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**White Nationalism and Donald Trump's Immigration Policies  
Towards Latino Immigrants**

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the Requirement for a **Master's Degree in English Literature and Civilization**

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## **Abstract**

This research work attempts to explore the reason behind Trump's immigration policies towards Latino immigrants through the analysis of selected speeches from 2015, 2016 and 2018. Besides, it reviews the history of Latino immigrants in the United States of America and the causes that explain Trump racialization of Latinos. To achieve this, the study relies on the concept of White Nationalism and Chavez's concept of "The Latino Threat" to unveil Trump's doctrine, which includes making xenophobic statements and policies to reinforce white identity and exclude immigrants of color, specifically Latinos. Therefore, this research uncovers that White Nationalism became the defining feature of Trump's immigration policies revitalizing conservative ideology in the United States.

**Key words:** Donald Trump, Immigration Policies, Latino Immigrants, Xenophobia, White Nationalism, Conservative Ideology.

## **Dedication**

First and last, sincere thanks and praise to almighty God who has given me strength to accomplish this work. I dedicate this modest work to:

To my beloved father, **Azzedine**, May Allah have Mercy upon him, who gave his spirit and dreamed of this day.

To my mother, **Nadia**, whom I am grateful for her support and unconditional love.

To my brother, **Louhab**.

To my precious Cousins: Khamssa, Djohra, Guemra, Yasmine and Abd Salam.

To all my relatives.

To my dear friends: Wissam, Lisa, Mouna, Hakima, Linda, Yasmine and Maya.

Special thanks to my teammate Sara, with whom I am thankful to share this journey.

**Fatima**

## **Dedication**

First and foremost, the greatest and special gratitude go to Allah who provided me with enough patience to accomplish this research paper.

This whole work is heartedly dedicated to my beloved parents, whose unconditional love and unwavering support have been my greatest source of strength.

I extend my gratitude to my brother, my two sisters, and all my relatives for their endless encouragement and for always believing in me.

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## **General Introduction**



## **General Introduction**

The United States presidential election of 2016 remains one of the memorable and influential events in the political history of the country. It was a period of transformation and conflicting emotions for millions of Americans. With Barack Obama becoming the first African American president, some saw it as a move towards greater inclusivity for immigrants and minorities. However, there were also conservative Americans who perceived it as a decline of traditional American values, expressing concerns about the growing presence of individuals who didn't assimilate or fully identify with those ideals.

For president Donald Trump, it was an opportunity to emphasize the difference between individuals who were native-born Americans and those who immigrated to the United States. Trump adopted a tough stance against intruders, particularly through his implementation of controversial laws and policies, along with making unpredictable announcements in his speeches that reflected his political intentions.

The United States of America has been a melting pot since the first immigration of Pilgrim Fathers, attracting many immigrants seeking a better life from all over the world. Latino immigration has been part of this story, with many individuals coming to work in American farms and railroads in an effort to provide a better living for their families left in their native countries.

For many years, Latinos have played a significant role in shaping the United States' population as the largest and the fastest-growing minority group. Because the majority of white Americans believe that Latinos cannot assimilate with American ideals, their arrival to the United States has often been viewed as a threat to the dominant culture, language, values and safety. Leo Chavez explored how media, politics and cultural narratives shape perceptions of Latinos as a perceived threat. His concept of "The Latino Threat" underlines the perception of

Latinos as different from that of other immigrant groups who assimilated into the American culture as they cannot and will not willingly become a part of the fabric of America. They are, however, intruders from the southern US border drawing up as a cause of destruction to the United States.

The US immigration system during the 20<sup>th</sup> century established different restrictions against immigrants. Previous US presidents like Clinton and Obama made some reforms to facilitate their lives. However, during his presidential campaign, Donald Trump took immigration as a crucial issue in his political agenda and promised his followers to fix the broken immigration system in the United States through making significant changes to various aspects of immigration, including pathways to citizenship, border security policies and different restrictions against intruders coming from Latin America; this could be explained by his political ideology as a republican.

This study examines Trump's selected speeches, namely, his "Presidential Announcement speech of 2015", "Immigration speech of 2016" and "Remarks on the Conservative Political Action Conference of 2018" relying on the concept of white nationalism and Chavez's concept of "The Latino Threat". Thus, Content Analysis is opted to explain his political standpoint and clarify his xenophobic statements toward migrants and Latinos that were shocking to the country and the world in general.

The proposed research attempts to answer the following questions: What are the reasons behind Trump's immigration policies specifically towards Latino immigrants? How did white Americans react to his xenophobic discourse? In what way has the Trump doctrine affected Latino immigrants?

The aim of this research is to understand Donald Trump's immigration policies towards Latino immigrants which witnessed a renewal of White Nationalism in the United States.

Additionally, it attempts to explore the crucial role Latinos have played in the US, for the fact that America has always prided itself on its diverse culture and the freedom to practice religion among other important societies. However, the world indeed observed Trump as a president who has implemented policies that restrict the entrance of Latino immigrants and refugees, making it more challenging for them to live and work legally in the United States.

Trump's immigration policies have been studied through different angles focusing on the impact of his policies and the racialization of Latino immigrants, using them as a significant element in his radical presidential campaign and policy agenda, as he made major changes in the legislations to limit the large number of immigrants crossing the US Border. Therefore, this subject matter has been investigated by many scholars from different perspectives.

For instance, Gérard-Francois Dumont in his article entitled "Trump: A New Immigration Policy in the United States" (2017), places greater importance on Trump's immigration policy promises. He states that there are two directions, some people believed Trump policy seems ambiguous and confused, while others thought that his consistent implementation of every plan he proposes is more a noteworthy development in American history. Additionally, he asserts that the purpose behind Trump's immigration policy was to reduce family immigration and stop foreigners from entering the country by supporting the enforcement in applying the existing legislation especially for the illegal immigrants (3).

Another relevant study is Amadu Jacky Kaba's "United States Immigration policies in Trump Era" (2019), in which the author compares Trump's immigration policies to the previous presidents' policies focusing on the problems they had to deal with, including the number of the visas issued for both immigrants and non-immigrants entering the U.S which has extremely decreased during Trump's presidency. He concludes that trump's immigration policy declined

the US economy and reduced the American creativity due to stagnation in the country's population and the loss of skilled immigrants (317).

Collen. Vesely, Diamond. Bravo and Mariana. Guzzardo viewed Trump's immigration policy from another perspective in their article, "Immigrant Families Across the Life Course: Policy Impacts on Physical and Mental Health" (2019), where they discuss how trump builds his policy on the idea that America comes first, even if these strict measures hurt immigrant families. The writers claim that the emphasis of the new immigration laws was on enforcement and reducing immigrants in the US, which led to affect negatively the US citizens. In fact, trump's harsh policy separate family members from each other, and put children's lives in danger instead of protecting their well-being (2).

According to Nacos, Shapiro, and Block-Elken in their article "Donald Trump: Aggressive Rhetoric and Political Violence" (2020), Trump's presidential campaign and political discourse led to more hostile and divisive political environment in the United States. This resulted in increased threats and violence towards targeted groups, mainly racial, ethnic, and religious minorities, the media, and democratic politicians. The scholars conclude that Trump's hateful speech has several repercussions, including the rise of violence and discrimination against marginalized groups, such as bullying incidents in schools against minority students, assuming that this aggressive rhetoric impacts his followers' actions towards these denigrated groups (20).

Trump's immigration policy against immigrants, in particular Latino immigrants has been examined by many scholars. Canizales and Vallejo in their article "Latinos and Racism in Trump Era" (2021), claim that the racial discrimination that the Latinos survived in the United States did not originate from Trump administration; however, Trump's rise to power was partially fueled by the Latino racialization. The Trump administration utilized existing concerns

about Latino immigration and demographic shifts for political gain. This approach tapped into the anxieties of the white individuals who feared a potential loss of their social standing due to these changes (150).

From another lens, Brown, Jonas and Becker explore in their article entitled “The Racialization of Latino Immigrants in New Destinations: Criminality, Ascription, and Counter mobilization” (2018), the racialization of immigrants in the United States, using a distinctive dataset of over 4,200 news stories from the south region. They claim that the most dominant negative stereotypes of Mexican and Latino immigrants focus on their perceived criminal tendencies. Furthermore, supplemental analyses from African American newspapers suggest that both Blacks and Latinos share common experience of racial discrimination at the hands of whites. Therefore, the authors conclude that racialization of Latino immigrants in the news media is complex and has significant similarities with African American racialization processes (119).

Following the same course of the study, in an article entitled “The Fight for White America” (2018), Jamelle Bouie discusses how Trump’s doctrine in restricting immigration based on race may lead to an increase in the perception of “white-ness”, potentially affecting the relationship between white individuals, citizenship, and power. Additionally, he suggests that certain groups, such as immigrants from southern, eastern and central Europe may develop a sense of protectiveness over racial privileges (Bouie).

In their article entitled “Donald Trump and the Rise of White Identity Politics” (2017), Sides, Tesler and Vavreck analyze how the president Donald Trump appealed to white consciousness in order to gain support. They add that it was a major factor in determining how Trump was compared to other political figures. The scholars deduce that the potential impact

of white consciousness on shaping mass political behavior indicate a possible increase in white identity politics during the Trump era (2).

It is clear from the above review of literature that previous studies have discussed Donald Trump's immigration policies and their effects on immigrant communities from different angles. In this work, we try to contribute to this area of research by exploring the doctrine behind Trump's immigration policies towards Latino immigrants through the analysis of his selected speeches of 2015, 2016 and 2018.

In term of structure, our research paper is divided into two chapters. The first chapter provides a historical background of the study; it introduces the history of immigration in the United States, in addition to the presence of Latino immigrants and their hope to attain the American Dream. Then, it deals with US immigration policies, with a specific focus on Trump's Immigration policies which are generated mainly towards Latino immigrants. This chapter also provides statistics about Latinos in the US and some cases of immigrants who were affected by these policies.

The second chapter highlights the concept of White Nationalism, in an effort to explore the xenophobic ideologies towards Latino immigrants in the United States. It also attempts to understand the doctrine behind Trump's immigration policies by analyzing his selected speeches of 2015, 2016 and 2018. Additionally, it presents the effect of Trump's nationalist polices on Latino Immigrants.

## **Chapter 01**

# **Historical Background: Latino Immigration to the USA and Trump Immigration Policies**

# **Chapter I: Historical Background: Latino Immigration to the USA and Trump Immigration Policies**

## **Introduction**

This chapter provides the historical background of immigration in the United States, with a specific focus on Latino immigrants striving to achieve the American Dream despite enduring racial disparities in the country. Then, it highlights the concept of American Dream and the impact of Latino immigrants in America. Ultimately, it elucidates key immigration policies in the United States, shedding light on those signed by president Donald Trump.

### **1. Overview of the History of Immigration in the U.S.A**

Throughout its long history of immigration, the United States has been perceived as a destination that draws everyone's attention. It has been a dream land to people all over the world. Its objective of serving as a refuge for the wretched and oppressed, strengthened the country's commitment to "the dream".

The history of immigration in the United States is a complex and multifaceted narrative that spans over centuries. It describes the movement of people to the country from the colonial era to the present day. After Christopher Columbus landed in the New World in 1492, his voyage led to the European exploration and colonization over the next three centuries. Spain, France, England, the Netherlands, and Sweden all set up colonies in what is now the United States. The English established the 13 colonies on the Atlantic coast, with settlers from various European countries like Britain, Ireland, and Germany. The remaining settlers came from a wide range of ethnic backgrounds including Dutch, French, Jews, Italians, and other nationalities. A large number of these Europeans emigrated to the colonies in search of better economic opportunities or religious freedom, including The Puritans' migration, which was



driven by a desire for religious freedom and economic opportunities. They believed that the Church of England was too closely associated with the Catholic Church and sought to establish a pure church that would offer a model for churches in England. The Puritans also believed that the New World was a refuge for many whom God meant to save out of the general calamity (Britannica).

However, Andrew Baxter and Alex Nowrasteh claimed that some immigrants who arrived in the colonies were forced to immigrate, either through transportation or slavery (2). In fact, the slave trade brought many thousands of black people to the colonies from western Africa. African slaves were notably prevalent in the southern colonies especially from the middle of the 1700s; with 400,000 slaves and 60,000 free black people, the United States had a population of roughly 4 million people in 1790 (Britannica).

Immigration to the United States is a result of several waves of people from different regions seeking new opportunities, fleeing hardships, or escaping persecution. The first significant wave of immigration started with the establishment of the first successful English colony in Jamestown, Virginia in 1607. This wave brought northern immigrants, primarily of British, German, and Dutch descent, and lasted until the American revolution in 1775 (Mauk and Oakland 70).

The second wave occurred in the mid-1800s, with significant numbers of Germans, Irish, and British immigrants, many of whom were fleeing crop failures, land and job shortages, rising taxes and famine. This wave, dominated by Irish and German Catholics in the 1840s and 1850s, challenged the dominance of the protestant church and led to an anti-Catholic backlash, which was only defused when the civil war virtually stopped immigration in the 1860s (Martin). During this period, a significant number of Chinese immigrants also arrived, particularly during the California gold rush, when federal law stopped their immigration because of racial

suspicion, job competition, and hard economic times in the 1870s that resulted in the exclusion of Chinese immigrants from the US by enacting the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, marking a turning point by severely restricting and effectively halting Chinese immigration to the United States (Library of Congress).

The third wave took place around the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and is often referred to as the first great wave of immigration. It brought nearly 25 million Europeans to the United States, including Italians, Greeks, Hungarians, Poles and other Slavs, as well as Jews who arrived on Ellis Island in New York city, which came to be known as the “Golden Door”. The expansion of railroads in Europe and improvements in farming made it easier for people to migrate, leading to an influx of young people between the ages of 15 and 30. This wave significantly contributed to the growth of United States’ industries and the nation’s economic power (Mauk and Oakland 73-74).

Immigration became low during the Great Depression of the 1930s, and in some years more people left the US than arrived. It rose after World War 2 ended, as veterans and old soldiers returned with European spouses and Europeans migrated (Martin). The fourth wave, from 1960 to the present, has been characterized by immigration from Latin America, Asia and Africa due to the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which abolished the national origins quota system. This wave has seen the largest numbers of immigrants from Asia and Central America, and has significantly influenced the nation’s demographics, politics, culture and economic growth (Mauk and Oakland 76).

Immigration patterns were influenced by many motivating factors that pushed people to flee their own nation and seek safety in America. They sought to escape from political repression, religious persecution, and economic misery. Over the years, immigration has shown

to be the most effective approach for millions of immigrants who came together with the common goals of finding freedom and a new life.

## **2. Latino Immigration to the United States of America**

People with roots from Latin American countries have lived in the United States from its very beginnings. However, their presence on the national scene was practically invisible. The term Latino emerged in the 1980's as self-given name, particularly in the urban setting. According to Cambridge dictionary, the term "Latino" refers to someone who lives in the US and who comes from, or whose family comes from, Latin America ("Latino").

Latinos have deep rooted history on the American land, with early Spanish explorers having reached all the way up to the West coast. Setting the first wave of migration in the United States of America, the first mass took place in 1569 in St. Augustine, Florida, which came to be known as the oldest inhabited European-established city in the continental US under the Spanish colonization.

Latino presence took a new dimension in the Mexican American War (1846-1848) and resulted the annexation of half of Mexico territory to the United States of America in the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Howard Zinn writes that after the annexation of Texas to the United States, James Polk, the then U.S president wanted to purchase California, but the Mexican government refused. Polk ordered military troops to move toward Rio Grande, provoking Mexicans and convincing the Texans for the war against Mexico. At the end, the Texas boundary was set at the Rio Grande, and New Mexico and California were ceded to United States in Guadalupe treaty. Zinn adds that with the annexation of Mexico, the United States was spreading the idea that America gave more blessings of liberty and democracy to more people (136). In 1898, the Spanish –American war led to annexation of Puerto Rico adding its population to the growing number of the U.S citizens of the Latino descent.

The second part of the twentieth century saw a new wave of Latino immigrants come to the United States of America from Mexico, central America and South America. In the early 1940's, the U.S and Mexico established the "Bracero Program"; it refers to Mexican guest workers who came to the US in the mid-twentieth century as part of series of bilateral agreement between Mexico and the United States. This program brought thousands of Mexicans to work in agriculture. Aviva Chomsky in her book *Undocumented Immigration Became Illegal*, asserts that Mexican workers were productive workers in American market, yet they were not developed as the Americans. So, they were underpaid compared to the Americans as Mexican workers accepted whatever the condition set by American companies. With the demand of cheap workers from the American farmers to harvest the crops, the number of immigrants crossing the border following family chains along with job routes established by the program was raised in the U.S (3).

The 1960's saw a massive immigration of Cuban refugees as result of the Cuban revolution and more Puerto Rican workers migrated to Northeast region, thus the American government in 1964 ended the Bracero Program to stop immigration from the south. Meanwhile, the Latino immigrants who were under the program remained there and became illegal immigrants with their children who were born in America without right papers. The 1970's and 1980's witnessed significant immigration from central America due to the civil wars ravaging places like El Salvador and Guatemala. During the 1990's many Latin American countries experienced a severe economic crisis. Consequently, growing unemployment and high inflation rates forced immigrants from Colombia, Peru and Ecuador to migrate North in search for better economic opportunities.

In recent years, Latinos have become the fastest growing minority group in the United States of America. According to Pew Research Center, the number of Latinos in the U.S population in 1980 was 14.8 million, and in 2022 there were 63.7 million Latinos living in the

country to make up 19% of the total U.S population becoming the nation's second largest racial and ethnic group, two-thirds of whom are of Mexican origin, as Mexico has been the single largest source of immigrants to the United States in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Moreover, Mexican Americans constitute one of the largest ancestry groups in the United States.

This rapid demographic change in America led Latinos to be subject to injustices at the hands of whites over many years. Chavez explains that emerging from 1920s, public discourse framed Mexican and Latino immigrants as criminal threat; in the 1970s, they became 'illegal aliens', likened to an 'invasion' of U.S soil (4). This racial discrimination faced by the Latinos led them to be involved in the civil rights movement which gave start to a whole Latino movement called Chicano movement where Chicano farm workers, people of Mexican descent who came to work in the U.S, rebelled against the brutal system under which they were oppressed. They went out on strike and organized a national boycott of grapes that lasted for five years, under the leadership of Cesar Chavez (Zinn, H).

Mauk and Oakland state that Latino migrants specifically the Mexican children went, for many years, to segregated schools, until 1940 when the federal court declared them to be white their condition improved somehow, but the local officials used integrated schools by creating districts where most pupils are Latinos. Nowadays, the majority of Latino children still go to school in segregated districts (106).

While the 1960s brought advancement in equality both in politics and civil rights, Latino immigrants still faced various forms of discrimination in the United States of America. As Canizales and Vallejo explain: "Latinos have historically been among the most demonized ethno-racial groups in the United States, and much has been made by politicians, the media, and pundits of the growth of the Latino population" (150).

The racialization of Latinos is also carried by other minority groups, the negative perception and misconception that whites and other minority groups have about Latinos are reinforced by the media. According to Gonzalez, the depiction of Latinos in the media and politics in the United States often turn around narratives of illegality, criminality and immigration. These portrayals reinforce stereotypes of violence, lawlessness and foreign identity, perpetuating the belief that Latinos are not suitable with the traditional concept of the US citizenship (47).

Davies examines the demonization of Latinos in discourse. He gives the example of Samuel Huntington's influential essay "The Hispanic Challenge" in 2004. Huntington presents the argument from cultural conservatives who view Latino immigration as a significant threat to the established national identity, which was traditionally rooted in white, Anglo-Saxon Protestantism. He identifies elements such as language, religion, the rule of law, individualism, and protestant work ethic as the foundation of American culture. Davies adds that Huntington expresses concern that these traditional values are being threatened by what he perceives as different and alien value system among Latinos, characterized by Catholicism's Fatalism and acceptance of poverty (378).

### **3. Latino Immigrants and the American Dream**

Many Latinos migrate to the USA in pursuit of better life away from their homeland, others are driven by the necessity to provide for their families in their native countries, thus leading them to seek opportunities in the USA. As a matter of fact, Latino immigrants leave their homeland for many factors including lack of jobs, low levels of education, and political repression. These immigrants enter U.S illegally crossing the U.S-Mexico border searching for the American dream. First coined by James Truslow Adams in his book *The Epic of American* in 1931, the American dream centers on the idea that, through hard work and determination,

anyone can achieve success and prosperity in the United States of America, regardless of their background (Del Cid 5).

Being the largest group in the U.S, Latino immigrants have always been special part of the American culture. According to recent studies by Pew Research center, Latinos are more invested in core part of the American dream than the general U.S public, in particular, the idea that hard work will pay off and each successive generation is better off than the one before it.

Alcorn suggests that Latinos are the most important ethnic minority in the United States that keeps and seeks the American dream, maintaining the American pride and supporting the classic American virtues with pure intention to build a better future for the country. According to her, Latinos millennials are the highest group that have an ability to achieve success and prosperity through hard work and determination (6).

Lopez, Gonzales and Krogstad argue that the American Dream for Latinos is mostly being good parent, owning house, and having resources to provide for their family. Since they originate from poor countries where they had to work very hard to provide for their families, Latinos are the most minority in US to believe in the American Dream.

Jessica Del Cid, in “The American Dream: An Illusion or Reality for Latino Immigrant”, explains that the essence of the American Dream consists of two elements; freedom and opportunity. According to her, these elements are denied to the most of the Latinos in their homelands, and that’s why they come to America. Besides, poverty, lack of security, and freedom, institutional corruption and government abuses are the main factors that encouraged millions of Latinos to cross the border from the South in search for greater opportunity of life (10).

Achieving the American dream, sometimes becomes a nightmare more than a dream to Latino immigrants because of the terror and the struggle they go through their journey to United

States. Del Cid states that one immigrant reported “going through hunger for days, watching people get killed, and seeing women raped on the train” (21). Despite all the challenges they face, Latino immigrants have not lost hope in the American Dream.

#### **4. The Impact of Latino Immigrants on the United States**

As host to more immigrants than any other nation, the United States has been shaped by immigration over the ages, influencing its demographics, economy, culture, social structure, and politics. Although the Latino community has existed in the United States since its founding, some of its members are immigrants who have notably shaped its history (National Museum of the American Latino).

Latino immigrants have made significant contributions to America across various aspects, including the demographic shifts of the nation. The Latino population’s most significant impact on the country’s population has taken place over the last few decades. The number of Latinos in the United States more than doubled between 1980 and 2000, contributing 40% to the demographic expansion of the nation. In 2003, the U.S Census Bureau recognized Latinos as the country’s largest minority group, an incredible event considering that in 1980 the Latino population was only slightly more than half the size of the African American population (Saenz). Today, accounting for 53% of the total population growth of 24.5 million between 2010 and 2022, the Latino population represents one of the most dynamic and diverse racial/ethnic groups in the United States (Pew Research Center).

In addition to the country’s population demography, the Latino community has influenced various facets of American society. They have played crucial roles in several sectors of the American economy throughout history. Spanning from jobs in agriculture and ranching to the construction of railroads and infrastructure projects, their labor has been vital to the growth and expansion of the country. In recent years, Latinos are driving the U.S economy through their



entrepreneurial endeavors, workforce participation and considerable financial contributions. They are notably more likely to be entrepreneurs than the general U.S population, with nearly 12% of all Latino immigrant workers owning their own businesses (Siles). The nation's economic vitality is further enhanced by the significant role Latino immigrants play in filling most intensive sectors including agriculture, construction, healthcare and service sectors.

Beyond the economic realm, Latino culture has influenced every aspect of American life for centuries, including music, cuisine, politics, and the arts. Mexican food such as Tex-Mex style restaurants and fast-food chains like Tacos has long shaped American cuisine. Music and dance styles such as salsa have also gained popularity across the country. In addition to this, Hispanic culture has a big impact on American society, and bilingualism is becoming more and more prevalent, owing in great part to the flood of Latino immigration in which Spanish is now the second most spoken language in the United States (National Museum of the American Latino).

Art and literary contributions are another form of expression where the Latino community has transformed American culture over the years. Writers like Rudolfo Anaya and Sandra Cisneros have drawn on their unique experiences to create works that have enriched American literature. Artists and performers such as playwright Lin-Manuel Miranda and photographer Laura Aguilar have been strong advocates for expanding the representation of people of color in the entertainment industry (National Museum of the American Latino). Their cultural contributions have become integral parts of the American identity, influencing mainstream entertainment and daily life.

Over time, Latino immigrants have been at the front line of social and political movements advocating for Civil Rights, Labor Rights, and Immigrants' Rights. As already mentioned, they have battled for equality and justice from the leadership of Cesar Chavez in the farmworkers'

movement to the activism of institutions like “La Raza”, which is the crystallization of political, cultural, and ethnic pride around the racial identification as Hispanic or Latino (Davies 386). Moreover, Latinos have actively participated in community building, and civic engagement, contributing to social movements and public initiatives that tackle issues such as education, immigration reform and economic inequality (DeSipio).

Additionally, most Latino immigrants report a higher quality of life in the United States than in their home countries, demonstrating their resilience in the face of obstacles, such as limited English proficiency, low family income, lack of health insurance and low levels of education. Despite these challenges, a significant portion of Latino immigrants work as self-employed workers or small business owners, and many of them provide financial support to family members in their home countries (Huertas and Kirkegaard 5-6-7).

Overall, Latino immigrants have made significant contributions to American society through their cultural enrichment, financial support, and active involvement in the labor market. These actions are a reflection of their tenacity, and positive influence on the country’s growth, diversity and prosperity.

## **5. U.S Immigration Policies**

From its inception to the present, the United States have passed through various immigration policies, which were followed by many restrictions. Millions of immigrants were suffering from economic depression, political instability and religious conflicts in their homelands, so they immigrated to the dreamland America seeking for a new life. Meanwhile, the American government limited immigration by implementing several restrictions and specific provisions in order to protect its borders from any potential danger.

The U.S. immigration system has undergone significant changes from the colonial times to modern times, there have been major waves of immigration and radical shifts in policies influenced by various events such as the industrial revolution, the great depression and the ongoing developments, which created demand for labor as well as political unrest and religious persecution in various parts of Europe in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. According to Alexandro Portes and Rubén Rumbaut, the United States became an overwhelmingly urban country thanks to the great European waves in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Many immigrants settled in urban areas, especially cities like New York, Chicago and Boston, where they were able to find jobs in mines, factories and other industries (16).

Immigration in the United States was practically unrestricted from its beginnings as colonies in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, throughout its independence in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, and long into the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Yet, soon after gaining independence from Great Britain, immigration restrictions began, and the laws that have been passed since then have mirrored the political climate and migrant patterns of the period (Cohn).

According to Joyce J. Chen, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 was the first significant law in American history to prohibit all members of a particular national group from entering the country, and as such, it had a significant influence on racial immigration policy in the twentieth century. This act included limits on some Chinese workers and individuals who were perceived to be a potential burden such as criminals and lunatics (299).

From 1900 to 1920, around 24 million immigrants arrived during what is known as the “Great Wave”. The outbreak of World War I reduced immigration from Europe, but mass immigration started again after the war. In response, congress enacted a new immigration policy: The National Origins Quota established by the Immigration Act of 1924 which restricted the total number of immigrants permitted entrance into the United States. It aimed to decrease

the total amount of unskilled immigration, facilitate family reunions, and preserve the homogeneity and racial composition of the U.S. Besides, it marked a significant shift towards restrictive immigration policies, impacting the ethnic distribution of the population by establishing quotas that favored immigrants from specific regions while limiting immigration from others. Mae Ngai opines that the 1924 Immigration Act applied the invented category of “national origins” to Europeans, a classification that presumed a shared whiteness with white Americans and separated them from non-Europeans. The act thus established the legal foundations for European immigrants to become Americans, while colored races were kept outside the concept of nationality, and therefore, citizenship (Lee 13). These policies would shape immigration for decades to come.

Since then, policy has undergone multiple developments. During the 20 years following World War II, immigration remained relatively low, because the 1920s national-origins system remained in place after Congress combined all previous immigration and naturalization laws into the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, which was the beginning of U.S policy towards illegal immigration. This act established preferences for skilled workers and relatives of U.S citizens and permanent residents, and abolished standards prohibiting some racial groups from becoming citizens (Lee 17).

However, a number of political, social, and geopolitical factors resulted to produce the historic Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, establishing a new system that prioritizes skilled immigrants and family reunification over national quotas. This law hugely shifted the source countries of immigrants away from Northwestern Europe. In the following decades, a greater proportion of immigrants started coming from Asia and Latin America, rather than Europe (Lee 18).

Nevertheless, the amount of immigration visas available each year was still limited by the preference system, and Congress continued to respond to refugees with special laws. The United States did not have a public policy governing refugee admissions until the 1980 Refugee Act was passed. This act aimed to align US policy with international norms, by defining as a refugee anyone with legitimate fear of persecution or physical harm, regardless of the political inclinations of their country's government. Refugees were no longer considered a preferential category, and the Refugee Act clearly defined the requirements and processes for their admission (Portes and Rumbaut 43).

In 1986, president Ronald Reagan and Congress enacted another significant policy known as the Immigration Reform and Control Act. It allowed millions of unauthorized immigrants, mostly from Latin America, who fulfilled certain requirements to become legal residents of the United States. Additionally, the law imposed sanctions and penalties on employers who hired unauthorized immigrants. This law's public policy is based on the belief that the federal government needs to exercise more control and strengthen its enforcement capabilities in order to address the issues of illegal immigration and employment (White et al 94).

Modern immigration policies started to be put into place by the Immigration Act of 1990 under the administration of George H.W. Bush. This kind of immigration policy included easier access to employment visas, family-based visas, and a lottery program that allowed immigrants from underrepresented nations to enter the United States. As stated by Sen. Alan K. Simpson, the 1990 act was the result of a decade-long effort to “close the door back” of illegal immigration “while we open the front door wider to skilled immigrants of a more diverse range of nationalities” (Chishti and Yale-Loehr 2).

From here, the policies evolved quickly and changed by nearly every president. The U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform, which President Bill Clinton and Congress established to look into legal and illegal immigration issues, made recommendations that led to the 1996 enactment of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act. The latter reflects in the enforcement of U.S immigration laws and the penalties imposed on undocumented immigrants who commit crimes or remain in the country for longer than allowed (Kerwin 193).

Immigration became a hot topic in the public discourse after September 11, 2001 terrorist attack. Nineteen of twenty foreign-born terrorists participated in the attack that claimed the lives of 2,996 civilians. The terrorists had entered the country either on student or tourist visas, however, four of them had become illegal aliens due to violations of their visas requirements. The attack uncovered flaws in the immigration system, including failures in internal enforcements, visa processing, and information sharing (Ai et al).

Migration is considered difficult and dangerous for people who enter the U.S illegally both across the U.S-Mexico border and other countries. Almost all illegal immigrants are without legal means of entering the country because there are few legal options for obtaining Green Cards and no immigration visas available for low-skilled workers. During the early years of the twenty-first century, there were arguments on immigration that supported creating a wall along the US-Mexico border, enforcing laws to stop illegal immigration to the US, or starting a new program for migrant workers. Congress, public, and politicians were debating these recommendations in 2006. Few of these plans have been implemented since April 2010, despite the approval and subsequent abandonment of a partial barrier (Holmes 1-2).

The most recent changes in immigration policy have been executive actions taken by the 44<sup>th</sup> President of the United States Barack Obama. He made it clear that he supported

immigration, and his actions have revived the need for social reform including learning English, paying fines and facing severe sanctions for employing illegal immigrants. In 2012, he revealed an executive order known as Deferred Actions for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), which granted work permits and identity documents to about 700,000 unauthorized immigrants who entered the country as children, along with a two-year renewable grant of protection from deportation. Furthermore, in 2014, he enlarged that program (DACA), and established a new program known as Deferred Action for Parents of Americans (DAPA) to provide similar advantages to certain undocumented immigrant parents of children born in the United States. The plan gave eligible undocumented immigrants a chance to seek for residency rather than face deportation. However, a number of states brought legal action against the federal government, and DAPA was prevented from taking effect while the lawsuits were unresolved by a temporary injunction (Kerwin and Warren 16-17).

Skrentny and Lopez affirm that neither Barack Obama nor George H.W. Bush succeeded in introducing considerable immigration reforms during their respective presidencies. However, both instituted policies that would allow a significant number of illegal immigrants to remain in the United States as long as they maintain their employment. Obama continued to support the Deferred Actions for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) programs, allowing young immigrants to stay in the United States. And it was at this time that Donald Trump took office and declared his notorious phrase "build the wall" (62-63).

## **6. Donald Trump Immigration Policies**

After making immigration the basis of his campaign, President Donald Trump began enacting specific executive orders with the goal of significantly altering the U.S immigration system. Sarah Pierce and Andrew Selee argue that Trump administration orchestrated a notable movement to change and modify the previous policies. These included building the wall across

the U.S.-Mexico borders, eliminating the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program, increasing the detention of undocumented immigrants, denouncing illegal immigrants as criminals, and limiting immigrant visa availability (1-2).

In 2012, the republican party lost the presidential election to Barack Obama. The party loss was based on its lack of support of the marginalized group minorities including African Americans and Latinos. Despite many recommendations to promote inclusivity in 2016 presidential elections, Donald Trump, the republican candidate emphasized on immigration, most specifically the undocumented immigrants, making their way across the U.S Mexico border and the asylum seekers from Muslim and Latin majority countries. Throughout the campaign, Trump made a number of controversial remarks targeting specific ethnic groups including Mexicans. There was a heavy focus on the challenges that certain migrants could bring to the country, such as violent crimes toward American citizens and economic insecurity for jobless Americans. From the launch of his campaign to his inauguration, Trump promised Americans to deport millions of undocumented Mexicans and Latino immigrants, build a wall on the southern border and prevent many travelers to have access to the United States (Roman and Sagas 27-28). As a matter of fact, Trump's administration introduced several restrictionist policies including Muslim Travel Ban, the Border Wall with Mexico, Zero-Tolerance Policy, ending DACA program and the mass Deportation.

### **6.1. Muslim Travel Ban**

During his first week in the office, President Trump issued an executive order, that targeted Muslims. On January 27<sup>th</sup>, 2017, he signed the Muslim Ban Order, preventing Muslim travelers from seven countries- Iran, Iraq, Syria, Somalia, Sudan, Libya and Yemen- to enter to the United States. The ban intended to be applied for minimum of 90 days (Roman and Sagas 30).



A lot of people in addition to press rushed to the airport to eyewitness the reactions of the travelers coming from Muslim countries. Hannah Giorgis explains how numerous immigration attorneys and journalists stayed in airports terminals to report about passengers from the 7 Muslims countries. She believes that Trump's intention was to protect the nation from terrorist attacks. However, according to report published in The Atlantic, 9/11 attack was carried out by Saudi Arabian hijackers, and Saudi Arabia did not exist in the list of Trump.

This ban followed by considerable number of the legal lawsuit, and had been challenged by the federal courts around the country, as result it was cancelled. Nevertheless, Trump administration, six months later issued a second travel ban on six Muslim countries- the original countries identified in first ban – save Iraq. Detrow argues that Trump expanded his proposed ban on Muslim immigration to the United States, citing concerns about possible terrorist threat from that community. He also writes about Trump's dissatisfaction with current immigration laws, viewing them as both dangerous and useless. In particular, Trump stated: "When I am elected, I will suspend immigration from areas of the world where there is a proven history of terrorism against the United States, Europe, or our allies until we understand how to end these threats". According to Nardini, the Muslim Ban issued by Trump, which aimed to protect the nation from terrorist threat has generated intense debates both within the country and internationally (106).

Therefore, on September 2017, following criticism on the ban to be more religious than geographical and injunctions issued by the federal courts against the second ban, the White House issued the third version of the ban. This version blocked the entry of all the countries perceived as threat to the national security including North Korea, Chad and Venezuela (Pierce, Bolter and Selee 19).

## **6.2. Trump Administration Zero- Tolerance Policy**

On May 7<sup>th</sup>, 2018, the US Justice Department announced a “Zero Tolerance Policy” related to unauthorized immigrants crossing the US- Mexico border. Under the direction of Justice Department and federal authorities, children were separated from their parents, siblings and relatives who accompanied them across the border illegally. The executive order also authorized the expansion of the border Patrol and directed the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) to construct additional detention facilities along U.S Mexico border and restrict access to asylum. According to Rhoden, starting from the announcement of the Justice Department about Zero Tolerance Policy for illegal border crossing U.S-Mexico border into the USA, children were separated from their families and parents rather than kept together in detention centers as they had been previously. Parents did not know where their children are, and the children did not know where their parents are.

Trump’s administration imprisoned adults in federal jails while detaining children under the Department of Health and Human services in so-called “shelters” that were little more than cages. Todres and Fink report that Trump’s Zero Tolerance Policy -which targets legal entrants seeking political asylum- has separated families, destroyed lives, subjected victims to danger, and has even cost the lives of numerous children caged in detention (391-395).

Cynthia Quintana, a therapist for children who are processed through the American immigration system narrated the story of a 3-year-old Guatemalan boy who she met in her office in Grand Rapids, Michigan for Caitlin Dickerson. The child was separated from his father. When he arrived in her office Quintana asked the boy where he was headed or whom he had been with, and the boy stared back blankly. Even though the boy had no phone number with him or any kind of information about his family, Quintana with the help from an Immigration and Customs Enforcement officer succeeded to know that the boy’s father was in federal

custody and got his phone number. She said that when the boy heard his father's voice on the phone, he cried out and suddenly, both of them were screaming. As the father calmed down, he addressed her: "Where is my child? They came in the middle of the night and took him." He added "What do I tell his mother?" (Dickerson).

The policy was criticized by the US public after the publication of children's pictures in detention. Few days later, Trump administration issued a new executive order that meant to end family separation replacing it with policy allowing for detention of families. Yet, the Zero-Tolerance Policy was supported by Trump followers, blaming the parents on putting their children in this situation.

### **6.3. The Border Wall with Mexico**

In his campaign speeches, Trump pledged Americans to build a wall in the Southern border with Mexico, declaring that Mexico would pay for it. The purpose for the wall was to keep Mexicans and Latino migrants out- stop them in their tracks as they attempt to cross the Southern border. However, his rhetoric was translated into orders after his inauguration, as he signed an executive order that unreasonably targeted Latinos via enhancing interior and exterior enforcement. Douglas, Jorge and Pren examine how the first order on "Border Security" was intended to keep Trump's promise of building a wall along the U.S Mexico border, despite the fact that the militarization of the Southern border had proven ineffective in deterring undocumented Latinos in the United States (5).

Massey Douglas asserts that the immigration crisis in the US, particularly at the Southern border, was influenced by social, economic and environmental challenges in Latin countries, fueled by long history of US intervention in the region which led to significant inflow of families from central America seeking refuge in 2018 and 2019. However, Trump drew on

migration and apprehension trends at the US Southern border, portraying it as a crisis caused by Latino immigrants, resulting in increasingly severe policies targeting them (30).

The Trump administration faced the problem of the cost, for Trump claimed that Mexico would pay the wall the Mexican government refused it. Trump has entertained other ways. Bolter, Pierce and Selee explain how the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) launched a bidding process to find models for the wall, using accessible funds that had been allocated for the 2017 fiscal year (FY). The DHS granted eight agreements with associations to build prototype walls near San Diego, but in 2017, they were discontinued. To secure additional funds, the department proposed an appropriation of 18\$ billion over 10 years to construct 318 miles of the new barriers and maintain an additional 407 miles. This investment aimed to cover a portion of the nearly 2,000 miles' border between the United States and Mexico (4).

Trump's project to build the wall was challenged by the Democrats in Congress. As a response, on February 2019, the president declared national emergency, referring to the condition of Southern border as a crisis for national security. This declaration allowed Trump to avoid Congress and allocates military funding for the construction of the border wall. Huq points out that although the Senate passed the bill to overturn the national emergency, the president intended to reject this bill through the use of his Veto Power. Furthermore, the House of Representatives came close, but did not reach the required majority to override the president's veto (11).

#### **6.4. Ending DACA Program**

As already mentioned, DACA, the immigration policy issued by the president Barack Obama in 2012, was a temporary program that deferred deporting qualified individuals who entered the United States as children. DACA's goal was to protect innocent immigrants who came to US as minors from deportation. Trump promised to end the program and the general

attorney Jeff Sessions announced that the DACA program was being terminated, on September 2019. In the same period, the government prevented giving DACA advantages to the new applicants and renewals to individuals whose DACA benefits would end after March 5<sup>th</sup>, 2018; the government prevented granting all renewals regardless of expiration date (Edelman).

According to Bolter, Pierce and Selee, Obama program offers protection against deportation and allows work authorization to nearly 700,000 individuals who were brought to the United States as children without proper authorization, and the only thing which prevented the Trump administration from ending the program were several federal court decisions from January, 2018 to April 2018, ordering that DACA recipients should continue to be protected by the program (9-10). Consequently, the termination of Obama program would have a negative impact on immigrants especially Latino immigrants who make up the majority of DACA recipients.

## **6.5. Mass Deportation in Trump Era**

As part of his campaign, Trump promised to deport millions of immigrants from U.S within days of his inauguration. On January 24<sup>th</sup>, 2017, he delivered on that promise, signing an executive order that markedly increased the number of immigrants prioritized for deportation by enhancing the interior security of land as he united the local and federal law enforcement agencies and increased the number of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agents (Kaba 325).

Gramlich reports that the Trump administration, by overturning rules established during Obama era, authorized undocumented individuals to be considered a priority for deportation, even if they had not committed serious offenses. As a result, the number of arrests made under this new policy rose 30% in Fiscal Year, 2017, after Trump administration had enacted the executive order 13, 7628. Similarly, in 2018, the Customs and Border Protection and

Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) removed nearly 340,000 people considered “Unauthorized Immigrants”, making sharp increase of 17% from previous year.

ICE conducted more arrests than in the three prior years under Obama Administration, which specifically targeted Mexican migrants. As an illustration, Jorge Garcia – Mexican father of two from Detroit had been in the United States for thirty years with no criminal history or records. His family had been working to change his immigration status, while his age prevented him from qualifying for DACA. In 2009, the family was granted a stay of deportation and thereafter met annually with ICE officials. However, their world changed dramatically when president Trump came into office, eventually Mr. Garcia’s was detained and deported to Mexico, in 2017(Caron).

Trump’s strategy of increasing large-scale deportations could even send one Mexican journalist who is detained in the United States back to Mexico, where he might be killed. Emilio Gutierrez Soto and his son, Oscar, are detained in immigration custody in El Paso, Texas. They fled from Mexico in 2008, seeking asylum after Emilio received death threats due to his work as a reporter. In 2005, Emilio wrote articles discussing the military’s actions in Chihuahua to bring attention to important issues. Fortunately, the US Border of Immigration Appeals granted Emilio and Oscar a full stay of their deportation order (Goodman and Moynihan).

Accordingly, despite the weaknesses of Trump Administration in deportation procedures and the expedited removal policy, this administration’s deportation effort exceeded those of the Obama administration. Nevertheless, it is crucial to acknowledge the fear and trauma experienced by both documented and undocumented immigrants in the United States during this period.

## Conclusion

This chapter has shown how Latino immigrants, as a minority group, have often faced marginalization within American society, while the dominant race in America has created borders and racial barriers against this minority in different areas in an attempt to prevent them from achieving their American dream, which is supposed to embody the ideals of American democracy. Latinos have confronted severe segregation because of their historical criminalization. Adding to this, this chapter elucidated key immigration policies, shedding light on Donald Trump's immigration policies, whose ultimate objective has been to deport immigrants, particularly Latino immigrants, from the country and block those who wish to enter it in an effort to preserve the American race from foreigners. Thus, the study of his speeches from 2015 to 2018, using the concept of White Nationalism helps to understand the motives and the reasons of Donald Trump for restrictionist policies, which is the focus of the second chapter.

## **Chapter 02**

# **Analysis of Donald Trump's Speeches: White Nationalism and Immigration Policies Towards Latinos**



## **Chapter II: Analysis of Trump’s Speeches: White Nationalism and Immigration Policies Towards Latino Immigrants**

### **Introduction**

The present chapter elucidates the concept of White Nationalism, in an attempt to unveil the xenophobic and racist statements directed against Latino immigrants in the United States. In light of this, this chapter seeks to analyze Trump’s selected speeches of 2015, 2016 and 2018 to gain insight into his ideology and political stance towards Latinos. Ultimately, it endeavors to demonstrate how Trump’s nationalist policies, which reveal his wrestle with racial issues and reflect the tenets of the “other” in the American society, impact the experiences of Latino immigrants in the United States.

### **1. White Nationalism and the “Other” in the United States of America**

White Nationalism has been a part of United States since the dawn of the nation. Over time, it has evolved, but its foundations may be found in the nation's early past as a *de facto* white-supremacist nation. Even though it is a different name, White Nationalism is being deliberately used as a euphemism for white supremacy, a belief that has become more prevalent over the years in an effort to normalize and mainstream the perception of white supremacists in the public sphere (Thomas). In an attempt to set it apart even further, White Nationalism is used to describe a type of white racial identity to define a nation or region that aims to advance the interests of white people only, usually at the expense of people from other backgrounds (Hawley).

In the latter decades of the 20th century, White Nationalism began to develop as a reaction to a perceived decline in the essence of American identity as European, Anglo-Protestant, and English-speaking, particularly in response to the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which opened entry to the US to immigrants other than traditional Northern

Europeans. As historian George Frederickson stated, by the time the constitution went into effect, it was widely believed that America was intended to be a homogenous white nation, inhabited chiefly by Anglo-Saxon and closely related "races" (Perea 3).

In the 1980s, a movement called white separatism emerged. This movement advocated for the establishment of a separate state, reserved only for white people, rather than simply maintaining white dominance within existing institutions, and by the 21<sup>st</sup> century, white nationalism had become a mainstream political, social, and economic ideology in the United States (Thomas).

White Nationalists today advocate the preservation of white identity and political power, often promoting the idea of an ethno-state for whites and advocating for policies such as stricter immigration controls and even ethnic cleansing or genocide. As Amaya Hector argues, "in the current political climate in the United States, white nationalists are a small but vocal minority of voices concerned about the present and future of the white race in US society. They support ideologies known as white separatist or white supremacist, which are frequently centered on the perceived inferiority of non-White people" (365).

Eric Kauffman defines white nationalism as "the belief that national identity should be built around the white ethnicity, and that white people should therefore maintain both a demographic majority and dominance of the nation's culture and public life" (Quoted in Skrikantiah and Sinnar). Therefore, White nationalists claim they seek to ensure the survival of the white race, and the cultures of historically white states. They believe that white people should maintain their majority in majority-white countries, maintain their political and economic dominance, and that their cultures should come first.

At its core, white nationalism is centered around the idea that "the other" poses a threat to white race and white culture. As Kathleen Belew asserts: "White nationalism is the idea that

white people are going to unify together as one national polity either in a white homeland or a white nation or even in a white world through the violent killing or exclusion of other people” (Quoted in Collins).

While there are numerous ways to realize this vision, Belew emphasizes that white nationalists are not often “interested in the United States as a nation”. Instead, they desire to establish a white state like the one envisioned at the end of the Turner Diaries, a key work of white nationalism written by the neo-Nazi William Luther Pierce that chronicles a conflict against people of color. The novel depicts a violent white supremacist revolution in the United States which leads to the overthrow of the federal government, a nuclear war, and ultimately a race war which leads to the systematic extermination of non-whites and Jews (Britannica). For that reason, Belew considers white nationalism to be a deeply revolutionary and a deeply anti-democratic project (Quoted in Collins).

From another lens, “the other” in white nationalist ideology encompasses a broad spectrum of non-white racial, ethnic, and religious groups that are perceived as threats to white interests. This includes immigrants, religious minorities like Muslims, and even groups like African Americans and Latinos who have long been part of American society. White nationalists often define “whiteness” in a very limited, exclusionary way, sometimes even excluding certain European ethnic groups like Jews who are coming from European descent. This reveals a desire to firmly establish and defend a particular white identity against those who are viewed as “outsiders” (Desmond- Harris).

Richard B. Spencer, the director of the National Policy Institute, declared that a “white ethno-state” is his dream and argues that immigration and multiculturalism are threats to the white population of America. He has advocated “peaceful ethnic cleansing” to remove non-

white people from American territory, but has refrained from going into specifics about how this may be accomplished, stating that it is still only a “dream” (Quoted in Taub).

White nationalists’ fear and hostility towards “the other” is driven by a perceived threat to the political, economic and cultural dominance of white people. Rather than promoting genuine diversity and inclusion, the idea of “the other” in white nationalist ideology is used to justify racial violence, discrimination, and the establishment of a white ethno-state. Sociologist Matthew Hughey captured this fear when interviewing a member of the National Education Association (NEA) who stated after moving to a racially diverse community in the East of the United States: “I never saw so many black people before ... so many immigrants that don’t speak English ... they all expect a job ... It’s divisive ... I don’t hate black people or Latinos ... I just want a space for me and my future children” (Quoted in Hector 371).

Besides espousing white supremacy, white nationalists also embrace “nativism,” which in the United States refers to the belief that the nation should remain racially white and that foreigners, such as immigrants from Latin America and Asia, contaminate the nation (Hector 365). Lindsay Pérez defines racist nativism as “the assigning of values to real or imagined differences in order to justify the superiority of the native, who is to be perceived white, over that of the non-native, who is perceived to be People and Immigrants of Color, and thereby defend the rights of whites, or natives, to dominance” (221).

White nationalists believe that the demographic and cultural changes brought about by these “others” cause an existential threat to the white culture and the white race in general. They consider this to be a kind of “white genocide” that needs to be stopped by policies that maintain white cultural hegemony and majorities in society (Thomas).

In essence, the construction of “the other” is fundamental for the white nationalist ideology, as it defines the perceived threats of white power and status, and provides rationale for their discriminatory and supremacist goals.

### **1.1. Xenophobia towards Latinos in the United States of America**

The United States is in the midst of a demographic shift to a majority-minority country in which the declining White population coincides with the growth of communities of color, including an increase in the Latino population in particular. Canizales and Vallejo describe Latinos as a group varied in national origin, class, race, and ethno cultural characteristics (150). Latinos come from a wide variety of national origins, with the largest groups being of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban descent. They represent a wide range of social classes, from wealthy individuals and families to people living in poverty. Additionally, Latinos can be of any race, reflecting the racial diversity of Latin America, including indigenous people, people of European and African descent, and Asian Latinos, particularly of Japanese or Chinese descent. They have rich cultural traditions, influenced by their country of origin and individual experiences. These can include differences in language, religion, customs and values.

The immigration of Latinos to the United States has long been considered a threat to the dominant culture, language, values, and safety. A narrative started in the early 1900s and continues to the present, Latinos were portrayed as ‘foreigners’ and ‘aliens’ - ‘invading’, ‘flooding’, and ‘infecting’ the country. It is often times feared by white America that Latinos, who are referred to as "reconquistas," may "reconquer" the land that was lost during the Mexican-American War (Chavez). Over years, this narrative has been repeated, greatly influencing public attitudes and stereotypes of Latinos overall.

Leo Chavez has explored these negative portrayals of Latinos more than any other scholar, developing what he refers to as “The Latino Threat Narrative,” which he describes as

a discourse in US media about Latinos and the supposed dangers they pose to non-Hispanic America (Quoted in Miller 27). Chavez stresses that Latinos are not like previous immigrant groups who ultimately became a part of the nation (3). Stated differently, the discourse directed at the Latino Americans and Mexican Immigrants community is that they are not able to adopt American ideals in the same manner that other immigrant groups—like the Italian, Polish, and Chinese immigrants—have. For example, Mexicans are presented as the quintessential “illegal alien” group (4).

The Latino Threat Narrative targets both Latinos and Latino immigrants as unwilling to assimilate to dominant U.S. culture, politics, and language, instead forming emerging communities and social networks from the East coast to the West. This narrative depicts Latino immigrants as undeserving, illegal, burdensome, and criminal aliens. The perceived abandonment of white American values and the white American dream, along with rising rates of Latino immigration to the U.S. lead to fear that American culture and identity were in danger (Chavez). He adds that:

The objects of this discourse are represented as the Other and as a ‘threat’ and ‘danger’ to the nation through such simple binaries as citizen/foreigner, real Americans/Mexicans or real Americans/Hispanics, natives/enemies, us/them, and legitimate/illegal. Once constructed in this way, Mexican and other Latin American immigrants and even U.S.-born Latinos, can then be represented as “space invaders”—as Nirmal Puwar has put it—whose reproduction, both social and biological, threatens to destroy the nation’s identity (Chavez 22).

According to Chavez, this narrative is quite persuasive to many people in the dominant society because “its basic premises are taken from granted as true” (45). Dominant U.S. citizens

see Latinos as one homogenous group who are uneducated, ignorant and live in ethnic caves which completely separate them from the rest of American society. Here, Chavez uses the concepts of hegemony and common sense put forth by Antonio Gramsci to demonstrate how, despite what some may find shocking, this kind of discourse serves to legitimize the hegemonic worldview of others and justifies dehumanizing policies, and the threat that Latinos present to white, middle-class America (45).

Additionally, Latinos are frequently viewed as a burden on social assistance programs, the public education system, and the healthcare systems in the United States. They are especially blamed for criminal activity, including gang violence and drug trafficking, as well as for job loss or unemployment. Moreover, fear of economic instability leads to large numbers of Latino immigrants being viewed as a critical, very serious issue (Lopez-Green and Vargas Poppe 4-5).

While the characteristics of a shared Latino identity are constantly changing, racism and xenophobia directed at Latinos remain persistent. The 2016 presidential election was arguably the first presidential election that actively targeted Latino immigrants, specifically. Referring to Latino immigrants during campaign speeches as “these people”, Donald Trump supporting rallied campaign cries of “shoot them” (Trump 2016). Latino immigrants fleeing conflict and lawfully seeking asylum at the U.S.-Mexico border were labeled as an “invasion”. In response to the perceived immigration invasion, ‘Build the wall’ became a catchphrase at most political events and public speeches with the insistence that Mexico would bear the expense of its construction (Washington Post).

From the beginning, Trump’s administration used xenophobic and racist language to specifically target Latinos. Throughout his campaign, Trump's advisors Steve Bannon and

Stephen Miller sharpened his use of racist rhetoric and populist clichés to paint himself as the defender of America's declining White majority who are under attack by immigration.

During the presidential debate in 2016, the public was inundated with promises to "make America great again" by building a "big, beautiful wall" between the United States and Mexico in order to "instill the rule of law at our borders" and to reduce the alleged high levels of drug use, crime, and undocumented migration. Moreover, Trump branded Latinos as criminal invaders regardless of age, gender, or reason for migration, and he chastised Latin American nations, particularly Mexico, for "not sending their best." In the last presidential debate in 2016, Trump promised that "We have some bad hombres here and we're going to get them out" equating immigrants with criminals, "drug lords," and "bad hombres" (Trump 2016).

During a May 2018 White House meeting about sanctuary states, when a public official mentioned MS-13, an international street gang originated in Los Angeles, California, in the 1980s, protecting El Salvadorian immigrants from other gangs in the Los Angeles area (Fogelbach 230), Trump raged against Latino immigrants by stating in front of reporters: "You wouldn't believe how bad these people are. These aren't people, these are animals, and we're taking them out of the country at a level and at a rate that's never happened before." These dehumanizing, racist criminal and racial stereotypes are key tools to gain support for Trump's policies as they evoke fear and serve as a constant reminder to white people of who "the other" is (Canizales and Vallejo 155).

Accordingly, Latinos are frequently associated with negative stereotypes that emphasize characteristics like criminality, immigration or low-paying jobs. They are portrayed as immigrants with strong accents, and individuals who are ignored or treated unfairly because of presumptions about their immigration status or capacity to adapt into the American society. Therefore, we can deduce that regardless of the reason, the racialization of Latinos in the United



States as non-white, casts Latinos as the “other” and reinforces dynamics that have an impact on daily life and across generations.

## **2. Trump Nationalist Policies: Analysis of his 2015, 2016 and 2018 Speeches**

Donald Trump’s rhetoric and policy making energized white nationalists across the USA who fear demographic change as the US currently witnesses massive demographic shift, with the fastest growth of minorities such as Latinos and the demographic profile of the white American which remained stable throughout time, to advocate his nationalist agenda. Hence, Trump identified in his political strategy the white Protestant middle and working class who were denied for long time from the Republican establishment and the Democrats. Suransky argues that Trump’s campaign manager, Steven Bannon, designed a populist-nationalist electoral strategy that utilized the white-working class (48:00).

Therefore, Trump continually insulted minorities and immigrants on the campaign trail to reinforce the issue of exclusion and inclusion in the US. According to Haney-Lopez 2015, white nationalism has been used by American politicians and Republicans relying on racialization of minorities using “Dog Whistle politics”, which is the use of coded language in political messaging to gain support from a particular group without provoking opposition, in order to stimulate their followers before Trump rise to power. However, in Trump era the parallel pressures of immigration due to demographic change, rising economic inequality and white racial resentment resurged white nationalism (1:37:51). For Ethnic Studies, scholar Alfonso Gonzales, states that Trump era means a shift in political landscape regarding race. Instead of the previous notion of “Color-Blind racism”, there is now a resurgence of White Nationalism. He argues that this movement aims to dismantle the rights and programs that have been achieved by racial minorities, Indigenous peoples, women, immigrants and refugees (148).

Additionally, throughout Trump's campaign, Latino immigrants stood out as main threat to be dealt with. Thus, the majority of his policies were designed to limit grants status for Mexican and Central American immigrants, for instance, ninety-four percent of DACA recipients with the arrival of Trump are Latinos (Lopez et al).

## **2.1. Trump Perception of Latinos in his 2015 Presidential Announcement Speech**

On June 16, 2015 at Trump Tower in New York City, Donald Trump announced his candidacy for the 2016 Republican presidential nomination. From his appearance, he repeatedly disparaged many minority groups, in particular, Latino and Mexican immigrants. He established a xenophobic framework for Mexico on the basis of three primary issues: crime caused by illegal immigration, problems in trade and economy, and deceitful actions of the Mexican government (Schubert 50). His announcement speech opened with a clear discussion of crime, a move that was widely quoted in the news media and brought significant attention to Trump's political agenda:

When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. They're not sending you. They're not sending you. They're sending people that have lots of problems, and they're bringing those problems with us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people. (Speech, 16 June 2015).

Trump described undocumented Mexican immigrants as criminals, drug dealers, and rapists. He attributed the decline of US well-being and prosperity to undocumented Latino immigration (Pérez-Huber 3). As far as employment is concerned, Mexico is viewed as a thief, falling under the category of criminals. In the following example "So Mexico takes a company, a car company that was going to build in Tennessee, rips it out" (speech, 16 June 2015), the

personified “Mexico” appears as a robber that deliberately takes US American jobs and businesses. He strengthened his support with the campaign slogan “Make America Great Again!”, as it is shown in the following example “But if I get elected president, I will bring it back bigger and better and stronger than ever before, and we will make America great again” (Trump 2015) claiming that his presidency is the answer to a failing U.S. economy, infrastructure, and immigration policy.

After making these accusatory statements, Trump was asked to clarify at CNN’s state of the union, where he added the word “killers” to his description of all immigrants. In an August 2015 Fox News interview, Trump claimed that the US government was being outsmarted by Mexico while at the same time accusing Mexican government of intentionally sending criminals across the border, he stated: “The Mexican government is much smarter, much sharper, much more cunning. And they send the bad ones over because they don’t want to pay for them. They don’t want to take care of them” (Quoted in Moreno). Further, when Trump learned that a Hispanic man had been brutally attacked in his honor, he called his supporting abusers “passionate” in their love for America and completely ignored to acknowledge the victim or the minority group being abused: “It would be a shame...I will say that people who are following me are very passionate. They love this country and they want this country to be great again” (Quoted in Moreno).

To make a long story short, Trump's speech in 2015 towards Mexicans has been closely linked to the rise of White Nationalism, which has had profound implications for race relations and social dynamics in the United States. His derogatory remarks about Mexicans, labeling them as criminals, rapists, and members of gangs, align with white nationalist ideologies that demonize minority groups, particularly immigrants of color. Additionally, Trump's anti-immigrant rhetoric, including his push for strict immigration policies has fueled xenophobic

sentiments and contributed to the normalization of anti-immigrant views within white nationalist circles that advocate for the preservation of a white majority.

## **2.2. Trump's 2016 Immigration Speech**

During his presidential campaign, Donald Trump delivered a speech on Phoenix, Arizona on August 31, 2016. The background of the speech was crucial for Trump administration with all of his political rallies to amplify his immigration narratives, specifically targeting Latino and Mexican immigrants, as Arizona has the fourth highest Hispanic population among other states in the US, and 31 % of Arizona population identifies as Hispanic (Pew Research Center). Arguably, the Hispanic population is so high due to its proximity to the US-Mexico border.

Accordingly, by choosing strategic location with large Hispanic population, Trump aimed to effectively communicate his policies. He begins the speech with the opening line:

This will be a little bit different. This won't be a rally speech, per se. Instead, I'm going to deliver a detailed policy address on one of these greatest challenges facing our country today, Illegal immigration (Trump 31 August 2016).

The president from the beginning of this speech set a serious tone to restrict Illegal Immigration addressing the "Latino" immigrants, considering them as threat to the nation. This sentiment is obtained as his next comment concerns his meeting with the president of Mexico, mentioning the importance of ending the flow of "Drugs, cash, guns, and people across our border, and to put cartels out of business" (Trump 2016). This statement reminds the Americans that all Latino and Mexican immigrants crossing the border are bringing drugs, without a proper discussion about the main reason that pushed the Latino immigrants to cross the border. In this

regard, the president outlined to his voters the cause of the flow of undocumented immigrants to the US, invoking that the then immigration reform did not serve them and it usually means “amnesty, open borders, and lower wages” (Trump 2016). He presented immigration reform as a way to damage the average Americans, and positioned immigrants as social recipients that take more than they provide to America.

In the same speech president Trump commented on the US immigration policies saying that “The truth is our immigration system is worse than anybody ever realized.” Trump speaking about US policies accused indirectly immigrants to abuse system and criticized the previous president policies such as DACA. To further his point that previous immigration policies are fragile and immigrants from south and central America are unwelcomed, Trump vowed “To immediately terminate President Obama’s two illegal executive amnesties on immigration, immediately”, which he presented in his announcement 2015 speech. It is important to note that DACA program was applied to Latino immigrants whom accounts for about 90 percent of the participation (United States Citizenship and Immigration Services).

In addition to termination of DACA, Trump’s administration viewed the need to reinforce the immigration laws and the laws which pretend liberality towards the undocumented immigrants. Trump in his speech, stated: “Deadly, non-enforcement policies that allow thousands of criminal aliens to freely roam our streets, walk around, do whatever they want, crime all over the place.” He obviously believes that these undocumented immigrants who cross the border are criminals as they associate crimes rate mainly to Latino immigrants. The word “criminal aliens” was used by the president to categorize a new class of criminals to be deported, in order to legitimize the word “criminal Aliens” he used Mara Salvatrucha gang, commonly known as MS-13 gang.

A report on the MS-13 gangs by the Center for Latino and Latin American Studies published by the US Department of Justice, stated that Trump used the gang for his political purposes by combining the dangers of illegal immigrants in US with the gang violent crime, to heighten his anti-immigration Agenda (US Justice Department). Accordingly, he declared to deport anyone entering the country illegally. From this, we deduce that the beliefs and stereotypes surrounding Latino immigrants, particularly regarding their criminality, are largely influenced by the discourse provided by those in position of power. This discourse plays a significant role in shaping public opinion and maintaining certain ideologies.

To further his policies, Trump pledged his voters to build “Physical, tall, power, beautiful southern border wall.” Since, Latino immigrants were associated to illegal immigration and crime, they were also connected to border security. Thus, Trump aimed to reinforce the national security by building physical wall in the southern border. According to some experts, the true purpose of the wall was to foster the fear of the whites that their identity is being defended, like the Sociologist Douglas Massey asserts that the wall “sends a clear signal to supporters [Trump supporters], that Mexico and Mexicans are threat to the nation, Latino immigrants are unfit for inclusion in [U.S.] society, and our neighbors to the south are not and will never be accepted as ‘real Americans” (Quoted in Juan F Perea 11). It appears that the physical wall turned into a more divisive and racially issue among Americans, some of his supporters began to establish strong boundaries between ‘real American ‘and those perceived as ‘un-American’.

Economy also played a crucial role in Trump’s discourse. In fact, for him, the illegal immigrants take white Americans job opportunities saying in his speech that “Illegal immigrants affect the lives of all Americans. Illegal Immigrants hurts American workers; burdens American taxpayer.” Trump with his statements accused the racial minorities and immigrants for the losses of the white working class, to raise the racial and economic anxiety

among the white middle class. Hence, the ordinary white Americans take it as mission for them to “Take Action” and preserve their rights and jobs from immigrants’ threat. Scholars argued that Trump white nationalist restrictions were often accepted and promoted by white working-class, due to the fear of losing their jobs to new immigrants from particular origins (Nonwhite immigrants). consequently, this group supported and called for strict immigration policies (Roman and Sagas).

In relation to his policies, Trump issued executive orders to restrict legal immigrants; he suggested an indirect policy to end VISA lottery and family sponsorship programs. As Trump believes that previous policies tied the relation between American citizens with non-citizens of color and formed a sort of unity among them, menacing the bond that keeps white Americans together. One can conclude that, the president’s anti-immigrants discourse and policies increased the value of whiteness and minimized the connection between citizenship, power, and opportunity. Moreover, political experts argue that his nationalist policies and rhetoric surrounding immigration and invasion raised again the notion of the white supremacy and privileged the position of white Anglo-Saxon American (Clark).

Furthermore, Trump railed against “Shithole Countries” referring to countries like El Salvador and some African countries, and he commented on Haitian immigrants to have “AIDS”. He additionally wondered why US couldn’t expect more immigrants from countries like Norway (Dawesy). This statement indicates Trump hopes to redirect immigration to the United States from certain countries to the European countries, by excluding non-white immigrants from entering the US and welcoming the European immigrants. Thus, we can deduce that the focus of Trump on recruiting white immigrants and restricting non-white immigrants aligns with white nationalist ideas.

### **2.3. Trump's 2018 Speech at the Conservative Action Conference**

In his speech at the Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) on February 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2018. Trump started asking his conservative audience, "Do you remember when I started running and people would say "Are you sure he's conservative?" "I think now we've proved that "I'm conservative, right?" In this statement the president addressed the doubts some people had about his conservative beliefs when he started running for office. He wanted to reassure his supporters that he identifies himself as conservative. To support his statement, Trump followed: "For the last year, with your help, we have put great conservative ideas into use than perhaps ever before in American history". This could explain that his actions and policies against immigrants stem from his conservative ideology which center on stopping immigration, in order to protect the white majority.

In the same speech, Trump expresses his support to CPAC leaders who work to preserve the American tradition as he states: "Year after year, leaders have stood on this stage to discuss what we can do together to protect our heritage, to promote our culture, and to defend our freedom." This statement sends white nationalist message, as Trump believes that it is their duty as white native born to promote their culture and protect their heritage from minorities. By the way of illustration, he uses repeatedly the term "Our" referring to the white Americans who hold the prevalent culture in the US. It is worth mentioning that the majority of his supporters come from white middle class, who see themselves as the protector of American tradition and values. Indeed, Trump by emphasizing the importance of protecting American heritage and culture, he contributes to the white Americans anxiety toward immigrants. This anxiety stems from the impact of different cultures on the American identity, especially Latino culture that rose with time.



To gain more support from the public, Trump blamed the Democrats to strip the American rights, by granting status to undocumented immigrants particularly Latino immigrants who gained many advantages during Obama era. He usually uses the term “they” referring to the democrat party, placing them as the party of the “others” which refers to multiracial party. For instance, in CPAC convention he stated: “They’re crazed. And, by the way, they’re crazed anyway these people. They are really crazed. Right?”. The president criticized the Democrats who support and provide rights for illegal immigrants within nation that belongs to the white Americans. His statement sends strong message that the decline of the dominant culture, caused of their immigration policies which the American values and principles no longer determine the direction of their political agenda. To further his point, he tweeted in 2018 that immigrants will “Infest our country and this problem caused by democrats polices” (Trump twitter).

Most notably, when Trump endorsed the incident in Charlottesville, Virginia during the summer of 2017, it all started with a rally called “Unite the Right”, where far-right individuals gathered to defend a statue of confederate general Robert E.Lee. The rally ended with violent clashes between white nationalists and counter protestors. Tragically, one woman lost her life and dozens were injured. Trump commented that some of white nationalist protesters were “Very fine people” (Gray). This statement highlights Trump defense of white nationalists rallied in Charlottesville by expressing his sympathy for their demonstration. The “very fine people” an expression demonstrated how the white nationalists viewed as victims in the American society, as result Trump support encouraged this group to rise and unify again against minorities and immigrants in the United States.

In addition, Trump attacked the immigrants who flew to Europe, viewing them as threat to the European culture. He referred to them as “Shame” and stated that it had “changed the fabric of Europe” and that Europeans are losing [their] culture.” He railed against Germany,

which opened its border for Syrian refugees in 2016, calling it a “Big mistake made all over Europe in allowing millions of people who have so strongly and violently changed their culture.” Then, Trump made connection to the U.S:” We don’t want what is happening with immigration in Europe to happen with us” (Bump).

Therefore, disparaging the Latino immigrants and other ethnic groups through his immigration policies and statements, Trump raised again the issue of white nationalism in the United States of America. His alignment with the white nationalist ideology reflects his view of America as threatened white nation and his redefinition of the national identity as centered on white identity, neglecting the American diversity.

### **3. The Effect of Trump’s Immigration Policies on Latino Immigrants**

Trump anti-immigrant discourse and policies affected many Latino immigrants, starting from his Deportation rate, which deeply affected them. According to a new research published in the American Journal of Community Psychology, researchers found that Trump’s deportation order has affected psychologically and economically the individuals and their families, for instance children who lose their parents suddenly due to the deportation experience anxiety, sense of fear and depression. Rush also claims that several mental health consequences uncover when immigrants are fearful of being targeted, including withdrawal of their rights (Division 27 of the American Psychological Association).

The Zero-Tolerance Policy criminalized families seeking asylum from Latin Countries, it separated children from their parents and put children on risk of exposure to disease like COVID-19 in detention facilities. Additionally, young adults were forced by circumstances to take roles and exposed to typically adult responsibilities, this task prevented them to achieve educational and career goals (Vesely et al).

Moreover, hate crime against Latinos increased since Trump announced his candidacy, In November 2018, the FBI reported that anti-Latino and Hispanic hate crimes have increased over 21 percent in 2018. Due to the fact that those who support Trump nationalist ideas may feel justified to openly express their hateful beliefs based on Trump's statements.

Among the most devastating hate crimes against Latinos occurred in August, 2019 during which white nationalist terrorist shot and killed twenty-two people and injured twenty-six others in Walmart in El Paso, Texas, a city bordering Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, and home to around 80% of Latino population. In anti-Latino screed, the shooter expressed strong negative feelings over interracial marriages and argued that he was defending his country from cultural and ethnic replacement brought on by invasion, what he referred to as "Hispanic invasion to Texas". In addition, the manifesto echoed concerns about demographic change and Trump's anti-immigrant rhetoric that highlighted El Paso in his 2019 state of Union address as having "Extremely high rates of violent crime - one of the highest in the entire country, and considered one of our nation's most dangerous cities." This act of racial terrorism had a profound impact on Latinos in El Paso and around the country, who were already traumatized of Trump's racist rhetoric. Regardless of their national origins or immigrant generation, many Latinos across the nation expressed anger and fear of white nationalism. This anxiety is particularly strong among individuals with racialized indicators of ethno race, such as Spanish accents and dark skin (Canizales and Vallejo 155).

Accordingly, Trump's style and policies which waves on discriminatory accusations against Latino immigrants, caused a lot of anxiety for immigrants especially Latino immigrants. His policies divided immigrant families which evoked the memory of people of color who suffered from separation in the past and increased again the hate crime in the United States of America.

## Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to analyze Trump selected speeches in order to understand the reason behind his policies against Latino immigrants. It shows how Trump campaigned on xenophobic and racist political discourse, referring to the Latino immigrants as the “Other” considering them as a threat to their white identity. It gives insight to how Trump’s restrictionist policies and statements strengthened the notion of white nationalism in the United States. It concludes that Trump’s immigration policies drew from his beliefs on immigrants, his perspective towards Latinos and his conservative ideas. Finally, this chapter demonstrates the consequences of his immigration policies and his racist statement on Latino immigrants as the deportation which separated many Latino immigrant families and his racist rhetoric that traumatized them.

## **General Conclusion**

## General Conclusion

The present research elaborated former president Donald Trump's political reason behind his immigration policies through the study of his selected speeches of 2015, 2016 and 2018 which targeted the Latino immigrants and demonstrated the way he revitalized the conservative ideology.

In order to achieve the purpose of the study, we introduced in the first chapter, a theoretical background about the history of immigration in the United States, shedding light on the presence of Latino immigrants in the US and their journey to achieve the American Dream. After that, the study exposed the most important immigration policies in the US, followed by Donald Trump's restrictive policies against Latino immigrants where he attempted to fix the "broken immigration system" in the United States.

The second chapter analyzed Trump's selected speeches addressing mainly the Latino immigrants in order to explain the motives behind his restrictive policies. Besides, this chapter provided an overview of white nationalism in the US, and revealed that Trump campaigned on xenophobic and racist discourse to reinforce the idea of America's original European identity and exclude other groups.

Trump's Administration has invested a huge priority on immigration policy in which no administration in recent US history has ever made such emphasis. From separating families to deporting millions of Latino immigrants with promises to build a wall with Mexico, Trump reshapes immigration system in the United States of America.

Over the last century, the conception of American identity has long been contested, in the past, Congress excluded the Chinese immigrants through the Chinese Exclusion Act, based on the belief that they were too foreign to embrace constitutional principles. However, today

white nationalists' groups have claimed that immigration from Latin America is destroying not only the constitutional values, but also the white American culture and identity. In light of this, Trump policies followed white nationalist ideals which attempt to conserve the Anglo-protestant culture and the constitution values from foreign influences.

In fact, Trump's racist rhetoric towards Latinos was effective in igniting the belief that white people are under attack from increasing ethnic and racial diversity and his anti-immigrant policy has helped him appeal to a sense of white loss in the United States. The xenophobic narrative that characterizes Latinos as inherently "other" has become a central part of his administration's policies.

During his presidential campaign, Trump revived the slogan "America First" which is deeply rooted in a nationalist and protectionist ideology that prioritizes America and Americans interests. This term dates back to a populist political theory in the United States that emphasizes the fundamental notion of "putting America first". In reality, Trump's beliefs of this slogan reflect his appeal for a predominantly white America.

Like all white nationalists, Trump has tried to justify his policies of exclusion in nationalistic terms, pretending that he does not seek to target Latino immigrants because of their race, but because he considered them as a threat to the American ideals and the dominance of the whites in the United States. For him, his executive action conveys his authority and capacities as a president to protect white Americans and their identity from immigrants, especially brown skinned immigrants.

To conclude, the reason which evoked Trump's immigration policies targeting Latinos is related to his conservative ideology, as a matter of fact, it stems from his republican thoughts that place a strong focus on Latino racialization. In view of this, we deduce that his immigration policies were defined by the white nationalist ideology which centered on preserving the

dominance of the white race in the United States, for that reason he restricted colored immigrants, mainly Latinos who are considered the fastest growing minority in the USA.



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## Abstract in French (Résumé)

Ce travail de recherche tente d'explorer les raisons qui sous-tendent les politiques d'immigration de Donald Trump à l'égard des immigrants Latinos, en analysant une sélection de discours prononcés en 2015, 2016 et 2018. En outre, il examine l'histoire des immigrants Latinos aux États-Unis d'Amérique et les causes qui expliquent la racialisation de Trump à leur rencontre. A cet effet, l'étude s'appuie sur le concept de nationalisme blanc pour dévoiler la doctrine de Trump, qui comprend des déclarations et des politiques xénophobes visant à renforcer l'identité blanche et à exclure les immigrants de couleur, en particulier les immigrants Latinos. De ce fait, cette étude révèle que le nationalisme blanc est devenu la caractéristique déterminante des politiques d'immigration de Trump, revitalisant ainsi l'idéologie conservatrice aux États-Unis.

**Concepts :** Donald Trump, Politiques d'Immigration, Immigrés Latinos, Xénophobie, Nationalisme Blanc, Idéologie Conservatrice.

### ملخص

يسعى هذا البحث إلى استكشاف الأسباب الكامنة وراء سياسات الهجرة التي ينتهجها الرئيس دونالد ترامب تجاه المهاجرين اللاتينيين، من خلال تحليل مجموعة مختارة من الخطابات التي ألقاها في 2015، 2016 و2018. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، فإن هذا البحث يدرس تاريخ المهاجرين اللاتينيين في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية والأسباب الكامنة وراء عنصرية ترامب تجاههم. وتحقيقاً لهذه الغاية، تعتمد الدراسة على مفهوم القومية البيضاء ومفهوم تشافيز "التهديد اللاتيني" للكشف عن سياسة ترامب التي تتضمن تصريحات معادية للأجانب تهدف إلى تعزيز الهوية البيضاء وإقصاء المهاجرين ذوي البشرة الملونة، ولا سيما المهاجرين اللاتينيين. ونتيجة لذلك، يكشف هذا البحث أن القومية البيضاء أصبحت السمة المميزة لسياسات ترامب في مجال الهجرة، مما ينعش الأيديولوجية المحافظة في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية.

**الكلمات الدالة:** دونالد ترامب، سياسات الهجرة، المهاجرين اللاتينيين، العنصرية، القومية البيضاء، الأيديولوجية

المحافظة.