trump realized his promise to build the wall with funds from US taxpayers for initial funding.

Demonstrators from American and Mexican communities and throughout Latin America gathered to express their concern for migrant children separated from their parents. (New York Post, 2018) Demonstrators at the White House rejected the policy, as defined by an immigrant worker, Emilia Ramos, "It is upsetting. Families being separated, children in cages." The demonstrators kept chanting, "We Care!" while expressing that this policy is barbaric and inhumane. They also said, "Love, no hate, makes America great," which intended to satirize one of the slogans that Trump always carries during his campaign that will rebuild America great but turns out to be filled with hatred, especially for migrants. (Flaccus and Taxin, 2018)

Graph 4. Survey on Trump's Immigration Policy on the 2018 US-Mexico Border Wall

Source: Armstrong, 2019.

Reporting from Statista, the response from the US community, on the one hand, was against the construction of the wall. The main reason is that the development is considered not to reduce the various crimes significantly. The wall construction is ineffective and harms the country's economy, especially since it removes the skillful migrant workers. On the other hand, some support it as Mexicans burden the country by taking lower-middle jobs, bringing in criminals, and polluting the streets due to homelessness. (Armstrong, 2019) Overall, Americans consider that building a wall should not be the government's top priority in overcoming problems at the border, as there are many ways for immigrants to enter the US without crossing the border.

Based on an interview with the director of the Cornell Farmer program at Cornell University, Mary Jo Dudley, in CBS news about New Yorkers' opinions on the impact of illegal immigrants, 75% of respondents thought that immigrants brought a positive impact on their local community. (Dudley, 2019) The presence of immigrants helps fill jobs that the majority of other Americans are less interested in as farmers or ranchers and perceive that the remuneration of immigrant workers is relatively lower than that of the Americans. Indeed, illegal migrants work

hard like the other US people, and their presence in local farming communities is beneficial.

Pew Research Center also reported that most Americans view that the presence of immigrants has positive impacts. About 66% of Americans say that the arrival of immigrants strengthens the country for their workforce and talents in carrying out their jobs. Only 24% of Americans say that the appearance of immigrants burdens the country. The reason is that immigrants are considered to take jobs, housing, and health services that should be prioritized for them. The Democrats and Republicans have different views regarding the arrival of immigrants in the United States. Democrats, with 88% of the voters, consider immigrants strengthen the country with their work and talent, while 8% say they burden the country. While for Republicans, 41% said immigrants strengthen the country, and another 44% thought immigrants burden the country. (Budiman, 2020)

## Conclusion

It is estimated that illegal immigrants have reached 12 million in the US, most of whom come from Latin America, especially Mexico. Trump and his voters perceived immigrants burden the US economy and national security. Cases of crime, drugs, and people smuggling significantly impact US security. Therefore, Trump made an immigration policy at the US-Mexico border by increasing security patrol officers with military assistance to oversee the entire border area. However, the impact faced by the US people caused by immigrants is less severe than those received by immigrants. Illegal immigrants experienced severe consequences, including violence, sexual crimes, children's separation from their parents, arrests, deportations, and deaths.

Trump's rationale is to maintain US national security from the threat of illegal immigrants. However, the crime rate, drugs, and people smuggling in the US remained high

though Trump has made a policy to deal with the situation. Illegal immigrants continue to arrive in unidentified ways to the immigration officers. Illegal immigrants experience various ill-treatment from the officers before returning to their respective countries. Immigrants who bring families will be forced to be separated from their children, leading them to mental health problems with physical, verbal, and psychological violence, including beatings, sexual violence, racism, and even death.

To conclude, Trump's policy of building a wall on the US-Mexico border might symbolize US sovereignty but provoke severe human rights violations. It is most likely a tool of violence, division, isolation, and even racism against immigrants who seek hope for a better life in the US. It would be better for the US government to cooperate with Mexico and Latin American countries to improve economic and political stability in their countries, particularly in the border areas. This is crucial to prevent the migration of their citizens to the US and to stop the cartel business. Technical cooperation also needs to provide training to improve the immigrants' ability who enter the US territory and are tailored to the needs of the workforce in the US.

## References

1. Abman, Ryan and Foam Hisham. "Border Walls and Crime: Evidence from the Secure Fence Act." Cato. March 25, 2020. [Online]. Available https://www.cato.org/publications/research-briefs-economic-policy/border-walls-crime-evidence-secure-fence-act. [Accessed May, 19 2022].

2. Andani, Tiya. The Reasons The United States Government Donald Trump Implemented Controversial Policies Against Mexico Through Wall Building And Restrictions on Illegal Immigrants (2016 - 2020). Thesis, Yogyakarta: University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta. 2019.

3. Armstrong, Martin. Most Americans Don't Want the Border Wall. Statista. January 8, 2019. [Online]. Available https://www.statista.com/chart/16568/border-wall-us-mexico-surveys/ [Accessed June 28, 2022].

4. Budiman, Abby. Key findings about US immigrants. 20 August 2020. https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/08/20/key-findings-about-us-immigrants/ [Accessed March, 8 2022].

5. Buzan, Barry, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde. Security: A New Framework for Analysis. London: Lynne Rienner Publisher, 1998.

6. Buzan, Barry. People, States, and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publisher, 1991.

7. BBC Indonesia. "Trump teken keputusan pembangunan tembok AS-Meksiko". BBC. January 26, 2017. [Online]. Available https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia-38752890 [Accessed October, 8 2021].

8. CNN Indonesia. "Trump Ancam Tutup Seluruh Perbatasan AS-Meksiko". CNN Indonesia. December 29, 2018. [Online]. Available https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20181229030538-134-357220/trump-ancam-tutup-seluruh-perbatasan-as-meksiko [Accessed March 9, 2022].

9. CNN Indonesia. "Trump Ancam Tutup Perbatasan dengan Meksiko Pekan Depan". CNN Indonesia. March 30, 2019. [Online]. Available https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20190330155224-134-382004/trumpancam- Tutup-perbatas-

dengan-mexiko-pekan-Depan [Accessed May 8, 2022].

10. Darmono, Bambang. "Keamanan Nasional: Sebuah Konsep dan Sistem Keamanan Bagi Bangsa Indonesia". Jurnal Ketahanan Nasional. Vol. 15, No. 1, 2010: 1-41.

11. Deeds, Colin and Scott Whiteford. "The Social and Economic Costs Of Trump's Wall." Voices of Mexico. 2017: 24-28.

12. Dewi, Karina Utami and Desti Putri Cahyani. 2020. "The United States Zero Tolerance Immigration Policy: An Analysis of Structural Violence." Global Strategic, Vol. 14, No. 1, 2020: 31-44.

13. Dudley, Mary Jo. "These US industries can't work without illegal immigrants." CBS News. January 10, 2019. [Online]. Available https://www.cbsnews.com/news/illegal-immigrants-us-jobs-economy-farm-workers-taxes/ [Accessed March 10, 2022].

14. Flaccus, Gillian, and Amy Taxin. "Protesters of Trump immigration policy flood streets across the US." Global News. June 30, 2018. [Online]. Available https://globalnews.ca/news/4306597/pro tests-donald-trump-immigration/ [Accessed May 16, 2022].

15. Franedya, Roy. "Donald Trump, Tembok Perbatasan & Lumpuhnya Pemerintahan AS." CNBC Indonesia. December 22, 2018. [Online]. Available https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/2 01812122120657-4-47599/donald-trump-tembok-perbatasan-lumpuhnya-pemerintahan-as [Accessed May 8, 2022].

16. Gilbert, Samuel. "2020 was the deadliest year for migrants crossing unlawfully into the US via Arizona." The Guardian. January 30, 2021. [Online]. Available https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2021/jan/30/us-mexico-border-

crossings-arizona-2020-deadliest-year [Accessed May 18, 2022].

17. Giles, Christopher. "Trump's wall: How much has been built during his term?" BBC. January 12, 2021. [Online]. Available https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-46748492. [Accessed May 8, 2022].

18. Gomez, Alan. 'Thousands of migrant children report they were sexually assaulted in US custody." USA Today. February 26, 2019. [Online]. Available https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/p olitics/2019/02/26/thousands-migrant-children-report-sexual-assaults-us-custody-border-detain/2988884002/ [Accessed May 4, 2022].

19. González, Daniel and Gustavo Solis. "A human smuggler and the wall that will make him rich." 2021. USA Today. [Online]. Available https://www.usatoday.com/border-wall/story/human-smuggling-crossing-border-illegally-methods/559784001/ [Accessed May 15, 2022).

20. Gramlich, John. "How border apprehensions, ICE arrests, and deportations have changed under Trump." Pew Research. March 2, 2020. [Online]. Available https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/03/02/how-border-apprehensions-ice-arrests-and-deportations-have-changed-under-trump/ [Accessed May 15, 2022].

21. Hadiwinata, Bob Sugeng. STUDI DAN TEORI HUBUNGAN INTERNASIONAL, ARUS UTAMA, ALTERNATIF DAN EFEKTIVITAS. Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2017.

22. Haslett, Cheyenne. "Fact Check: Trump's claims on undocumented immigrant

crime rates. Here's what the numbers show." ABC News. January 16, 2019. [Online]. Available https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/fact-check-trumps-claims-illegal-immigrant-crime-rates/story?id=60311860 [Accessed May 15, 202].

23. Hildreth, Matt. "Immigration 101: What is Zero Tolerance Family Separation?" Americas Voice. March 25, 2019. [Online]. Available https://americasvoice.org/blog/separation-of-children/ [Accessed May 3, 2022].

24. Kaba, Amadu Jacky. "United States Immigration Policies in the Trump Era." Sociology Mind, Vol.9, 2019: 316–349.

25. Longo, Matthew. The Politics of Borders: Sovereignty Security, and the Citizen after 9/11. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

26. Lopez, Germany. "Trump's wall won't do anything about the opioid epidemic." Vox. January 9, 2019. [Online]. Available https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2019/1/8/18174768/trump-wall-opioid-epidemic-heroin [Accessed May 1, 2022].

27. Melati, Victoria. "THE IMPACT OF MIGRATION SECURITIZATION ON THE INCREASE OF ISLAMOPHOBIA-BASED ATTACKS IN THE UNITED STATES IN 2015-2019." Indonesian Journal of International Relations, Vol. 4, No.1, 2020: 69–91.

28. Narea, Nicole. "The Trump Administration Just Admitted that It Separated an Additional 1,500 Immigrant Families." Vox. October 25, 2019. [Online]. Available https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2019/10/25/20931992/trump-administration-aclu-lawsuit-separate-families-immigrant-policy-1500 [Accessed 5 May 2022].

29. Nelson, Shannon. R. The Immigrant Experience: Mexico and Central America to the United States. California: California Polytechnic State University, 2011.

30. New York Post. "Protesters across the US march against Trump's immigration policies." NY Post. June 30, 2018. [Online]. Available https://nypost.com/2018/06/30/protesters-across-the-us-march-against-trumps-immigration-policies/ [Accessed May 17, 2022].

31. Nowrasteh, Alex. "Criminal Immigrants in Texas in 2019 Illegal Immigrant Conviction Rates and Arrest Rates for Homicide, Sex Crimes, Larceny, and Other Crimes." Cato. May 11, 2019. [Online]. Available https://www.cato.org/immigration-research-policy-brief/criminal-immigrants-texas-2019 [Accessed May 19, 2022].

32. Peltier, Elian. "Longest Smuggling Tunnel Is Found at US-Mexico Border." NY Times. January 20, 2020. [Online]. Available https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/30/world/americas/tunnel-us-mexico-border.html [Accessed May 1, 2022].

33. Pew Research Center. "2016 Campaign: Strong Interest, Widespread Dissatisfaction." Pew Research Center. July 7, 2016. [Online]. Available https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2016/07/07/2016-campaign-strong-interest-widespread-dissatisfaction/ [Accessed May 20, 2022].

34. Pierce, Sarah, and Andrew Selee. "Immigration under Trump: A Review of Policy Shifts in the Year Since the

Election." Migration Policy Institute. 2017:1-16.

35. Rappleye, Hannah, and Lisa Riordan Seville. "24 immigrants have died in ICE custody during the Trump administration." NBC News. June 9, 2019. https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/immigration/24-immigrants-have-died-ice-custody-during-trump-administration-n1015291 [Accessed May 18, 2022].

36. Reilly, Katie. "Here Are All the Times Donald Trump Insulted Mexico." TIME. August 31, 2016. [Online]. Available https://time.com/4473972/donald-trump-mexico-meeting-insult/ [Accessed May 9, 2022].

37. Rotella, Sebastian. "Human Smugglers Are Thriving Under Trump." The Atlantic. February 21, 2019. [Online]. Available https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2019/02/human-smugglers-thrive-under-trumps-zero-tolerance/583051/ [Accessed 18 May 2022].

38. Solis, Gustavo. "Drug smuggling, and the endless battle to stop it." USA Today. 2021. [Online]. Available https://www.usatoday.com/border-wall/story/drug-trafficking-smuggling-cartels-tunnels/559814001/ [Accessed 1 May 2022].

39. Sudagung, A.D., Rizky Amanda and Anggia U.D. "SEKURITISASI DONALD TRUMP TERHADAP ISU MIGRASI DAN PERBATASAN." Seminar Nasional Penerapan Ilmu Pengetahuan dan Teknologi 2017. Tanjungpura: Universitas Tanjungpura 2017.

40. Sudiar, Sonny. "Pendekatan Keamanan Manusia dalam Studi Perbatasan Negara." Jurnal Hubungan Internasional, Vol. 7, No. 2. 2019: 152-160.

41. Taufik and Sundari Ayu Pratiwi. "American First: Kebijakan Donald Trump Dalam Pembatasan Kaum Imigran Ke Amerika Serikat." Intermestic: Journal of International Studies, Vol. 6, No. 1, 2021: 221-241.

42. The Guardian. "Mexico makes first direct response to Trump: We're not paying for a border wall." The Guardian. March 3, 2016. [Online]. Available https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/03/mexico-responds-donald-trump-border-wall [Accessed May 17, 2022].

43. Trump White House. "Executive Order: Border Security and Immigration Enforcement Improvements." Trump White House. January 25, 2017. [Online]. Available https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/presidential-actions/executive-order-border-security-immigration-enforcement-improvements/ [Accessed October 8, 2021].

44. UNDP. Human Development Report 1994. New York: United Nations Development Programme, 1994.

45. UNODC. "Smuggling of migrants: the harsh search for a better life." UNODC. [Online]. Available https://www.unodc.org/toc/en/crimes/migrant-smuggling.html [Accessed May 1, 2022].

46. US Embassy Jakarta. "Presiden Donald J. Trump Mengumumkan Strategi Keamanan Nasional untuk Memajukan Kepentingan Amerika." US Embassy Indonesia. [Online]. Available https://id.usembassy.gov/id/presiden-donald-j-trump-mengumumkan-strategi-keamanan-nasional-untuk-memajukan-kepentingan-amerika/ [Accessed May 9, 2022].

47. Vigdor, Neil. "$30 Million in Illegal Drugs Seized From Cross-Border Tunnel in San Diego, US Says." NY Times. March 31, 2020. [Online]. Available https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/31/us /drug-tunnel-san-diego-tijuana.html [Accessed May 1, 2022].

48. Wallace, A., Matthew K and Scott S. "The Immigration Debate: Economic Impacts." http://websites.umich.edu/~ac213/studen t_projects07/global/economicimpact.ht ml [Accessed 10 May 2022].

49. Yuliantoro, N.R., Atin Prabandari and Dafri Agussalim. "Pemilihan Presiden Tahun 2016 dan Politik Luar Negeri Amerika Serikat." Jurnal Hubungan Internasional, Vol 5, No 2, 2017: 193-209.